

"Machinery is employed to an inconceivable extent in all the operations of labour within and without doors, and it is the unceasing object of the department charged with its administration to extend its efficiency. There is no class of labourers or servants, but all who are required to assist or control the machinery are found in the children, from the time they leave the care of their mothers to the marriageable age. These children are formed into bands and sections under their own chiefs, each following the pursuits in which he is most pleased, or for which he feels himself most fitted."

There is very nearly equality of means; at all events, none are in want of any necessary of life, and wages are the same for all:—

"According to their theory, every child, male or female, on attaining the marriageable age, and there terminating the period of labour, should have acquired enough for an independent competence during life. As all children must equally serve, so are all equally paid, according to their several ages or the nature of their work."

In this happy realm there is marrying and giving in marriage, and as all the inhabitants enjoy excellent health, the problem of the overgrowth of population soon presents itself. It is clear that Lord Lytton had read Malthus:—

"Each community sets its own limit according to circumstances, taking care always that there shall never arise any class of poor by the pressure of population upon the productive powers of the community, and that no State shall be too large for a government resembling that of a single well-ordered family."

In order to maintain the balance between the number of inhabitants and the means of subsistence, a certain number of families go off from time to time to colonize hitherto unoccupied land. Like the Germans of Tacitus, the women have great authority. This is greater because their knowledge is wider. The dwellings are of more elegance and comfort anything that is known at the present day.

A particular point to be noticed is that

"Every room has its mechanical contrivances for melodious sound, usually tuned down to soft-murmured notes, which seem like sweet whispers from invisible spirits"

Bulwer's novel on social reform is a mere sketch. More's "Utopia;" the latter is far more real picture of the evils of the social order.

Finally, a book of a similar sort has been called "Looking Backward," by Mr. Edward Bellamy. It is deserving of attention for several reasons. It is well written, and captivates the reader. The author is well-versed in economic questions, and his objections which might be raised against the scheme appears to give his book the appearance of a model of the dreams of a modern Utopian, and before the public.

programme of social reform is very simple and ingenious. Instead of carrying us off to some far-away island, or below the surface of the earth, Mr. Bellamy merely describes what society will be in the year 2000. The supposed author of the story, an inhabitant of Boston, U.S., by name Mr. Julian West, was subject to insomnia. In order to obtain sleep he had a bedroom built under the foundation of his house. This room was a sort of vault, well closed and ventilated, where no sound from the city could penetrate; and here his doctor was in the habit of coming and inducing sleep by hypnotism. On a certain evening, the 30th of May, 1887, West is sent off to sleep after this manner by the doctor, who then leaves the town. The man-servant loses his life in a fire which destroys the rest of the house, and the sleeper is left in his subterranean chamber, of which no one else knows the existence, till he is found there alive, 113 years later, by a Dr. Leete, who wakes him up and restores him to vigour by means of a cordial. He is at once received into the doctor's family, and later on proceeds to visit the town and its institutions, which he describes, comparing them with those of our day. To all the objections he raises he receives satisfactory replies from Dr. Leete, and he thus gives us a complete picture of the new social organization.

As in preceding Utopias, Mr. Bellamy commences by showing the evils of the existing system, but he does not dwell long on this theme. He makes use, however, of a striking comparison, which I will quote, as to give an idea of the author's style of writing:—

...give some general impression of the way people lived together in those (1887) and especially of the relations of the rich and poor to one another, ...do better than compare society, as it then was, to a prodigious coach, ...the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely ...very hilly and sandy road. The driver was Hunger, and permitted ...lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers, who never got down, even at the steepest ascents. The seats on the top were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy the scenery at their leisure, or critically discuss the ...team. Naturally such places were in great demand ...for them was keen, every one seeking as the first end in life ...the coach for himself and to leave it to his child after him ...are that this will appear to the men of the twentieth ...inhumanity; but there are two facts, both very curious ...it. In the first place, it was firmly believed that there ...which Society could get along, except the many pulled ...new rode; and not only this, but that no very radical ...either in the harness, the coach, the road ...always been as it was, and it would ...not be helped, and philosophy for ...second remedy. The other fact ...lucination, which those on the ...were not exactly like the ...of finer clay, in some way ...instinctly expect to be drawn

Let us now see how the men of the twentieth century organize society so as to do away with that extraordinary distribution of the goods of this world existing at the present time, in virtue of which some enjoy without work, while others work with little or no reward. I will try to explain the new organization advocated by Mr. Bellamy, keeping as nearly as possible to the author's own text.

Treatises on political economy are generally divided into three sections, the first treating of the production, the second of the division and circulation, and the third of the consumption of riches. This is indeed the economic cycle. Mankind have various wants to be satisfied, it is therefore necessary that the commodities which these requirements necessitate should be produced. Men do not work each one alone and for himself, but in groups and co-operatively; the produce obtained must therefore be distributed; and finally, each one having received his share consumes it, while working so as to reproduce for future maintenance. I therefore think that I gave a clear definition of political economy when I explained it as "the science which determines what laws men ought to adopt in order that they may, with the least possible exertion, procure the greatest abundance of things useful for the satisfaction of their wants, may distribute them justly and consume them rationally."—*Elements of Political Economy*, p. 31.

Let us first of all examine how the production of riches is carried on in the year 2000. Land and all the instruments of production, farms, mines, railroads, mills, have been *nationalized*, and are the property of the State. The industry and commerce of the country have ceased to be conducted by a set of irresponsible corporations of private persons at their caprice and for their profit. They are entrusted to a single syndicate representing the people in their common interest. The change from the old organization to the new was accomplished without violence, and with the general consent of public opinion. People had seen for many years larger and larger syndicates handling revenues greater than those of States, and directing the labours of hundreds of thousands of men with an efficiency and economy unattainable in smaller operations. It had come to be recognized as an axiom that the larger the business the simpler the principles that can be applied to it. So it came to pass that the nation, organized as one great corporation, became the sole and final monopolist by whom all previous monopolies were swallowed up.

The nation being now the only employer, all the citizens are employees, and are distributed according to the needs of industry. In short, it is the principle of universal military service applied to *labour*. The period of industrial service is twenty-four years, beginning with the close of the course of education and terminating at forty-five. Women are co-labourers.

less, the kinds of occupation reserved for them, and the conditions under which they pursue them, are settled accordingly. The entire field of productive and constructive industry is divided into ten great departments, each representing a group of allied industries, each particular industry being in turn represented by a subordinate bureau, which has a complete record of the plant and force under its control, and of the present product and the means of producing it. These bureaux set out the work to their men according to the demand of the distributive department which sells the commodities to the customers. The chiefs of these ten grand divisions of the industrial army may be compared to the commanders of army-corps, and above them is the general-in-chief, who is the President of the State. The general-in-chief must have passed through all the grades below him from the position of a common labourer upwards. He rises to the highest rank by the excellence of his records, first as a worker, and then as a lieutenant.

The chief of each guild is elected, but to prevent candidates intriguing for the support of the workers under them, they are chosen by the honorary members of the guild—that is, by those who have served their time and attained the age of forty-five. But what authority has the power and the discrimination necessary to determine which out of the two or three hundred trades and avocations each individual shall pursue? It is done very easily in Mr. Bellamy's Utopia.

All new recruits belong for three years to the class of common or unskilled labourers. During this period the young men are assignable to any work at the discretion of their superiors. Afterwards, voluntary election, subject only to necessary regulation, is depended on to determine the particular sort of service every man is to render. His natural endowments, mental or physical, determine what he can work at most profitably for the nation and for himself. It is the business of the administration to seek constantly to equalize the attractions of the trades, so that all trades shall be equally attractive to persons having a natural taste for them, and that, consequently, there shall not be excess of workmen in one trade and deficiency in others. This is done by making the hours of labour in different trades to differ according to their arduousness. If any particular occupation is in itself so oppressive that in order to induce volunteers to engage in it the day's work must be reduced to ten minutes, this, too, is done. The administration, in taking burdens off one class of workers, and adding them to other classes, simply follows the fluctuations of opinion among the workers themselves, as indicated by the rate of volunteering.

But who does the house-work? No difficulty here. There is none to do. Washing is done at public laundries at excessively cheap rates, and cooking at public kitchens. The making and repairing of wearing apparel is done at public shops. Electricity, of course, is used for lighting. In the splendid

public building, where every family has its private dining-room, the waiters are young men in the unclassified grade of the industrial army who are assignable to all sorts of miscellaneous occupations not requiring special skill. No objection is made because no difference is recognized between the dignity of the different sorts of work. The individual never regards himself as the servant of those he serves; it is always the nation he is serving.

Now comes the question of distribution and wages. No wages are paid, as there is no money. Every person, skilled or unskilled—workmen, women, invalids included—receives an equal share of the general product of the nation, and a credit-card is given him, with which he procures at the public store-houses whatever he desires. The value of what he procures is checked off by the clerk. It is required of each that he shall make the same effort and give the best service in his power. Now that industry is no longer self-service, but service of the nation, patriotism, passion for humanity, impel the worker. The army of industry is an army, not alone by virtue of its perfect organization, but by reason also of the ardour of self-devotion which animates its members. Honours, instead of the love of money, prompt the supreme kinds of effort. Then diligence in the national service is the sole and certain way to public repute, social distinction, and official power.

The general production is largely increased by many causes. There are no idlers, rich or poor, no drones. The commodities, as soon as they are produced, go directly to the stores, where they are taken up by the customers, so there are no merchants, no agents, no middle men of any sort. The eighteenth, instead of the eighth, part of the workers suffices for the entire process of distribution. There is no waste of labour and capital by misdirected industry, or by the struggle of competition; there are no crises of over-production, as only the commodities that are wanted are produced according to the general view of the industrial field. What a difference of productive efficiency between innumerable barbarian hordes, always at war, the one against the other, and a disciplined army whose soldiers are marching all together in the same direction under one great general!

But how is an equilibrium established between demand and supply? Precisely as it is now. When any article is in great demand, the price is raised. Generally the work necessary to produce a commodity is recognized as the legitimate basis of its price. It is no longer the difference of wages that makes the difference in the cost of labour, it is the relative number of hours constituting a day's work in different trades, the maintenance of the worker being equal in all cases. The cost of a man's work in a trade is difficult, that in order to attract volunteers the hours have to be paid at four per day, is twice as great as that in a trade where the

It may be objected that in the new system, the parents not having to provide for the future of their family, there is nothing to encourage saving habits on the part of the citizens. That is true, but individual savings are no longer necessary, nor, except in special cases, permitted; the nation guarantees the nurture, the education and comfortable maintenance of every citizen; and, as the total production is greater than the consumption of wealth, the net surplus is employed by the State in enlarging the productive capital—*i.e.*, in establishing new railways, bridges, mills, and improved machinery, and also in public works and amusements, in which all share, such as public halls and buildings, clubs, art galleries, great theatrical and musical exhibitions, and every kind of recreation for the people. For example, the principle of labour saving by co-operation has been applied to the musical service as to everything else. There are a number of music-rooms in every city, perfectly adapted acoustically to every sort of music. These halls are connected by telephone with all the houses whose inhabitants care to pay a small fee. The corps of musicians attached to each hall is so large that, although the individual performer or group of performers has no more than a brief part, each day's programme lasts through the twenty-four hours. Every bedchamber has a telephone attached at the head of the bed, by which any person who may be sleepless can command music at pleasure, and can make a selection suited to his mood.

As will have been noticed, Mr. Bellamy reproduces several features of previous Utopias: universal harmony, distribution of occupation according to individual aptitudes, equality of reward, universal ease and comfort, reduction of hours of labour; suppression of idleness, of competition, of the struggle for life, and also of money; the splendour and commodiousness of the palatial habitations, even to the detail of the music, which all are able to enjoy. There is a little pamphlet, very ably and eloquently written, though little read at the present day, which clearly explains the basis of the new state of society to which Mr. Bellamy introduces us under cover of a tale. This little work, by M. Louis Blanc, is entitled "*L'Organisation du Travail*."

Let us now examine what are the objections which our author's views call forth. There are two principal ones: the first referring to the allotment of functions, and the second to the distribution of produce.

We shall begin by taking the first of these two points. In the Church, as in the army, the chief authority has the granting of appointments. In China this is settled by examination. But the difficulty would be far greater in the new society, for every branch of production would have to be included, and would be open to every one, all having received the same education. It is quite clear that all the pleasanter trades and professions would be taken up, and there would be no one to fill the less desirable ones. Mr. Bellamy has discovered

a means of obviating this difficulty, not yet thought of by his predecessors, which is to reduce the hours of labour in proportion as the work to be done is less attractive, even if the day's work had to be brought down to only a "few minutes;" but very often it would be impossible to apply this system. Consider the miner, for instance: the hours of labour would have to be exceedingly short for men to be willing to work in a colliery; this would entail an endless procession of relays of workmen going up and down the shafts; and it would be impossible to work the mine. The same argument applies to the workers in steamships; it would be necessary to embark for each voyage a whole regiment of stokers. And the puddlers and the workmen in rolling-mills, &c.? Nevertheless, the principle of reducing the hours of labour in proportion as labour is less pleasant is certainly just, and might be applied in a certain measure in any rational industrial organization.

The chief objection (and this is absolute) is to the system of remuneration, which is nothing more or less than the communistic formula: *From each according to his strength, to each according to his requirements*; applied practically, this becomes equality of wages. Personal interest is the great mainspring of the economic world. A workman only does all he possibly can when the reward is in adequate proportion to the work accomplished. This is perhaps very sad, but it is undoubtedly true. Here are two facts in proof of it.

After the revolution of 1848, Louis Blanc started a workshop where these principles of equality were practised. The wages were the same for all, but the names of all idlers were written up on the walls. All work was very well paid for, as he had an order from the State to supply uniforms for the National Guard.

At the outset all went very well. The workmen were sincere and ardent Socialists, who made it a point of honour that the experiment of the new system should be a success; but very soon this good understanding came to an end. Those who were more industrious or quicker than their companions accused the latter of idleness; they felt themselves victims of injustice, for the remuneration was not in proportion to the zeal and activity displayed. They were being "cheated and duped," and this was intolerable; hence quarrels, arguments, and fights. The temple of brotherhood was transformed into a sort of boxing booth—"boite aux gifles," which is, as is known, the name given to the building where the citizens of Geneva meet together for the exercise of their sovereign rights.

Another example. Marshal Bugeaud founded at Beni-Mered, in Algeria, a military colony on a communistic footing. The settlers were all picked men, and he supplied them with all they needed for the cultivation of the soil. Land, cattle, agricultural implements, the produce of the harvests, everything in fact, was to be owned, and all

work carried on in common for the space of three years. The plan was excellent. It, nevertheless, turned out a failure. Although the colonists were soldiers, accustomed to discipline, passive obedience, and equal pay, and without private home or family, still they could not go through the communistic novitiate to the end. As they were engaged in pursuits other than their military exercises, the spirit of innovation and the taste for amelioration soon made themselves manifest. Each one wished to cultivate according to his own notion, and they reproached each other with not doing the work well. The marshal vainly explained that it was to their own advantage to work in common, in order to overcome the first difficulties of starting the settlement, and to realize the economies ensured by a wise division of labour: it was of no avail; the association had to be dissolved, although it had so far brought in profits.

It is true that Mr. Bellamy does not wholly ignore two most powerful incentives of human actions—punishment and reward. Referring to punishment he writes, “A man able to do duty and persistently refusing is cut off from all human society?” Does this mean that idlers are put to death, or merely sent to prison, or allowed to starve? At all events, it is compulsion of some sort. Who is to apply it, or to judge when it is necessary? Certainly, men would in all probability rarely refuse to do any work at all; but those who do as little as possible, or do it badly, are they to be punished, or to receive the same salary, or rather be credited with the same amount as the others? The State could not send away a bad workman, as it can do now; for, there being no private enterprises, this dismissal would be equivalent to capital punishment. When remuneration is in proportion to the work accomplished, diligence and activity are encouraged, whereas an equal rate of wages is a premium on idleness.

But, argues Mr. Bellamy, honour is a sufficient reward in itself; for men will sacrifice everything, even their lives, for it. It is perfectly true that honour has inspired the most sublime acts and heroic deeds which have called forth universal admiration; but honour can never become the motive power of work or the mainspring of industry. It will not conquer selfish instincts, or overcome instinctive repugnance for certain categories of labour, or the dislike to the wearing monotony of the daily task. It may make a hero, but not a workman.

I am not unaware that a system very similar to that of Mr. Bellamy has been known to work very well, for instance in Peru, and in “The Missions” in Paraguay, where the Jesuits had most admirably disciplined the Indians. The latter worked in common, under the guidance of the Jesuit Fathers, who then distributed the produce amongst all the families. It was a complete dictatorship, which

no scope for either liberty or individual initiative.* The Indians were certainly materially far better off than are our workmen. And yet Bougainville, who visited them, reports that they looked unhappy, "like animals caught in a trap." Besides, can it be supposed for a moment that the men of the twentieth century would accept such a system of theocracy?

As Sir Henry Maine states, Peru is the best example known of the collective system having been successful.† When the Spaniards conquered the country they found it admirably cultivated—not only the rainless plains along the coasts, but also all the high table-lands and the narrow valleys running between some of the gigantic peaks of the Andes—and the people enjoying a somewhat peculiar, but certainly advanced, state of civilization. Many monuments and extensive public works had been erected; and this was the more extraordinary seeing the inhabitants knew of no metals besides gold and silver. A complete system of irrigation brought water from the highlands down to the arid plains of the coast, where agriculture was, consequently, very successfully carried on. One of these canals was really prodigious, going underground, crossing rivers, and running through mountains for a distance of about 500 English miles. The ruins of the palaces and temples still to be met with always astonish travellers.

The following were the principal characteristics of the economic system in vogue there. The soil, which was almost the sole source of wealth, belonged to the State. It was divided into three parts: the first was applied for the maintenance of the temples and priests of the Sun, the second for the Sovereign and the nobility, and the third for the people, as a temporary privilege, they being obliged in return to cultivate all the land without exception, as was the case with us in the Middle Ages. The land was divided afresh every year among all the families, according to their requirements, as was the case with the Germans in the time of Julius Cæsar: "*Magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri attribuant, atque anno post alio transire cogunt.*"—" *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 22.

Very exact registers were kept of the different plots of ground,

* See Charleroix, "*Histoire du Paraguay*," 1768; Muratori, "*Relation des Missions du Paraguay*," 1754; A Kobler, "*Der Christliche Communismus in der Reducionen von Paraguay*," 1879.

† "There are two sets of motives, and two only, by which the great bulk of the materials of human subsistence and comfort have hitherto been produced and reproduced. One has led to the cultivation of the Northern States of the American Union from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the other had a considerable share in bringing about the agricultural and industrial progress of the Southern States, and in old days it produced the wonderful prosperity of Peru under the Incas. One system is economical competition, the other consists in the daily task, perhaps fairly and kindly allotted, but enforced by the prison or the scourge. So far as we have any experience to teach us, we are driven to the conclusion that every society of men must adopt one system or another, or it will pass through penury to starvation."—*Popular Government*.

and the number of members of each family, so that the division might be made on a perfectly equitable basis. Each family was also allowed a certain amount of guano from the Chinchas Islands for manuring the land. All agricultural labour was carried on under the direction of the authorities, and the first to receive attention was the ground which was to serve for the support of the aged, the widows and orphans, the sick, or those employed in the service of the State. Maize was cultivated on even the most abrupt slopes of the mountains, which were covered with terraces, supported by enormous blocks of rock and stone, and then filled with fertile earth from the valleys. The State supplied each dwelling with wearing apparel and with the necessary implements of labour. There were neither rich nor poor; every one had sufficient to live comfortably, but without a surplus permitting accumulation.

Idleness was a punishable offence. There was no coinage; gold and silver were used for ornaments, or were deposited in the temples. Exchanges were made at regular monthly fairs, by bartering. The Government gave out raw materials to artisans and to women, who made these into manufactured articles, under the supervision of overseers appointed by Government.

The population was divided into communities of families, similar to the Zadrugas of the Yougo-Slavs. These numbered about 1000 members each, who lived together in immense dwellings, the ruins of which may still be found in parts of Central America, reminding one of ants' nests. On fête days large banquets brought together the inhabitants of the same canton, like the *Syssities* in Greece.

The administration we have just briefly sketched was not strictly communistic, for each family cultivated the plot of ground annually assigned to it on its own account; but, setting aside this very small concession to individual life, the whole of the economic activity of the country was under State direction. And yet, in the Peru of the Incas, agriculture was more advanced, the population and riches were greater, there was more general well-being and a more materially advanced civilisation, than either under the Spanish dominion or even at the present day. Here, as in that marvellous Egypt of the Pharaohs, where are to be admired monuments far surpassing in grandeur and magnificence all those of other nations, we can see what can be accomplished by the collective labour of an entire nation, under the sole and concentrated direction of the Government or of one superior order. Only the administration here referred to was of that "stationary" kind which Mill says we must not attack, but which is in direct opposition to the ardent love of change and progress so characteristic of the modern man. Amongst all the transformations and revolutions which are leading him to an ideal condition, scarcely yet foreseen, he will suffer, it is true, but he is not likely to suffer far so much as he would under the present system of Peru.

The eminent professor of philosophy at the University of Lausanne, M. Charles Secrétan, whose writings on social questions are so highly appreciated, has also yielded to the temptation of writing "his Utopia," which is not so far removed from reality as Mr. Bellamy's. Being tired, he falls asleep on the enchanting banks of Lake Lemman. When he awakes he is accosted by a stranger, whose appearance is somewhat singular; he has the high forehead and penetrating eye of a philosopher, and the hard rough hands of a working-man. The sleeper is surprised, and proceeds to question him. The philosopher explains that the social state into which he is now transported is very different from that of the nineteenth century. Men divide their days into two parts: one is devoted to manual labour, and the other to intellectual pursuits and the culture of the mind. Although the young men's education is very complete, they are all taught a trade, which they exercise later on in life; and this only raises them in the estimation of their fellow-citizens.

Nowadays, when every one works, said the blacksmith philosopher, six hours' labour suffices for each man to maintain his family in comfort. Machinery is always kept going in the workshops, batches of workmen taking each their turn. You see, he continued, we have no more drones, nor landed proprietors with their toadies, nor capitalists, nor parasites of any description, nor beggars, nor workmen without work. The accumulation of capital is not forbidden, but the rate of interest has fallen so low that, for a man to be able to live on his revenue, he must possess an exceptionally large fortune. Besides, wages are very high, the average being about £120 a year. All land, and even the houses to let, belong to the State, which "nationalized" them, indemnifying the former owners. This operation was commenced in Ireland, where it answered so well that it was adopted everywhere else. As for manufactured industries, these are carried on by co-operative associations. All the workmen of a mine, or a factory, are more or less part owners in it; the manager, the officials, and workmen, are all shareholders to the amount of their savings; and these savings commence on the day they first begin work in the establishment, by a certain amount being held back from their pay. Only those taken in occasionally as extra hands receive their full wages. The transition from the old industrial system to the new was effected almost imperceptibly. The struggle between capitalists and workmen had become so violent, and strikes so frequent, that the chiefs of industries saw no other course open to them than to interest all their men in the undertaking, by giving them a share in the profits. This share given to the workmen made them shareholders in the business, and the former owners became directors. In this manner the firms in which participation in profits was introduced were changed into co-operative societies during the lifetime, and

under the auspices of, their former owners. Thus the producer became possessed of the means of production, and ownership, without which there can be no real liberty, was universal in the association, each receiving, in this way, the full value of the work he contributed. Custom-house dues being abolished, each country strove to develop those branches of industry for which its climate and the aptitudes of its inhabitants best suited it. The balance between supply and demand is very well established, because, as statistics make known the amount of consumption, the production is regulated accordingly. All the branches of one industry in a country form a sort of association; and this arrangement has put a stop to that merciless competition which permitted a few millionaires to enrich themselves at the cost of thousands of their fellow-creatures, who were obliged to labour for the exclusive profit of their masters. The great number of hours of labour employed in making articles of luxury, which vanity and self-indulgence required, are now occupied in producing things of real utility. Thus the general well-being is considerably increased, and the portion assigned to each is in proportion to the work done.

M. Charles Secrétan's Utopia seems to answer very generally to the ideal foreseen for the future by those who have faith in the ulterior progress of the human race. The nationalization, or rather the "communalization," of land does not appear to present very great difficulties. In a recent letter to the *Times* (November 12, 1889), Sir Louis Mallet, who most earnestly opposes this measure, explains very clearly that, in order to appreciate an institution, it must be seen whether it makes responsibility effective, and whether it tends to maintain the balance between supply and demand. But from this point of view it makes very little difference whether the tenant pay his rent to a landlord, to a college, to a city corporation, to a commune, or to a county council. In Russia and Prussia the State owns a great number of farms, which it lets in the same way as any ordinary landlord. The stimulus to work and the responsibility are the same in both cases. Raise the tax on property so as to swallow up nearly the whole rent, and you will change nothing in the working of the economic machinery, only the commune, the county, or the State, will be richer to the amount by which the landlords are poorer. The only question affecting the general welfare is this: Would the revenue from land be more advantageously laid out by the public authorities than by the present owners? *

Difficulties only become great when the domain of industry is approached. Co-operative societies, which would take upon themselves the management of manufacturing enterprises, have hitherto

* The advantage and disadvantage of Land Nationalization are completely discussed in the new edition of M. Pierson's *Traité de l'Économie Politique*, "Leerboek der Staatshuishoudkunde." M. Pierson is General Secretary of the Netherlands' Bank.

succeeded only in exceptional cases. They are wanting in two essential conditions: capacity and authority in the administration, and a spirit of discipline and obedience in the workmen. We may hope, with M. Secrétan, that, thanks to education and to experience gradually acquired, the working-classes will, by degrees, attain the necessary qualifications for the management of industries, without being obliged to have recourse to capitalists; and, from the moment this is the case, the social transformation will be brought about peacefully and inevitably, like all previous economic revolutions.

The rapid and extraordinary success in all the Anglo-Saxon world of Mr. Bellamy's book—240,000 copies sold in the States, and 40,000 in England at this date—which recalls that of Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," is a symptom well worthy of attention. It proves that the optimism of old-fashioned economists has entirely lost the authority it formerly possessed. It is no longer believed that, in virtue of the "laissez faire" principle, everything will arrange itself for the best of all possible worlds.

People feel that there is, in very truth, a "social" question; that is to say, that the division of the good things of this world is not in accordance with the laws of justice, and that something ought to be done to increase the share of the principal agents of production, the workmen. An author little known, but who deserves to be better known in England, Dupont White, the translator of several of Stuart Mill's political writings,* has, in one of his books, published so long ago as 1846, perfectly characterized this fresh sentiment, which was even then gaining a place in men's convictions. He says:—

"It was hoped that the increase in the production of riches would secure satisfaction to all, but nothing of the sort has taken place; discontent is greater and more deeply-rooted than ever. From this deceived hope has been born a new science; it may be called a social science, or it may even be said that it is not a science at all; but it is quite certain that *charity in laws* is a notion which in our days should be a fundamental doctrine; for, beyond the pale of all sects of socialists, it has sown in all hearts a feeling of uneasiness, of anxiety and care, an unknown emotion respecting the suffering classes, which has become matter of public conscience."

As for Mr. Bellamy's dream, it will, I fear, remain always a Utopia, unless man's heart be entirely transformed. His ideal is pure communism, and, as such, raises invincible objections, as I shall try to show in a future article.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

* The translation was really made by Madame Sadi Carnot, the gifted wife of the President of the French Republic. She translated Mill's "Liberty" and "Representative Government," under the direction of her father, Dupont White. See my account of this great writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1, 1879.

MR. WILKIE COLLINS'S NOVELS.

NEXT to reviewing a book without reading it, the most unfair thing one can do is to read it for the purpose of reviewing it. In an ideal world, if books were criticized at all, it would only be by persons who, after reading them, felt constrained to express their delight or their discontent. The critical spectacles almost inevitably distort the object on which you look through them. The beauty of women, the beauty of landscape, would be no longer the same if you were introduced to a lady or a loch-side after being told that you must go straight home and review them. In attempting to estimate the work of Mr. Wilkie Collins, the present reviewer is under the disadvantage of having read several of his books for the first time, with a critical intention. Yet it is fair to say that the impression left on the mind, after a somewhat forced march through several romances, is precisely what it was when the regretted death of Mr. Collins made every one think of his performances as a whole. He still remains a most conscientious, and careful, and ingenious constructor of plots, a writer with a respect for his art, and deeply concerned with its processes. We still find in him a man with an almost bitter sense of human unhappiness, a man whose favourite characters are at odds with the world. We still recognize that, in his best books, he is not incapable of humour, and it must still be added that, in general, he "jocked wi' deeficulty," as the Scotch editor confessed about himself. His methods do not cease to force on us the old sense of their difficulties. We cannot accept it as natural that so many persons should write such copious diaries, that criminals should establish minute indictments against themselves by committing every detail of their schemes to paper and ink. Giddy people *do* neglect the sound advice "Let Letts alone": but they are not often so elaborate in their

confessions. Mr. Collins's method is that of Mr. Browning in "The Ring and the Book." His characters view the same set of circumstances, but with very different eyes. The method has its obvious advantages and disadvantages; perhaps it is most artfully worked in "The Woman in White." Again, after reading and re-reading, one keeps one's old opinion—that for a writer so conscientious and careful, Mr. Wilkie Collins was but rarely successful in the full measure of his success. A few of his short stories, his "Woman in White," his "No Name," and, above all, doubtless, "The Moonstone"—reach a level of ingenuity and of interest which the many others fall very far short of. The humorous passages, for example, in "Armada" and "Hide and Seek" are very laboured and melancholy. The unsympathetic quality of his characters is exaggerated in Zack Thorpe, and Matthew Grice, and Midwinter, and Allan Armada. The very construction becomes a mass of coincidences, which have a cumulative weight of impossibility far more grievous than the frank postulates of fantastic romances, such as "Frankenstein," or "Avatar," or "La Peau de Chagrin." These conclusions are absolutely forced on a dispassionate reader, in spite of all the pleasure and excitement which he derives from Mr. Wilkie Collins at his best. Yet the novels remain most instructive reading, one may suppose, to a novelist who is concerned with the technique of construction, as the author himself was.

There are certain ideas, combinations, and *trucs* which constantly preoccupied the author. He wished to excite and sustain curiosity as to a secret; or, again, he liked to foreshadow the progress of the story, and then to interest the reader in the fulfilment of what had been foreshadowed. This latter is the process in "No Name" and in "Armada"; the former is the process in "The Moonstone" and "The Woman in White." In these aims Mr. Collins competes with M. Gaboriau, and with M. Fortuné du Boisgobey. But he escapes Gaboriau's defect, his habit of first powerfully exciting curiosity, and then explaining inexplicable circumstances by going back almost as far as the First Crusade. Nor does Mr. Collins, like M. Boisgobey, secure his secret by making some person act quite out of character, as in that very clever tale, "Le Crime de l'Opéra." Perhaps even "The Moonstone" is not more craftily wrought than "Les Esclaves de Paris," and it would be false patriotism to set Mr. Collins above M. Gaboriau in the qualities that were common to both. But there are defects in M. Gaboriau's manner which Mr. Collins escaped. The vehement admirer of Mr. Collins may object to the comparison, yet it is almost inevitable. Mr. Collins frequently required for his purposes a character of only occasional sanity, a blind person, or a somnambulist, and he ventured successfully on what M. Gaboriau and Edgar Poe never attempted—fiction of the supernatural. True, he tried to "hed" the supernatural, to leave it hazy, in a dim

penumbra. But any one who wishes to see failure here has only to look at "Armada," while in Hawthorne he will find the same attempt made with success. Another favourite device was to make one character personate another, as in "Armada," and in "The New Magdalen"; but here, again, Mr. Collins did not cope with M. Gaboriau, nor perhaps with Miss Braddon, in "Henry Dunbar." In all but his very best novels his combinations were apt to be too intricate, too like a very difficult game at chess, and in passing from one coincidence to another, we gradually lose our power of belief, and with it, of course, our interest. That Mr. Collins aims frequently at being didactic and reformatory is, of course, not necessarily a fault. But when he attacks society and social verdicts, in "The New Magdalen," he is certainly unfair in his handling of the characters. His repentant and beautiful Magdalen does not repent much of her imposture till she gets into an inextricable position, while her respectable and offensive foil is handicapped by ugliness in opposition to the beauty of the woman who has stolen into her place, and thrown her, destitute, wounded, and morally maimed, on the world. As to "Fallen Leaves," that novel involves much that may excite our partisan feelings in a time of furious debate, and so had better be left out of the question as a work of art. Again, in "Man and Wife," Mr. Collins attacked "athleticism" without really knowing what the life of athletes at the universities is like. To any one who knew them well, who had seen so many of them, not debauched and brutal clods, but men of refinement, sometimes scholars, occasionally wits, interested in most of the arts, and capable, as time has declared, of taking and making honourable positions in life, the satire of "Man and Wife" seemed blunt and ignorant. There may have been muscular clowns like Geoffrey Delamayn, who called out for "a private room and the dumb bells," but the three athletes who gave the first Greek tragedy ever put on English boards were far better representatives of the class.*

As a didactic writer, Mr. Collins injured his art somewhat, and probably did little to refine athletics, or to make the word more charitable to such a sinner as his New Magdalen; but what has worst served his fame is, doubtless, the flood of later novels, in which he so decidedly fell below his own standard. But these will be forgotten, while his earlier books may long retain their very wide and deserved popularity. We do not think of "The Surgeon's Daughter," and "Castle Dangerous," when we think of Scott, nor will the future associate Mr. Collins with "The Guilty River," and "Little Novels."

This is not a bibliography, and it is not possible here to examine each of Mr. Collins's novels in detail. "Antonina" and "Basil" were prior to 1854, when his "Hid" appeared. He him-

* Agamemnon won the quarrel with a single stroke of the spear and high jump; Clytemnestra the three miles.

self speaks of it in his Preface, as "an advance in Art on his earlier attempts." If he was right, "Antonina" and "Basil" must be very far indeed below the level which he attained in the middle of his working life.

Mr. Collins had a strong dislike of evangelical religion, or at least of certain developments of it, with which he seems to have been familiar. No one who has met, among people of that faith, the very best, most kindly, and, in spite of the gravest trials, the happiest of his friends, will charge the creed of Miss Clack and Mr. Thorpe with the vices of these two deplorable persons. In "Hide and Seek" the story turns on the early misdeed of a man who appears in the novel as a strict and gloomy sabbatarian fanatic. It is the tale of a secret, and a secret as well kept as it is absurdly discovered. The novel was revised and altered by the author in later editions, but, as now published, it is disagreeable in the drawing of the favoured characters, and in the plot, while it is very far from being well constructed. The deafness and dumbness of the heroine give Mr. Collins a chance of studying the life of a beautiful mute, but her defects lead to nothing. She is not like Fenella, nor La Murette de Portici, nor Nydia in "The Last Days of Pompeii," nor even poor Miss Finch. Had Madonna been possessed of all her faculties, the story need not have been altered in the least, except that Zack might perhaps have fallen in love with her, as she did with him. This would have added to the awkwardness, as they were brother and sister on the father's side. Briefly, and therefore more or less unfairly, stated the plot runs thus: We meet a gloomy fanatic, Mr. Thorpe, who bullies his one son, Zack, with sermons and solemnity. Then we have an artist, Valentine Blyth, whose wife is an invalid, and who has brought up a beautiful deaf and dumb child. She was ten when he adopted her, and her mother was an unwedded outcast, perishing by the wayside. Her one possession was a hair bracelet, with the letters M. G. on the clasps. Zack becomes a rather drunken young rowdy, whom Mr. Collins fails to make amiable. An intimate of Blyth's, he is kind to Madonna, the adopted girl, about three years older than himself. She loses her heart to the unconscious Zack, who leaves his father's house, and becomes sworn brother of a moody wanderer from the Amazon, where, oddly enough, as anthropologists will say, he has been scalped. This man, Mat, is looking everywhere for the seducer of his sister, and in Madonna he sees his dead sister's very image. He is aware that her lover had given her a lock of his hair, and a hair bracelet, and, by aid of a false key, he steals the hair bracelet of Madonna. The resemblance of the hair to Zack's locks leads Mat to conclude correctly that Zack's father was the seducer, and the father of Madonna. Could there be a weaker *αναγνώρισις*; a less plausible recognition and *dénouement*? Such is the plot, however, in

essentials, and of course it cuts off the novelist from the interest of a love story. The wandering Mat is a picturesque figure of a scarred and battered rover; the artist is a pleasantly good-humoured creation; the hero, Zack, needs all our tolerance. Probability is stretched when the seducer explains that he had no idea that he might be about to become a father. "You may think it strange that the suspicion had not occurred to me before. It would seem so no longer, perhaps, if I detailed to you the peculiar system of home education by which my father strictly and conscientiously endeavoured to preserve me, as other young men are not usually preserved, from the moral contaminations of the world." The system of education must indeed have been one-sided.

That any writer could rise rapidly from the composition of "Hide and Seek" to that of "The Woman in White" is as extraordinary as that the author of the "Woman in White" should descend to "Armada," and, again, should climb to the perfection, in its own class, of "The Moonstone." Mr. Collins's career was entirely unlike that of his greater contemporaries. Mr. Thackeray slowly prepared himself, by a series of advances in art, for "Vanity Fair," and then kept "the crown of the causeway" with a series of masterpieces, till he declined in "The Virginians." Mr. Dickens began, as far as public recognition went, with the most delightful explosion of humorous high spirits in the world, then distinguished himself by several immortal stories, then had an interval of partial eclipse, and shone out again in new-lights with "The Tale of Two Cities" and "Great Expectations." Mr. Collins, on the other hand, had done a good deal of not particularly noticeable work for ten years or so before he found himself in "The Woman in White," lost himself in "Armada," excelled himself in "The Moonstone," and, after that, seldom rose much above the level of his earlier essays. His biographer—if he is to have a biographer—may be able partly to explain by reasons of health and circumstance this intermittent brilliance. Whatever its causes, "The Woman in White" is a masterpiece of excitement and ingenuity. From the moment when the white woman flutters across the moonlit heath, within sound of the roar of London, till "Laura, Lady Glyde," stands veiled by her own tombstone, and looks across it at her lover, there is hardly a page in this book but lives with its own mysterious life, and beckons you to follow till the end. It is a rare thing among novels of incident, of secret, and of adventure, to find one that you can read several times. But this is part of the merit of "The Woman in White."

"I have always held," says Mr. Collins, "the old-fashioned opinion that the primary object of a work of fiction should be to tell a story." This opinion will probably outlive most of our perishable institutions. But, Mr. Collins adds, he sees no reason why a novelist who fulfils

this condition should neglect character ; in fact, he held that, given a story, characters *must* be presented. Necessarily they must ; but it is undeniable that a very good story may be told in which little of character, except pluck and endurance, is displayed, the adventures not calling for the exhibition of anything more subtle. In "The Woman in White" some of the characters may border on what are called "character parts" in acting. Count Fosco has tendencies in this direction, so has the admirable little Italian, Professor Pesca. But certainly Marian Halcombe is also a "character," without any touch of caricature, while Anne Catherick herself, with her craze about white, has a high place among the fantastic women of fiction. Even Sir Percival is more than a fair specimen of that favourite *persona*, the bad baronet. He is not so colossally nefarious as the regretted Sir Massingberd, but he will more than pass. "The Woman in White" is, in its way, a masterpiece ; it has even humour, in the Foscos and elsewhere, and redeems the terrors of that picnic on the water, which amazes the reader of "Armada." Though it is a work which we can never forget, we can often return to it ; and it made Mr. Collins for long the most popular favourite in English fiction. It is curious to think over that series of premier novelists who, one after another, have held the top of the market, and been dearest to the booksellers. The reigns of some were long, of others brief indeed. Their names have occasionally been the mark of envying, hatred, and uncharitableness, and some of the masters of the art have never been content to descend from that perilous eminence. Mr. Collins was never ungenerous to his successors, the *novelists*. He was followed by "No Name." As a *novel* it stands far above the common *novels* of his later work. The character of

familiar words passed her lips, Frank came back to her from the sea, and the face of her dead father looked at her with the smile of happy old times; the voices of her mother and her sister talked gently in the fragrant country stillness, and the garden-walks at Combe Raven opened once more on her view. With a faint, wailing cry, she dropped into a chair; her head fell forward on the table, and she burst passionately into tears."

Here, and in the passage where Midwinter declares his love to the beautiful, sinful, battered Miss Gwilt, wakening so many memories of things true and tender, spoiled and betrayed, Mr. Collins, perhaps, comes nearest to the poetry of romance. In this novel, too, are the most humorous of his lighter characters, that esteemed swindler Captain Wragge, and Mrs. Wragge. The scene of Mrs. Wragge's omelette and her struggles with the involved pronouns of the Cookery Book is really diverting.

Mr. Collins acted wisely in not producing "The Moonstone" while, "No Name" was fresh in his readers' memories. For the scene of the sleepwalking-admiral, in "No Name," really contains the key to the mystery of "The Moonstone," just as Miss Gwilt, *dans la peau d'une autre*, suggests the central idea of "The New Magdalen." Between "No Name" and "The Moonstone" came "Armada," written when the author was at the height of his reputation, to which it added little or nothing.

Few men can follow one prodigious hit by another great. "Armada," which appeared in the *Cornhill*, was a great success to my own thinking, a terrible descent. Mr. Stowe, in his review, acknowledges its "superb ingenuity," but its ingenuity seems to me far too ingenuously ingenious to boggle at an impossibility, and to say "miracles do not happen." Yet the novel was a late, and few people will cens

endurable than her admirer. Miss Gwilt herself saves the story, which becomes alive when she enters it, and, with all her crimes on her head, she is infinitely the most human and agreeable of the persons in this sordid affair. The destruction of three able-bodied heirs in a fortnight, one by an accidental chill, two by an avalanche, rivals some performances with African lightning in its rough and ready slap-dash. The theory of "hereditary superstition" is strained to breaking, but on it the whole weight of the plot depends. The letters between Mrs. Oldershaw and Miss Gwilt are scarcely more possible than the diary to which the murderess confesses her crimes. There is nobody in the book to like or admire, unless Miss Gwilt be the person, or unless we repose on the bosom of Pedgift the younger. Mr. Collins endeavoured to defend his series of coincidences by an example from real life. In "Armada" the heir is to be poisoned by sleeping in a room charged with poisoned air, and three men, as the story was running, were actually poisoned by foul air, in a ship called the *Armada*. Much more astonishing coincidences have occurred than that; but "Armada" is one tissue of succeeding coincidences. The cumulative effect produces incredulity and indifference, and we are vexed by the number of persons who spy, listen, and overhear what was not meant for them. And for humour, we have "the curate, with a ghastly face, and a hand pressed convulsively over the middle region of his waistcoat"

"Armada" was much more than redeemed by "The Moonstone." Here we have good romance in the very presence of the Diamond, as fatal a thing as the dwarf Andvari's ring in the Saga. The Indians, wandering in and out, impress one more, I think, than our new Hindoo visitor, Secundra Dass. The sudden appearance of Mr. Godfrey Ablewhite, in the guise of a sailor, was, to myself, the most complete and pleasant surprise in the whole range of the surprises of fiction. When one first read the story, one resented the explanation, the sleep-walking, as a disappointment. Already the idea had been used, when Jack Ingoldsby's breeches vanished night by night, in the "Ingoldsby Legends." M. Boisgobey has employed it in "L'Affaire Matapan," and Mr. Collins had used it in "No Name." Still, probably few readers guessed at the truth, so cunningly were all sorts of false and plausible clues suggested. As for the humour of the story, Miss Clack is somewhat mechanical and exaggerated. Mr. Collins makes her too profuse a writer in "the *patois* of Zion." The old butler with his "Robinson Crusoe" is rather a bore, like most characters marked with too pronounced tricks. Mr. Collins did not abuse this method of "individualizing" his persons nearly so much as Mr. Dickens often did, though he occasionally made the thing wearisome. Of the later part of the story I have not my intention to speak. The ingenuity of "Poor Miss" does not reconcile us to the manifest and gro-

tesque "machinery" of the blind girl and the blue lover. She is too "in and out" in her blindness, and he too much excels mankind "in azure feats," as Mr. Browning puts it. The unfairness of "The New Magdalen" has already been hinted at: there is interest and great resource, however, in the ups and downs of the central narrative.

Nobody can write romances for thirty-five years without vicissitudes in the fortunes of his works, without varieties in his inspiration and his skill. Mr. Collins was fortunate enough not to attract the attention of the literary wrecker. He may have been saved from the dangers of success by his conscientious endeavour, in each new tale, to do his very best. As to that best, one cannot equal it with the excellence of Dickens, of Thackeray, of George Eliot, of Charles Reade, or even of Anthony Trollope. The *genre* of novel to which Mr. Collins devoted himself was lower than theirs. In even his best work there is, or I seem to be aware of, a kind of professional hardness, for there is no charm in his style, and there is much premeditation in his humour. We cannot all admire all things equally, and it seems a pity that we should quarrel as much as we do over our tastes in fiction. A man can, in the end, only express an honest opinion, and I must own that I read Mr. Collins's greatest books with much pleasure and excitement, but without much enthusiasm; while in his less fortunate novels, his manner wearies me, and his method is too nakedly conspicuous. There are even two or three stories by the comparatively neglected Mr. Sheridan Le Fanu which I would rate as high as Mr. Collins's best; there are scenes of Mr. Le Fanu's far more deeply and terribly stamped on the memory; there are secrets as cunningly hidden; and in the volume "In a Glass Darkly" Mr. Le Fanu's command of the supernatural contrasts gloriously with Mr. Collins's failures. Both men were masters in their school, but by some caprice of taste, some accident of vogue, the author of "Uncle Silas" never won such rewards as fell to the author of "The Woman in White."

Both are gone; they have left no man to take their precise place in that art which, even in living hands, has diverted the camp-fires of Australian cattle drovers, has consoled the latest hours of statesmen outworn, and dying emperors, which opens to all of us, as the Zulu wizards say, "the gates of distance," and gives us the entry of undiscovered lands. For these benefits the least thing we can do, and frequently the last thing we do, is to be grateful.

ANDREW LANG.

1890]

BROTHERHOODS.

NEW proposals are strange revealers of human character. The proposal for the establishment of Brotherhoods is no exception. Those who have watched the discussion must have been amused, if they were not edified, by the variety of the comments which the proposal evoked. The philanthropic was distressed to find that the merits of the proposal were obscured by the acrimony which was displayed. The zealous, though they are always zealous, are always zealous for certain narrow class of subjects.

it was not right to ask a clergyman to take his wife, in which to bring up his children; but if men could live together for a certain number of years, there would not only be a saving of expense, but they would afford each other the mutual help and sympathy they so much needed."* The Church, it has been declared times without number, cannot overtaken the work which the rapid accumulation of town populations has thrown upon her. "How are we to reach the masses" has been a kind of commonplace of Church Congresses. The density of the population, the celerity with which towns have expanded, the strange and abnormal conditions of life which this state of things has caused, have thrown upon the Church work and duties which have strained the machinery, and for which it is declared the existing plant is wholly inadequate. This state of things is perplexing, and, from the rapidity with which it has come about, it is bewildering also. The multitudes gathered in our great towns are beheld by some with alarm, by others with compassion, and with a deep and perplexed sense of responsibility. Practical heathenism, lowered morals, enfeebled vitality, dull, spiritless, pleasureless existence are mentioned among the results. The plans which the philanthropist suggests are too often rank heresies in the eyes of the political economist, while it must be confessed that the political economist can offer in their place. Doubtless there are remedies of these, heal this miserable condition. There are great unseen forces in the world, and a more judicious distribution of them, slowly, and growth

phrase; and it is no less undignified on the part of others to find in the discussion an opportunity of discrediting men whose very jealousy of innovation is evidence of their attachment to the Church in which they have laboured.

All this is unfortunate, and it is illogical. It is never wise to speak before we know; it is always foolish to criticise what has not been proposed. Critics, in this case, might have remembered that it was just possible that those who were responsible for the suggestion did know a little history, and were not wholly ignorant of the dangers resulting from this or kindred proposals. At the same time it must be admitted that the proposal has been put forth in some quarters, with phrases which could not fail to arouse suspicion. The Bishop of Durham, in his observations on the proposal, deprecated this flaunting of a red rag in a matter which needs above all things calm and judicial consideration.

It may allay some of the not unnaturally aroused suspicion to recall certain facts. It is a mistake, for instance, to suppose that community-life is the exclusive practice of any one portion of Christendom. Religious bodies, which cannot be suspected of Ultramontane leanings, possess institutions of the kind. There are religious communities at Kaiserwerth and Strasbourg which are in connection with the Lutheran Church. There are similar institutions at Paris and Echellins which are connected respectively with the French and Swiss Reformed Churches. It is, further, a mistake to suppose that institutions like the Religious Houses or Brotherhoods were favoured only by one party in the Church of England. Among those who lifted up his voice for their continuance was the stout-hearted reformer, Latimer. Organizations of young men, devout and devoted to good works, in the seventeenth century, were recognized with approval by Bishop Beveridge as well as by Bishop Ken, by Stillingfleet as well as Tenison.

But while unreasoning alarm is to be deprecated, the risks ought to be considered.

If it needs to be constantly remembered that there is nothing which is necessarily Roman in the idea of Brotherhoods, it is no less necessary to observe the cautions and warnings which the history of such institutions reveals. We are neither to be deterred from making an experiment by the cry that it is Roman, nor are we to be blinded to the risks which we encounter by the eagerness of those who only welcome the proposal for the very reason which in others awakens alarm. There are dangers; and the evidence which is the most striking is that which comes from the Latin Church itself. It would be simple madness to ignore the lessons of the past. In the twelfth century, Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, requested Pope Alexander VIII. to dissolve the monastery of Grestain, on the ground that it was past reformation.

At the close of the fourteenth century Nicolas de Clamenges charged the monasteries with being scenes of waste, idleness, and drunkenness. The Councils of Constance and Basel approved the statements of Bridget of Sweden, when she depicted the dark and low condition of the religious houses. In the sixteenth century a Committee of Cardinals (Reginald Pole was one of the number) expressed their opinion that the religious houses ought to be abolished. In the eighteenth century Scipio de Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia, excommunicated the Dominican friars, and forbade their officiating in his diocese. But perhaps the most remarkable illustration of all is one derived from our own days :—

“The total number of monasteries, &c., suppressed in Italy down to the close of 1882 was 2255, involving an enormous displacement of property and dispersion of inmates. And yet there is some reason to think that the State did but do roughly and harshly what the Church should have done more gradually and wisely; for the judgment passed on the dissolution by Pius IX. himself, in speaking to an English Roman Catholic bishop, was : ‘It was the devil’s work; but the good God will turn it into a blessing, since their destruction was the only reform possible to them.’”*

It will be understood that I am not alluding to these for any controversial purpose. The lessons which such facts suggest are the common heritage of all Christian bodies; they shed light on the laws and conditions of human nature. It is interesting in this connection to recall a parallel from Oriental experience. In the East, as in the West, the risk arising from a disregard of simple principles is illustrated. The organization of the cloister was a powerful aid in the advancement of Buddhism, but only so long as the spirit of missionary zeal existed. When that ceased, monasticism became a hindrance instead of a help. In proportion as the “tendency to expansion of the Buddhist Church grew fainter, monasticism became a barrier in the way of every sound development, and thus the cause of utter stagnation.”

Thus the forgetfulness of the conditions of life avenges itself sooner or later. There is a Quixotic disregard of laws which is sometimes called zeal. A man may run full tilt against a windmill with impunity, but the probability is that he will get the worst of the encounter. One man, or one group of men, may achieve what would be hopeless for others to attempt. The rule observed by one may be disastrous to the thousands, who, under the influence of some passing excitement or eager emotion, take upon themselves a burden which experience may show was too grievous for them to bear. Lifelong vows appear to me to be of this nature, when the vow involves that which is not necessary for righteousness’ sake. The Convocation of Canterbury has realized this danger, and has pronounced against a system of lifelong vows. There is wisdom in this decision. To make a lifelong vow, in a matter which is neither within the survey of experience

* See Article on Monasteries in “Encyclopædia Britannica.”

nor in the statute book of universal righteousness, is (if I may use an old-fashioned phrase belonging to an age of greater faith and less fussiness than the present) to tempt Providence. We may be asked if there is not such a thing as a call to celibacy. I have no doubt of it. Our Lord's words are sufficient for me on the matter; but he who is so called needs no vow: the call will be evidenced in the fact of his life. And it is to be remembered that a man may be called to be a father of saints who does not know of his calling till he is far advanced in life. To make a vow which anticipates or prevents the calling of Providence savours of little faith, not of large faith, and has in it a flavour of self-will rather than that spirit which waits on the will of Him who, though He orders the whole life, yet veils from us His leadings from period to period.

To put the same thought from another standpoint, it is an unquestioned law of man's development that his powers, capacities, and necessities do not ripen in every man alike, in the same fashion, or at the same time. There are men who are boys in some of their qualities and powers till they have passed two-score years. Such do not waken to the consciousness of power or the possession of their complete manhood till they have reached, perhaps, the middle arch of life. To bind a man with a lifelong vow on matters which are hardly yet within the range of his own self-consciousness appears to me to be an act of at least doubtful wisdom.

But here it is urged that these exceptional cases may be met by exceptional means—the vows may be made dispensable by proper authority. Against this I entertain the very strongest objection. To do this is to weaken the sense of the sanctity of a vow, by dangling before the eyes of him who makes it the possibility that what is said to be lifelong need not be so in reality. To do this is to throw upon another a responsibility which, in the nature of the case, he cannot bear. To do this is to trifle with the most sacred thing on earth—the sanctity of a man's own conscience.

Might we not say that the very suggestion of dispensable vows bears strong witness against the proposal to make vows lifelong? The same difficulty does not exist when a time-limit is introduced into the agreement, so long as the limit is not a very distant one. If a society is to have sustained and continuous life in its work, those who join it ought to give a definite length of service. This seems both wise and needful. There ought to be no objection and no difficulty in the introduction of common-sense and business-like agreements as to the length of service. There are thousands who sign agreements to serve in particular places at special work for a specified period. An agreement of this sort, by whatever name it is called, ought not to rouse suspicion or jealousy. If the work is religious, the promise might well be made during some religious service. In

any case, the promise to do religious work might surely be viewed as a promise to be religiously kept, and as having an obligation at any rate as binding as that which binds men in the military and civil service. It is unfortunately too much the custom to regard a promise in matters of religion as something which is only binding as long as it is convenient. Opposed as I am to lifelong vows, and disposed to regard vows of all kinds as indicating not a higher, but a lower, stage of religious life, I should be thankful to see a sterner sense of the nature of the obligations of religious service, and a sturdier determination to discharge such obligations, come fair, come foul, at home and abroad.

But this leads to another lesson which the history of religious movements most surely teaches, and which our own experience must, I think, confirm. We are in danger, nevertheless, of forgetting it. The value of organization, in one sense, cannot be exaggerated, and it has been argued that the power of such institutions depends on their being recognized as part of the organization of the Church. This has been urged recently. "These institutions flourished as long as their discipline was maintained; they drooped because they depended on individual exertion and piety." So writes Mr. T. Gambier Parry. What was wanted, says Mr. Huntingdon, was recognition and authority.*

There is doubtless truth in this view; but the other side must not be forgotten. Organization is not everything. Alone it is entirely valueless. We touch here a question which lies at the root of many problems. It has constantly been misunderstood; and misunderstanding is perilous. We organize free institutions, and we are disappointed to find that happiness is not secured to mankind by their existence. We organize Church work; and we are pained to find that organization does not always mean effectiveness. Pain and disappointment might have been avoided if we had been more ready to learn the lesson of history. Organization may afford great scope to life, and richer results to energy; but organization will not produce saints, nor the establishing of Brotherhoods create piety. Law made nothing perfect; rules cannot make evangelists. The order and the rule come after saintship, and rarely, if ever, do they precede it. The heavenly flame rests on some human soul. It burns within him, and with the Prophet he feels the fire of God; he yearns to work some deliverance upon the doubts. Like the Apostle, a noble necessity is laid upon him; the worst woe which can befall him is disobedience to a necessity which, like all the higher passions of life, is often a torment and a delight. While such a man lives, the life which he has chosen is noble and real. The same is true of all those in whom a kindred spirit lives. The spirit finds its own organi-

* *National Review*, No. 70, p. 597.

zation. The rules which are laid down are the expression of the life which is in them and of the spirit into which they have been baptized. Their zeal, like a river, makes its own banks by following the course of its own nature. But even in the most favoured conditions the gentler life which gathers round the holy spires is not all that hope painted it—

“The potent call
Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desires.”

The favourable conditions, moreover, cannot last always. The generation will arise which retains the form, but which has lost the animating spirit. There comes a time when the noble river runs dry; deadness and dryness take the place of freshness and murmuring life. Then, because the spirit which gave vital force to the movement is no longer there, the rules lose their force and value; the commandment becomes the means of death; the organization sinks beneath its own weight. When Saul is gone it will not do for David to wear his armour; when Achilles has passed away lesser men may but wound their hands and snap their muscles in striving to bend his bow. The spirit may inspire rules. Rules cannot restore the spirit. When we have the men we shall have the organization; but it is ill hoping that by adopting an organization we shall be in possession of the power to work them. Above all, let us avoid the belief that we can ever be great or achieve great things by imitation. Those who play the frog woo disaster. If the spirit which is in our midst be a true spirit, it must adapt its organization to the needs of our own age. It will draw useful hints from the past, but it will avoid all slavish and mechanical imitation of it. By virtue of its own real life, it will quicken, arouse, and direct all kindred zeal. Wherever a man in whom the true spirit dwells arises to work among the sons of men, brothers like-minded will gather round his standard, and the work of such men can never be in vain.

W. B. RIPON.

THE LATEST THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH.

WHEN, one is sometimes tempted to ask in sheer weariness, will any man be able to say the last word on that question of the West which bids fair to be as eternal as any question of the East, the question whether we, the English people, are ourselves or somebody else? That formula is not a new one; some of us have, in season and out of season, through evil report and good report, been fighting out that question for not a few years. If it is wearisome to have to fight it out still, there is some little relief in having to fight it out in a wholly new shape and with a wholly new set of adversaries. It is an experience which has at least the charm of novelty when we have to argue the old question, who are we, whence we came, from a point of view which might make it possible, with the exercise of a little ingenuity, to avoid ever using the words "Celt," "Briton," or "Roman" at all. On the other hand, the strife in its new form has become more deadly; the assault has become more threatening. Hitherto we have fought for victory, for dominion, for what, if one adopted the high-polite style of a Lord Mayor's feast, one might call "the Imperial instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race." We have had to fight to prove our greatness against people who told us that we were not so great as we thought. Angles and Saxons, we were told, were only one element, perhaps a very inferior element, in the population of Britain. Still nobody denied that we had some place in the world, some place in this island. It might be a very small place compared with that of the Celt who went before us or of the Norman who came after us. Still we had some place. Nobody denied that there had been Angles and Saxons in the isle of Britain. Nobody denied that those Angles and Saxons had had some share in the history of

the isle of Britain. Nobody—save, I believe, one thorough-going man at Liverpool—denied that those Angles and Saxons had supplied some part, however mean a part, to the tongue now spoken over the larger part of Britain. Nobody, I fancy, ever denied that to the mixed ancestry of the present inhabitants of Britain Angles and Saxons had contributed some elements, however paltry. The fight seemed hard, and we did not know that there was a harder fight coming. For now the strife is not for victory or dominion, but for life. The question is no longer whether Angles and Saxons have played a greater or a less part in the history of Britain. It now is, whether there ever were any Angles or Saxons in Britain at all, perhaps whether there ever were any Angles or Saxons anywhere. Or more truly, the question takes a form of much greater subtlety. Our new teachers ask us, sometimes seemingly without knowing what they are asking, to believe a doctrine that is strange indeed. The latest doctrine, brought to its real substance, comes to this: we are not Angles and Saxons; we did not come from the land of the Angles and Saxons; we are some other people who came from some other land; only by some strange chance, we were led to believe that we were Angles and Saxons, to take the name of Angles and Saxons, and even to speak the tongue which we should have spoken if we had been such. Or to come back to the old formula with which we began, we are not really ourselves, but somebody else; only at some stage of our life we fell in with ingenious schoolmasters, who cunningly persuaded us that we were ourselves.

On the old controversy I need not enter again now. That controversy might have been much shorter if clever talkers would have taken the trouble to find out what those whom they were talking about had really said. Many statements have been made, many jokes have been joked, many outcries have been raised, some ingenious names have been invented, nay, even some arguments have been brought, and all about doctrines which no man in this world ever held. Personally I have nothing more to say on the matter. I have had my say: anybody that cares to know what that say is, may read it for himself.* I will make only one remark on a single statement which I have casually lighted on, and which is on the whole the very strangest that I have ever seen. I find in a volume of a series which comes under the respectable name of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a series to which Oxford Professors and Examiners contribute, a book which has a book by Mr. Rhys before it and a book by Mr. Hunt after it, this amazing saying: "Florence uses the strange expression that Eadgar was chosen by the Anglo-Britons."† Strange indeed, if Florence Lad ever used

* I must refer to what I have said on "Teutonic Conquest in Gaul and Britain" in "Four Oxford Lectures" (Macmillan, 1888) and to the Essay on "Race and Language" in the third Series of Historical Essays.

† "Anglo-Saxon Britain, by Grant Allen, B.A.," p. 147. The real words of Florence

it; but to say that he did use it surely goes beyond the admitted literary and "stylistic" license of making people, old or new, say what they never did say. But the saying is instructive; it shows how some writers, sometimes more famous writers, now and then get at their facts. One received way is to glance at a page of an original writer, to have the eye caught by a word, to write down another word that looks a little like it, and to invent facts that suit the word written down. To roll two independent words into a compound word with a hyphen is perhaps a little stronger, but only a little. Florence says something about Englishmen in one line and something about Britains in another line not far off. Roll them together; make a new fellow to Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Catholics, and we get the "strange expression," and the stranger fact, about Eadgar and the "Anglo-Britains." Yet even with a creator of ["Anglo-Britons" we may make peace for the present. There is allowed to be something "Anglo" in the matter. And that for the present is enough. The old question was, after all, simply one of less and more. There was some "Anglo" something; only how much? He who shall say that the present English-speaking people of Britain are Angles and Saxons who have assimilated certain infusions, British and otherwise, and he who shall say that the English-speaking people of Britain are Iberians, Celts, Romans, anything, who have received just enough of Anglian and Saxon infusion to be entitled to be called "Anglo-Britons," maintain doctrines that differ a good deal from one another. Still it is only a difference in *degrée*. Both sides may encamp together in the struggle with the new adversaries. Whether the Angle assimilated the Briton or the Briton assimilated the Angle, there was some "Anglo" element in the business. It is serious for both to be told that there never was any "Anglo" element at all, while according to one view, there could hardly have been Briton enough to have the "Anglo" element, if there had been any, hyphenated on to him.

We have in this matter to deal with two writers, whom it may seem somewhat strange to group together. M. Du Chaillu has startled us, one may venture to say that he has amused us, by a doctrine that a good many tribes or nations which have hitherto gone about with tribal or national names had no right to any national names at all, but only to the name of an occupation. The Franks of the third century, the Saxons of the fifth, were not Franks or Saxons, but "Vikings." Being "Vikings," they may have been Suiones, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians; but the chief thing is to be "Vikings;" they belong to the "Viking age." On this teaching I shall say a few more words presently. I want just now to point out that, according to the

(959) are: "Rex Mercensium Eadgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus anno ætatis suæ 16, adventus veri Anglorum in Britanniam quingentesimo, 363 autem ex quo sanctus Augustinus et socii ejus in Angliam venerunt." No words could be more carefully chosen.

Viking doctrine, we must have come from lands further to the north than we have commonly thought. And this doctrine I wish to contrast with another, which has been less noticed than one might have expected, according to which we must have come from lands much further to the south than we have commonly thought. Of these two doctrines, the first comes to this, that Angles and Saxons are all a mistake. There was no migration into Britain from the lands which we have been taught to look on as the older England and the older Saxony: the name of Angle and Saxon came somehow to be wrongly applied to people who were really Suiones or others entitled to be called Vikings. I am not sure that I should have thought this doctrine, at least as set forth by M. Du Chaillu, worthy of any serious examination, had it not been for the singular relation in which it stands to the other slightly older teaching which, when we strive to obey the precept,

“Antiquam exquirite matrem,”

bids us look, not further to the north than usual, but further to the south. According to this teaching, there may have been some Saxons from North Germany among the Teutonic settlers in Britain, but the main body came from a more southern land. These two doctrines, very opposite to one another, but both upsetting most things which we have hitherto believed, have been put forward in a singularly casual way. Some will perhaps be a little amazed when for the southern doctrine I send them to Mr. Seebohm's well-known book “The English Village Community.” There it certainly is; it is not exactly set forth by Mr. Seebohm, but it has at least dropped from him, and the opposite doctrine has not much more than dropped from M. Du Chaillu. Both teachings are thrown on the world in a strangely casual sort, as mere appendages to something held to be of greater moment. Still M. Du Chaillu does put forth his view as a view; Mr. Seebohm lets fall his pearls, if they be pearls, seemingly without knowing that they have fallen from him. I am not going to discuss any of Mr. Seebohm's special theories, about manors or serfdom, about one-field or three-field culture. Mr. Seebohm's views on these matters, whether we accept them or not, are, as the evident result of honest work at original materials, eminently entitled to be weighed, and, if need be, to be answered. And in any case we can at least give our best thanks to Mr. Seebohm for his maps and descriptions of the manor of Hitchin, a happy survival in our day of a state of things which in most places has passed away. What I have to deal with now, as far as Mr. Seebohm is concerned, is to be found in one or two passages in his book, in which, as I have hinted, he lets fall, in a perfectly casual way, doctrines which go far to upset all that has hitherto been held as to the early history of the English folk.

Now a wholly new teaching on such a matter as the beginning of

our national life in our present land, is surely a matter of some importance. If it is true, it is a great discovery, entitled to be set forth as a great discovery, with the proudest possible flourish of trumpets. The new teaching should surely be set forth in the fullest and clearest shape, with the fullest statement of the evidence on which it rests. But with Mr. Seebohm the new doctrine drops out quite suddenly and incidentally, as a point of detail which does not very much matter. The belief as to their own origin which the English of Britain have held ever since there have been Englishmen in Britain seems to Mr. Seebohm not to agree with his doctrines about culture and tenures of land. It is by no means clear that there is any real contradiction between the two, but Mr. Seebohm thinks that there is. He is so convinced of the certainty of his own theory that the great facts of the world's history must give way if they cannot be reconciled with it. The strange thing is that Mr. Seebohm does not seem the least proud of his great discovery; he hardly seems to feel that he has made any discovery: he is less excited about a proposition which makes a complete revolution in English History than some are when they think that they have corrected a date by half an hour, or have proved some one's statement of a distance to be wrong by a furlong. All turns on the "one-field system" and the "three-field system." The three-field system existed in England; it existed in certain parts of Germany; but it did not exist in those parts of Germany which were inhabited by Angles and Saxons. Therefore, if Britain had any Teutonic settlers at all, they must have come from some other part, and not from the land of the Angles and Saxons. Only, to judge from Mr. Seebohm's tone, the question whence they came, or whether they came from anywhere, is a question hardly worth thinking about, compared with matters so much more weighty as the system of "one-field" or of "three."

Our first foreshadowing of what is coming is found at page 372 of Mr. Seebohm's book:—

"Now, possibly this one-field system, with its marling and peat manure, may have been the system described by Pliny as prevalent in Belgic Britain and Gaul before the Roman conquest, but certainly it is not the system prevalent in England under Saxon rule. And yet this district where the one-field system is prevalent in Germany is precisely the district from which, according to the common theory, the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain came. It is precisely the district of Germany where the three-field system is conspicuously absent. So that although Nasse and Waitz somewhat hastily suggested that the Saxons had introduced the three-field system into England, Hanssen, assuming that the invaders of England came from the north, confidently denies that this was possible. 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Frisians and Low Germans and Jutes who came with them to England cannot (he writes) have brought the three-field system with them into England, because they did not themselves use it at home in North-west Germany and

Jutland.* He adds that even in later times the three-field system has never been able to obtain a firm footing in these coast districts."

It is wonderful indeed to find the origin of the English people thus dealt with as a small accident of questions about marling and peat manure. Hanssen confidently denies that the Angles and Saxons could have brought the three-field system into Britain from their old home. And, if it be true that the three-field system was never known in their older home, he assuredly does right confidently to deny it. Only why should so much be made to turn on the different modes of culture followed in the continental and the insular English land? If the one-field system suited the soil of the old Angeln and the old Saxony, while the three-field system better suited the soil of East-Anglia or Sussex, surely our Angles and Saxons would have sense enough to follow in each land the system which suited that land. If they found that the kind of husbandry which suited the soil of their old home did not suit the soil of their new home, they would surely invent or adopt some other kind of husbandry which did suit it. • But in any case, if the acceptance of a certain doctrine about the "one-field system with its marling and peat manure" involves nothing short of all that Mr. Seeböhm assures us that it does involve, it would surely have been worth while to think about the marling and the peat manure a second time by the light of what had hitherto been looked on as the broad facts of the history of England and Europe. These last may be wrong; but they are surely at least worthy of being thought over before they are cast aside. But with Mr. Seeböhm the "common theory"—that is the recorded history of the English people—is not worth a thought; it may go anywhere. "Hanssen assumes that the invaders of England came from the north." That will do for the present; let them come from any land, so that it be not a land that practises "the one-field system with its marling and peat-manure."

Some way further on (p. 410) Mr. Seeböhm has another passage, in which, seemingly with the same words of Hanssen before him, he throws out, still very casually but not quite so casually as before, an exactly opposite doctrine.

"We have already quoted the strong conclusion of Hanssen that the Anglo-Saxon invaders and their Frisian Low German and Jutish companions could not introduce into England a system to which they were not accustomed at home. It must be admitted that the conspicuous absence of the three-field system from the North of Germany does not, however, absolutely dispose of the possibility that the system was imported into England from

* The text of Hanssen, *Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen*, 1. 496, stands thus: "Allein die Angelsachsen und die welche mit ihnen nach England gezogen sein mögen; Friesen, *Niedersachsen*, Juten, können die Dreifelderwirthschaft nicht nach England mitgebracht haben, weil sie sie in ihrer Heimat selber in nordwestlichen Deutschland und Jütland nicht betrieben hatten."

those districts of Middle Germany reaching from Westphalia to Thuringia where the system undoubtedly existed. *It is at least possible that the invaders of England may have proceeded from thence rather than, as commonly supposed, from the regions on the northern coast.*"

It is hardly worth while to stop to comment at any length on the confusion of thought implied in such phrases as "Anglo-Saxon invaders of England." As there can be no *Anglia* till there are *Angli*, they would literally imply that a band of Angles first came into Britain by themselves, that they set up an England therein, and then sent to their hyphened kinsfolk on the mainland, to come after them to share, and doubtless to enlarge, that England. But of course what Mr. Seebohm means by "invaders of England" are those who out of part of Britain made an England for certain later people to invade. We have got back to the days of our grandmothers, when our little books told us how Cæsar was "resisted by the English people, who were then called the Britons." We have perhaps got back to the days of good old Tillemont, who attributes all that was done on the native side during the Roman occupation of Britain to "les Anglois." The confusion however belongs to the German writer; Mr. Seebohm simply copies him. And in one point, Mr. Seebohm, after some striving with himself, has corrected a still stranger confusion of his guide. In his first edition the *Niedersachsen*, which Hanssen so oddly couples with *Angelsachsen*, appear in one place as "Low-Germans," in another as "Low-Saxons." In a later revision the "Low-Saxons" have vanished.* But to couple "Low-German," the whole, with Anglo-Saxons, Frisians, &c., each of them parts of that whole, is, as a logical division, even stranger than to couple *Angelsachsen* and *Niedersachsen*. This last phrase implies "High-Saxons" somewhere, and it might not be an ill-guess that they are the same as the "Anglo-Saxon invaders of England," who came from somewhere in Middle Germany. Only how is this doctrine to be reconciled with the "assumption" that "the invaders of England came from the North?" Taking it by itself, the southern theory comes to this. The main body of the invaders, "Anglo-Saxons," "High-Saxons," whatever they are to be called, started from Middle Germany, from some point between Westphalia and Thuringia, from some part far away from marling and peat manure. But on their road to Britain they fell in with certain companions, Frisians, Low-Saxons, Jutes, all seemingly from the marling and peat manure country. In company with them they came into Britain, to a part of it which had somehow already become "England."

This seemingly is the doctrine which is casually thrown out in the

* In Mr. Seebohm's first edition, the word in the second extract was "Low-Saxon"; in the third it is "Low-German." Hanssen's word is *Niedersachsen*. If he is thinking of the circle of *Niedersachsen* in later German geography, it does not at all help him.

second of our quotations from Mr. Seebohm. Now, if we could only get rid of hyphenated words, and talk simply of "Angles" or "English," it would help Mr. Seebohm's case not a little. The odd thing is that, in arguing against Mr. Seebohm's case, one has first to put together his case for him. In his casual way of putting things, he does not seem to know how much might have been really said on behalf of something very like the view which he lets fall. In the older edition of Spruner's Atlas Mr. Seebohm would have found an English land marked for him in the very part of Germany where he would have most wished for it. There was an *Angeln* shown clearly enough between Westfalia and Thuringia, and whatever was to be said about the branch of the Angles who were held to have dwelled there was carefully brought together by Zeuss.* Unluckily this inland *Angeln* has vanished from the revised Spruner-Menke, as also from the new atlas of Droysen. It might therefore be dangerous to build any theories on the subject without going deeply into the whole question; but just such an *Angeln* as suited Mr. Seebohm's theory was there, according to the best lights, at the time that Mr. Seebohm wrote. If he was not aware of this, his stumbling by an *à priori* road on a doctrine actually supported by such respectable authorities is one of the strangest of undesigned coincidences. If he was aware of it, it is almost more strange that he should not have thought it worth while to refer to a fact or supposed fact of so much value for his case. With its help that case could be put in a very taking shape. These central Angles, used to a three-field system, set out to go somewhither; it need not have been to Britain. On the road they fall in with companions, Saxon, Low-Saxon, Frisian, Jutish, anything else. These sea-faring folk would doubtless know the way to Britain much better than the Angles of Middle Germany. They suggest the course that the expedition should take; and the united force crosses the sea in as many keels as might be needful. It may even be, if anybody chooses, that the inland Angles, entering into partnership with the sea-faring Saxons, first set foot on British soil under the style, already duly hyphenated, of "Anglo-Saxons." To be sure in Britain itself the compound name was not heard till some ages later, and then only in a very special and narrow sense. But on the mainland it was known much earlier. Paul the Deacon uses it; † it may have been used earlier still. So there is really a very fair case made out for "Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain" coming from Mid-Germany, and no doubt bringing the three-field system with them. We have only to suppose that in the matter of agriculture, some such agreement was made between the different classes of settlers as we know was sometimes made among

* "Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," 153, c.f. 495. It would be dangerous to enter, casually and light-heartedly, on questions about "Angrivarii," "Engern," and the like.

† Paul the Deacon speaks of "Angli-Saxones," iv. 22, vi. 15, and "Saxones Angli," v. 37. For other instances see Norman Conquest, i. 541.

ooint settlers in early times. The Sicilian Naxos reckoned as a colony of Chalkis, but it took its name from the elder Naxos. In Himera, peopled by Dorians and Chalkidians, the speech was mingled, but the laws were Chalkidian. So in the Anglo-Saxon colonization of Britain, it was evidently agreed that the Angles should bring their system of three-field culture into the conquered land; the Saxons, Low-Saxons, Frisians and Jutes, any other votaries of marling and peat manure, had to conform to the practice of their betters.

There would still remain the question of language, a point of which Mr. Seeböhm does not seem to have thought, but on which Zeuss underwent some searchings of heart. He puts the question, without very positively settling it, whether Angles who dwelled so far south spoke High-Dutch or Low. In the fifth century indeed the question could hardly have been of the same moment as it would have been in the ninth. The High-Dutch had not as yet wholly parted company with the low. Still the point is worth thinking of. Those who use the one-field and the peat manure have ever belonged to the ranks of men who *eaten* and *drinken*. It may be that those who practised the three-field culture had already begun to fall off to them who *essen* and *trinken*. But one thing at least is certain; no man ever did *essen* and *trinken* in this isle of Britain. If then the Angles of the inland England had begun to adopt the more modern forms, something of an agreement—again like that of the Dorians and the Chalkidians—must have been come to between them and their Nether-Dutch companions. While the inland Angles had their way in the matter of three-field culture, the lesser point of language was yielded in favour of the sea-faring Saxons.

Mr. Seeböhm's casual theory then, when worked out with some little care, really puts on so winning an air that it is hard not to accept it. Yet, even if we accept the existence of an inland Angeln without any doubt, Mr. Seeböhm's theory at least would not hold water. It simply has against it the universal belief of Englishmen from the beginning. In the eyes of Baeda, in the eyes of the Chroniclers, in the eyes of the gleeman of Brunanburh, in the eyes of all who ever spoke or sang of the great migration of our people, the Angles, no less than the Saxons, count among the sea-faring folk of Northern Germany. The England from whence they came, the England which their coming was said to have left empty of men, was the England of the coast of Sleswick, not any inland England between Westfalia and Thuringia. At all events, if we are to believe otherwise, we have at least a right to ask that the question shall be thoroughly discussed on its own merits, and not tossed jauntily aside as a small point in the history of the rotation of crops. Till then, whether we believe that we were called "*ab angelica facie, id est pulcra*," or merely because we dwelled "*in angulo terræ*," we shall

still go on believing that it was from the borderland of Germany and Denmark that our forefathers set forth to work by sea their share in the Wandering of the Nations. It may be that some of the Anglian folk may well have strayed inland, as some of the Saxon folk may have strayed further inland still. But the first England of history, the land from which men set forth to found the second, as from the second they set forth to found the third, was assuredly no inland region from which they had to make their way to a distant coast and there pick up Saxons or Frisians as companions of their further journey. The little England, the little "angulus terræ," of Sleswick was only part of it. There is no need minutely to measure how much was Anglian, how much Saxon, how much Frisian, how much belonged to any other branch of the common stock. In the days of Tacitus and Ptolemy the Angle and the Frisian were folk of the mainland only; by the days of Procopius they had won their home in the island to part of which one of them was to give his name.

We came by sea. By no other way indeed could we make our way into an island. But we came by sea in another sense from that in which Roman Cæsar came by sea before us and Norman William came after us. We came by sea, not simply because the sea was the only road, but because we came as folk of the sea, to whom the sea was not a mere path but a true home. Of the details of the purely Anglian settlement, and of the Angles themselves, we know comparatively little, for the obvious reason that they lay further off than their fellows from the range of Roman knowledge. But of the Saxon shipmen and their doings we know a good deal; Sidonius has taken no small pains to show what manner of men they seemed to be in the eyes of the Romans of Gaul.* They first harried and then settled on both sides of the Channel. That their settlements in Britain were greater and more abiding than their settlements in Gaul was the result of many later causes. The Saxon of Chichester owes his presence on British ground to the same general effort to which the Saxon of Bayeux owed his presence on Gaulish ground. The Saxon of Chichester keeps his Saxon speech, and from his land the Saxon name has not passed away. The Saxon of Bayeux has for ages spoken the Latin tongue of his neighbours, and, while *Sussex* yet lives on the map, the *Otlingua Saxonica* has given way to other names, to the *Bessin* and the department of *Calvados*. But each was planted in his new home by the force of the same movement, the Saxon wandering on the sea. And once planted in his new home, whether in the island or on the mainland, he ceased to be a wanderer by sea. He sat down and tilled the earth, and, he guarded the earth

* The great description comes in the sixth letter of the seventh book.

which he tilled by the arms no longer of the sea-farer but of the land-warrior. The change is not wonderful. It has often happened in other lands, it has happened again in the same land. To be sea-faring folk or to be landsmen is not always a question of what is born in the blood. Prosaic as it sounds, it is often the result of the circumstances in which men find themselves. Sea-faring Corinth planted at one blow her twin colonies of Korkyra and Syracuse. Korkyra on her island met her parent on the seas with fleets equal to her own. Syracuse, planted in an island indeed, but an island that was in truth a continent, took to the ways of continents. Her landfolk were driven to take to the sea to meet the attacks of those Athenians who, two or three generations before, had been no less landfolk themselves.* So it was in the very land of Bayeux. When the Northmen came in their ships, neither Saxon nor Frank had ships to withstand them. Presently the sea-faring Northmen, once settled in the land, changed into Norman landfolk, foremost of warriors with horse and lance, but to whom the horses of the wave had become simply means to carry them safe from Rhêgion to Messina, or from Saint Valery to Pevensey.

Why, some one may ask, do I put forth again such very obvious truths as these? Because they are of no small importance, if we are to discuss the latest theory of all as to the origin of the English people. The only question is whether that theory need be discussed at all; it is hard to argue against that state of mind which, in the days when we learned logic, we used to call *ignoratio elenchi*. But, if not discussed, it must be mentioned. Perhaps if this newest view of all had not come up the other day, I might not have chosen this time to talk about the views of Mr. Seebohm. But when M. Du Chaillu puts forth his theory, it at once recalls Mr. Seebohm's theory. The two stand in a certain relation to one another; neither can be fully taken in without the other. Both alike throw aside the recorded facts of history in the interest of a theory, be it a theory of the rotation of crops or a theory of the greatness of Vikings. Each theorist alike, possessed of a single thought, cannot be got to stop and think what there is to be said on the other side. M. Du Chaillu has put forth two very pretty volumes, with abundance of illustrations of Scandinavian objects. Most of them to be sure will be found in various Scandinavian books; still here they are, very many of them and looking very pretty. M. Du Chaillu has given us a great many translations of sagas; but we have seen other translations of sagas, and some of them have been made by sound scholars. Criticism is hardly attempted. When the Scandinavian legend can be tested by the authentic English history, when the saga itself can be divided into the contemporary and trustworthy verse and the later and untrust-

* Thucydides, vii. 21.

worthy prose,—work all this which has been done over and over again by the scholars of more than one nation—M. Du Chaillu simply gives us the sagas again, with comments now and then of amazing simplicity. The saga of Harold Hardrada, the bits of genuine minstrelsy of the eleventh century patched together by the prose of the thirteenth, has been long ago thoroughly examined in its relations to the English narratives, above all to the precious piece of contemporary English minstrelsy preserved by Henry of Huntingdon. It might have seemed hardly needful now-a-days to prove once more that the picture of the English army in the saga is simply a fancy piece drawn from an English army of the thirteenth century. There are the English archers, the English horsemen, horsemen too whose horses are sheeted in armour. If any man doubts, he has nothing to do but to compare Snorro's fancy piece with the living representation of a real English army of the eleventh century in the contemporary tapestry of Bayeux. There he will see that to the English of that day the horse was simply a means to carry him to and from the place of battle, and that the clothing of horses in armour was a practice as yet unknown to the Norman horsemen themselves. Yet after all this, so often pointed out, M. Du Chaillu volunteers a little note to say that Snorro's version proves "that the English, like their kinsmen, had horses." That we had horses no man save Procopius* ever doubted; but both Brihtnoth and Harold got down from their horses when the work of battle was to begin.

It is hardly by an adversary who cannot wield the weapons of criticism better than this that we shall be beaten out of the belief that there is such a thing as an English people in Britain. Perhaps too we shall not be the more inclined to give up our national being, when we see its earliest records tossed aside with all the ignorant scorn of the eighteenth century. The "Frankish and English chroniclers" rank very low in the eyes of M. Du Chaillu. We know exactly where we have got when we come to the old conventional talk about "ignorant and bigoted men," "monkish scribes," and the like. Among these monkish scribes we have to reckon Einhard and Count Nithard, and our own literary ealdorman, Fabius Patricius Quæstor Ethelwardas. The odd thing is that with M. Du Chaillu Franks and Saxons or English go together. He is at least free from his countrymen's usual weakness of claiming the Franks, their kings, their acts, and their writings, for their own. As far as his theory can be made out, it seems to be this. The Suiones of Tacitus are the Swedes, and the Suiones had ships; so far no one need cavil. But we do not hear of the Suiones or any other Scandinavian people doing anything by sea for several centuries. But though we do not hear of it, they must have been doing something. What was it that they did? Now, in the

fourth, fifth, sixth centuries, we hear of the Saxons doing a good deal by sea; therefore the name *Saxones* must be a mistake of the Latin writers for *Suiones*. It was not Saxons, but Swedes, or at least Scandinavians of some kind, who did all that is recorded of the Saxons, and presumably of the Angles and Jutes also, in Gaul, Britain, or anywhere else. The Angles and Saxons therefore, who have been hitherto thought to have settled in Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, are all a mistake. They were not Angles or Saxons at all, but Scandinavians of some kind. Hengest and Ælle were simply the advanced guard of Hubba, Sween, and Cnut. They could not have been Saxons, because, when the Northmen came against the continental Saxons of later times, they found no fleets to withstand them.

The assumption that goes through all this is that, once a seaman ever a seaman, once a landsman ever a landsman. These could not be sea-faring Saxons in the fifth century, because we do not hear of Saxon fleets in the eighth. On the other hand, because the *Suiones* had ships in the days of Tacitus, as they could not have left off using ships, it must have been they who did the acts which are commonly attributed to the Saxons. A good deal is involved in this last assumption; it is at least conceivable, and not at all unlike the later history of Sweden, that the *Suiones* went on using their ships, but used them somewhere else, and not on the coasts of Gaul or Britain. But of the grand assumption of all, the assumption that the landsman can never become a seaman or the seaman a landsman, I have spoken already. And if this be a real difficulty, it is just as great a difficulty on M. Du Chaillu's theory as it is according to the genuine records of English history. Over and over again has it been noticed as a strange thing that the settlers who came to Britain by sea, as soon as they were settled in Britain, left off their sea-faring ways, and had no fleet to withstand the Danes, when the Danes did come. There is in this really nothing wonderful. But if this be a difficulty in the case of Anglian or Saxon settlers, it is hard to see how the difficulty becomes any less if the settlers are rated to be Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian.

In truth M. Du Chaillu's theory is several degrees more amazing than that of Mr. Seebohm. How did we come by our language? How did we come by our national names? We did not according to this theory, light by the way on any of those Low-Saxon, Frisian, or Jutish companions and teachers who, in Mr. Seebohm's view, may have done so much for us. And it is a little daring of M. Du Chaillu to represent the use of the Saxon name, as applied to the ravagers and settlers of Gaul and Britain, as simply the mistake of some Latin scribe, some ignorant blunderers like Claudian or Sidonius, who wrote *Saxones* when they should have written *Suiones*. The mistake went a

little deeper than that. How came the Teutonic settlers in Britain to call themselves Angles and Saxons? How did their Celtic neighbours come to call them Saxons? How did the conquered land come to take, here the Anglian, there the Saxon, name? One is astonished to read in M. Du Chaillu's book: "Nor is any part of England called *Saxland*."* It is possible from the context that what is meant is merely that no part of England is so called in the Northern sagas. But the name of England comes often enough in them, and *England* is as bad as *Saxland* for M. Du Chaillu's theory. It is hardly worth searching through all the sagas to see whether such a word as *Saxland* is ever found there or not. If it be so, it merely proves that no Northern writers had any need to speak of Wessex, Essex, Sussex, or Middlesex, by their local names. But considering that those names have been in unbroken use in the lands themselves ever since the fifth and sixth centuries, it does not much matter whether any sagaman called them so or not. It is more important from M. Du Chaillu's point of view to explain how West-Saxons, East-Saxons, South-Saxons, and Middle-Saxons, were led into such strange mistakes as to their own name and origin.

No one denies that the Scandinavian infusion in England is real, great, and valuable. Only it is an infusion which dates from the ninth century and not from the fifth or sixth. Danish writers, without going quite so far as their champion from *Valland*, have often greatly exaggerated the amount of Scandinavian influence in England. They have often set down as signs of direct Scandinavian influence things which are simply part of the common heritage of the Teutonic race. But no one doubts that the Danish infusion in England was large, that in some parts it was dominant. And its influence was wholesome and strengthening. Dane and Angle, Dane and Saxon, were near enough to each other to learn from one another and to profit by one another. They were near enough to be fused into one whole by a much easier process than that which in some parts of the island did in the end fuse together the Briton and the Teuton. Still the Scandinavian infusion was but an infusion into the already existing English mass. As we are not a British people, but an English people with a certain British infusion, so neither are we a Scandinavian people, but an English people with a certain Scandinavian infusion.

One word about the Franks, whose fate at M. Du Chaillu's hands is so oddly the same as that of the Saxons. According to him, as some Suiones were mistaken for Saxons, which gave rise to the error of looking on Saxons as a sea-faring people, so also some Suiones were mistaken for Franks, which gave rise to the error of looking on Franks as a sea-faring people. But this last error at all events never led astray any one. The Franks were not a sea-faring people, nor did anybody

* "The Viking Age," vol. i. p. 20.

ever think that they were. The whole notion of sea-faring Franks comes from two passages of Eumenios and Zôsimos which record a single exploit of certain Frankish prisoners, who seized on some ships in the Euxine and amazed mankind by sailing about the Mediterranean, doing much damage in Sicily and getting back to *Francia* by way of the Ocean. This single voyage, wonderful as it was, is not quite the same thing as the habitual harrying of the coasts of the Channel, and of the Ocean too, by Saxons in their own ships. And when Ammianus speaks of Franks and Saxons laying waste the Roman territory by land and sea, the obvious meaning surely is that the Franks did it by land and the Saxons by sea. But all things about Franks are surely outdone by a single sentence of M. Du Chaillu, standing alone with all the honours of a separate paragraph.

"In the Bayeux tapestry, the followers of William the Conqueror were called *Franci*, and they have always been recognized as coming from the North."

Further comment is needless. We decline to be brought from the north by M. Du Chaillu, even more strongly than we decline to be brought from the south by Mr. Seeböhm. For Mr. Seeböhm does leave some scrap of separate national being to the "Anglo-Saxon invaders" from the English land of Middle Germany. M. Du Chaillu takes away our last shreds; we are mere impostors, *Suiones* falsely calling ourselves *Saxones*. But let us speculate what might happen if M. Du Chaillu's theory should ever fall into the hands of those statesmen and princes of the Church who seem to have lately taken in hand the nomenclature of that part of mankind whom plain men may think it enough to call the English folk.* The other day one eminent person enlarged on the glories of the "Anglo-Saxon race," while another enlarged instead on the glories of the "British race." A third claimed the right of free discussion for all "speakers of the British language." Let gallant little Wales look out; there would seem to be some corner in its twelve (or thirteen) counties in which free discussion is just now not allowed. New names often take. In my youth the "Anglo-Saxon race" was unheard of, and the "British race" dates, I believe, only from the speech of last week from which I quote. Why should the *Suiones*, so long and so unfairly cheated of their honour, not have their day at last? Set forth with a good delivery, at the end of a fine rolling period, "the Imperial instincts of the *Suionic* race" would be as likely to draw forth a cheer as other phrases whose amount of meaning is very much the same. When will men, statesmen above all, learn that names are

* See the speeches of the Earl of Rosebery, Cardinal Manning, and the Earl of Carnarvon in the *Times* of November 16, 1889. The qualification needful in all such cases must of course be understood—"if the speakers really said what the reporters put into their mouths."

facts, that words, as expressing things, are themselves things, that a confused nomenclature marks confusion of thought, failure to grasp the real nature of things and the points of likeness and unlikeness between one thing and another? Leaving then the Anglo-Saxon race and the British race and the Suionic race, and the instincts, Imperial or otherwise, of any of them, this question of the origin of our people, this great and abiding dispute whether we are ourselves or somebody else, suggests one or two practical thoughts. Here I rule no point of present controversy; I only give some hints which may possibly help those who have to rule such points.

There is an English folk, and there is a British Crown. The English folk have homes; the British Crown has dominions. But the homes of the English folk and the dominions of the British Crown do not always mean the same thing. Here, by the border stream of the Angle and the Saxon, we are at once in one of the homes of the English folk and in one—and I dare to think the noblest and the greatest—of the dominions of the British Crown. If we pass to the banks of the Indus and Ganges, we are still within the dominions of the British Crown, but we cannot say that we are any longer among the homes of the English folk. Let us pass again to the banks of the Potomac and the Susquehanna; there we have gone out of the dominions of the British Crown, but we have come back again to the English folk in one of their chiefest homes. These are but plain facts, plain as the sun at noon-day. It is because they are so plain that mankind, above all orators and statesmen, do not understand them. Once more, let a man's words set forth the facts and let him shape his thoughts by the facts. The counsel of perfection be too hard.

[JAN.

THE UNFAITHFUL STEWARD.

“**M**AN meint die Bibel zu verstehen,” says Strauss, “weil mann gewohnt ist, sie nicht zu verstehen.” A pregnant saying, which the student of Scripture has reason to recall at every page. The Christian leaves his attention at the threshold of his church as the Mussulman does his shoes. He does not really believe that anything which he will hear within its walls is meant for intelligent attention. A small part of what is read there has, he vaguely believes, a mystic import of priceless value; the rest is unconsciously regarded as a curious old setting in which these jewels could not be removed without damage, but which itself is valueless. He is accustomed to a kind of reverence which produces the right effect to be produced by the perusal of a chapter in the Testament, and

This acquiescence in a void of meaning is continued where it is most contrary to all that we should expect. "Do you mean to tell me," many a Christian might ask, if he expressed himself as distinctly as the countryman just mentioned, "that our Lord spoke sense?" Lessons which all would feel unworthy of the least revered of human teachers are accepted, without question, when they are assumed to come from the Divine teacher. A parable included by the Church of England among her Sunday extracts from the Gospel, as well as her daily Lessons, is, as it is generally understood, a cumbrous and far-fetched machinery for conveying injunctions which one would suppose it both unnecessary and undesirable to put into words at all; injunctions which, if we met them where we could form an unbiassed opinion, we should feel it a compliment to call immoral, and utterly unmeaning. Consider the two in the Gospel explicitly again.

after telling him that some houses in his possession are in such a state that he will have to rebuild them, a misfortune which he describes himself as meeting in a beautiful spirit of Socratic magnanimity, and then concludes: "But I hope to make a good thing of it, after all." In the ordinary interpretation of this parable, we have this curious glimpse of a philosopher's endeavour to make the best of both worlds set before us as a Divine model of wisdom. Nobody is quite satisfied with the result; the devout commentator slurs over the passage with reverent embarrassment; and one of the most intelligent of the class has the candour to confess that most people look for a little more meaning in the words of the Lord than they will find there. But it does not seem to him important to urge that we expect too much from the teaching of a humblest scholar who, after we should,

most part, He avoided such decision. When invited to settle a dispute as to a legacy, a dispute in which, as it appears, his arbitration would have been accepted by both parties, He pointedly refuses the position which Moses had claimed, and repeats the very words* of a rebel against his authority. He refuses a verdict on a special case, and gives instead a warning against the universal temptation which lay at its root. But not so when the Pharisees came to ask Him about divorce. He does not stop here at the exhortation: "Take heed and beware of lust." He now accepts the position, which before He had repudiated; He commits himself to a declaration in matters definite, external and legal, to a statement of the marriage law which struck even his disciples as extreme, and which Antipas might have answered with the axe if he had treated Jesus as he had treated the forerunner of Jesus. It does not appear that the condemnation of divorce, which had proved fatal to the Baptist, did, after all, imperil the life of the Saviour.† But there can be no doubt that it had been intended to do so by the Pharisees, and that the warning, "Whosoever shall put away his wife . . . and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery," was a condemnation passed on the husband of Herodias and the murderer of John.

We, looking on that condemnation with English and Christian eyes, perhaps hardly take in its scope. It does not appear to us an instance of any particular feeling about the Jewish law, one way or another. It seems a question of universal morality. Strange tribute to that morality which it ignores!‡ Israel alone, among the nations of antiquity, upholds the purity of marriage. The Roman hero, whose name was a symbol of virtue,§ lends his wife to a friend; the Roman writer whom some moderns have revered as a saint,|| repudiates the faithful wife of thirty years, in order to marry an heiress. The morality which was good enough for Cato and Cicero was good enough for many an ordinary Jew, and the letter of the law seemed to permit of this laxer interpretation. But deep in every true Jewish heart must have vibrated the comment of the Teacher, "From the beginning it

* Luke xii. 14. Compare Exod ii. 14.

† Unless we are to take the warning of the Pharisees, above cited (Luke xiii 31), as sincere. But possibly it was so.

‡ The very passage which the disciples quote against the declaration of Jesus (Deut. xxiv 1) assumes that no husband will attempt to put away his wife unless he has found "some occasion of uncleanness in her." The protest of the last of the Prophets (Mal. ii. 14, 16) shows the place that conjugal infidelity took in the morality of Israel.

§ Cato lent his wife, Marcia, to Hortensius, and took her back after the death of the latter. His appearance in the verse of Dante (*Purg.* i. 32) gives the modern reader an estimate of his fame as a stern moralist.—

"Vidi presso di me un veglio solo
Degno di tanta reverenza in vista
Che più non dee a padre alcun figliuolo."

Compare this with the fate of Francesca di Rimini.

|| Erasmus thus speaks of Cicero.

was not so." The nation which used the same word to express the infidelity of wife to husband, and of the nation to its unseen Lord, had set a seal on the marriage bond that no concession could efface, and such concessions as the disciples could cite belonged to the Law, it must have been felt, in a totally different sense from all its most characteristic precepts. The faith of man to woman was bound up with the faith of man to God, and history chronicles, with equal accents, the terrible sanctions of both. David's adultery becomes debauchery in his son, and a divided kingdom chronicles the impotence of a family that has lost its strength with its unity. The Edomite upstarts, who had succeeded to the throne of David and to his worse vices, might indeed disregard that law; the father of Antipas might have almost as many wives as Solomon,* and betake himself to divorce as readily as Cicero or Cato; but the Jew who escaped the fate of the Baptist by changing his protest to apology, had lost sight of the stewardship of Israel.

The temptation indeed was great, hopes and fears alike prompted a lenient construction of lawlessness in the nominee of Rome—hopes and fears perhaps not altogether base. We may remember that the service which the Pharisee would be called on to render to Antipas after the execution of John† was one which Papinian died rather than perform for Caracalla,‡ but we must not forget that it was one which Seneca was perfectly ready to perform for Nero. To soothe a guilty conscience is an attempt that may take very different aspects, and doubtless Seneca felt, when he composed the apology by which Nero was to justify his matricide to the Senate, as if he were thinking of something nobler than saving his own skin. Shakespear has taught us how a hideous crime may fade into a background that leaves the possibility of sympathy for the criminal. Read once more the pleading of Macbeth:—

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?"

No passage from the pen of Shakespear is more full of genius. What Macbeth recalls is a hideous crime—treachery, ingratitude, disloyalty culminating in murder; what he suggests is a pathetic disaster, a bereavement, a misunderstanding, a loss of something precious torn

* History knows of ten. His first wife was divorced that he might marry Mariamne, and the sequel to that marriage was an eloquent tribute to the Jewish law of purity.

† Jesus makes no allusion to this, and the condemnation he passes on the divorce may be so read as to imply condonation of the greater crime; but it is evident that the divorce was made a test question by the Pharisees. Nobody asked any question about the murder of John. The exclamation of Antipas on hearing of Jesus, "It is John whom I beheaded," shows how often his counsellors must have had to soothe his remorse and find excuses for his crime.

‡ See Gibbon, ch. vi.

from his reluctant grasp. This is the uttermost triumph of the poet, one in which he overcomes the preacher on his own ground. Each of us knows, for himself, in some slighter degree, that wonderful change of aspect. A Shakespear magnifies it to its highest point, and shows it us for the whole world.

It is the same thing to say that this is what each one can see for himself, and that it is what he can see for another if it be his interest to see it. We, setting the proud assertion of Papinian, "It is easier to commit than to justify a fratricide," beside the prostituted rhetoric of Seneca, see only that a philosopher can be a selfish coward. But nothing is easier than to confuse self and the world, and doubtless he who strove, however feebly, to check the madness of a pupil on the throne of the world, felt as if it were the world he were considering and not himself. And what he felt at the Court of the Emperor many a Pharisee must have felt just as strongly at the Court of the Tetrarch. Antipas was but the outrider of Titus, and among his courtiers there were doubtless many earnest Jews, filled with deep reverence for the traditions of their race, half submerged as these seemed beneath the rising tide of Roman dominion, and struggling to justify to themselves the compromise which bought the indispensable support of Rome. "It is a brutal, irreligious, insolent tyranny," we may imagine them pleading, "but what are we to do? John, like another Elijah, defied the insolent Jezebel beside this Roman nominee, and what came of it? His death has done no good to his cause. We have lost him and gained nothing. Let us not imitate his unmeasured, impolitic denunciations. Let us take a milder view of this lawless Gentile world, which seems to be getting the upper hand. Our home, our place, is imperilled; it may be that we shall have to seek a refuge at Rome, at Alexandria, at Antioch—among the cities where Abraham is not a sacred name, and where the laws of Moses are unknown. Let us prepare ourselves for such a misfortune by a rational view of our law, and its relation to those who, in one sense, must be confessed to have broken it. We must confront the possibility that the Romans may take away our name and our nation; let us consider, then, how we may adapt Jerusalem to Rome."

Already, indeed, had the Jew made himself a home in those "everlasting habitations," the reference to which we so strangely miss in the parable. If every word of Jewish literature had perished, we might learn from that which is familiar to schoolboys to track his steps in the motley crowd which thronged the eternal city. The first Emperor manifests at once his familiarity with and ignorance of the faith of Israel, by describing his daily fare on one occasion as smaller than that of a Jew on the Sabbath,* little knowing what trouble he was preparing for learned commentators, who will not allow him to

* Suet., "Vita Octav." 76. The passage occurs in a letter from Augustus to Tiberius. Ernesti wants to make the Sabbath mean the week, as in Luke xviii. 12.

make such a blunder as to suppose that the Sabbath was a fast. A poet he banished assures his readers, with about as much knowledge of what he was talking of, probably, that the Sabbath is not a bad day to make love on.* "I want a word with you," says a character in one of Horace's comedies (if we may bestow on his satires the title most descriptive to a modern ear), pouncing on an acquaintance, in order to shake off a bore. "Not to-day," answers his malicious friend, pulling a long face. "It is the Jewish Sabbath; we must not discuss business till to-morrow."† "There are plenty of us, you'll have to give in, as if we were Jews,"‡ says Horace elsewhere, speaking as one of the numerous crowd of poets, and testifying that the band of propagandists, if they were absurd, were also dangerous. The great orator of Rome gives more emphatic testimony to the same fact. His eloquence was at the service of a Verres, when the oppressed were Jews, but the advocate could profess himself terrorized by their presence among his audience, and sink his voice with dramatic effectiveness, lest all those dangerous fellows should answer his pleading with arguments more forcible than words.§ The philosophic student of religion, the statesman who turned, in his hour of earthly despair, to hopes of a city of God, has not left us a single word to show that he was interested in the faith of Judæa—his only recorded mention of Judaism, besides the passages just cited, is a stupid joke to testify his acquaintance with the Jewish objection to pork ||—but he bears his tribute to the power of a people whose bond was in that faith, and who had no other power. The Jew at Rome, as at Jerusalem, compassed sea and land to make one proselyte; and the alarm of disgust he inspired is suggested by every mention we have cited, and had been manifested, when Jesus made this last journey to Jerusalem, by the decree of the Senate some dozen years previously which banished the whole Jewish population from Italy.¶ For a modern reader, the record is even more important than the fact. The historian who chronicles the order of the Senate, in mentioning that 4000 Jewish freedmen were on this occasion ordered to serve against the brigands of Sardinia, adds his opinion, or that of the Roman people—and probably both—that if all these 4000 perished in the expedition, it would be a very good riddance.**

* Ovid, Rem. Am. 219; cf. Ars Amat., i. 76, 416.

† Serm. I. ix. 69. Note that the friend who is masquerading as a Jew professes himself to be "unus multorum."

‡

" Ac veluti te

Judæi, cogemus in hanc discedere turbam."—Serm. I. iv. 142.

§ Pro Flacco, 23. Cf. "De Provinciis Consularibus," 5. The first passage is a very important one, being the earliest testimony of the influence of the Jews at Rome which has reached us. I have given every relevant allusion in paraphrase below.

|| This *bon mot* rests only on the authority of Plutarch ("Life of Cicero," 7). If authentic, it is important, as it would prove that already (B.C. 70) the Jewish propaganda had reached the Senate. But our extant oration does not include the passage

¶ Or from Rome, according to Josephus. (Ant. XVIII. iii. 4-5)

** "Si interissent, vile damnum" (Tac. Ann. ii. 85) We learn from the Jewish historian that many of the Jews had a swifter fate: they chose death rather than a military service which entailed an oath forbidden by their sacred law.

When Tacitus wrote, the Jew at Rome was no longer a figure in genteel society; gentlemen of breeding did not amuse themselves by aping his religious observances; Emperors did not trouble themselves to quote them. The days when indignant Jews could make their oppressor even pretend to fear them were long past. We greet the Hebrew at the gate of Rome (he is no longer allowed to enter) almost as we are to know him on the page of the modern romancer and dramatist, a trembling, despised alien, strangely hated though so utterly despised. His figure on the canvas of the Hogarth of Rome (as Juvenal has well been called*) does not differ greatly from that which is to be familiar to us almost to our own day. The "basket and hay,"† which seems his sole furniture, reminds us of Carlyle's sneer at Hebrew "old clothes"; the august associations of the grove where the poet finds the trembling squatters are revived in order to bring out its present degradation. In this grove Numa met Egeria; here now these dirty, squalid foreigners are allowed to find an open-air lodging, and hence some mumbling crone, strange successor,‡ of the Divine nymph, creeps secretly into Rome to infect Roman ladies with her despicable superstition, and bring her lofty pretensions as an interpreter of the laws of Solyma into ridiculous contrast with her urgent need of a few pence. "Yet let the Roman be on his guard against the seemingly despicable foes," urges Juvenal; "their propaganda, though more secret, is not less active than of yore; in their wretched dens they still look down on our noble law, clutching their own with fanatical reverence; and the Roman, whose laziness in consecrating every seventh day to sloth is veneered with their superstition, may find his son joining that superstition to their vague pantheism, and at the same time to other superstitions even more ridiculous and more hateful."§

That picture of the Jew, in his wretched hut outside the gates of Rome, lights up with forcible illustration the satirical recommendation of Jesus to cultivate the friendship of the world's conquerors. The Jew who tried to issue, on their behalf, a softened and expurgated edition of his law, was ejected from their everlasting habitations with scorn that a murderous war intensified into hatred. That sentence of exile prefigures the long agony of Israel. Shylock lurks in the crowd that Cicero dreads and despises, the inarticulate murmur that comes to us across nineteen centuries from the Aurelian steps|| brings

* By Mr. J. D. Lewis in the excellent commentary appended to his edition of 1873.

† Juvenal, Sat. iii. 14, "Quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex;" vi. 542, "Cophino fœno que relicto." Evidently the Jew had no other bed.

‡ This bringing of the poor old starving Jewess into the proximity of the divine Egeria is a peculiar Juvenalian touch. Perhaps we may say of the poet what St. John does of the High Priest (John xi. 51, 52).

§ Juv. xiv. 96-106. Mr. Lewis thinks that the Jews are heré confounded with the Christians. 99 seems not to favour this view; if correct, it adds to the suggestion of the preceding note

|| Middleton thinks that these steps were a sort of exchange, where the Jews already carried on their trade of bankers.

us the same intolerable pathos as the voiceless endurance, not less real, we may be sure, which Shakespeare shows us on the Rialto. Let us listen to the eloquence of Cicero with the indignant ears of some of those Jews from fear of whom he professed to lower his voice and avert his head, but who, doubtless, managed to hear every word of his oration. "He said"—we may imagine one of them writing from Rome to his kindred at Jerusalem in B.C. 60—"he said that the scoundrel he defended had shown praiseworthy severity, forsooth, in pocketing the contributions our brethren in Asia were sending to the Temple! It was a sufficient crime in a son of Israel to have possessed wealth, and to have destined it to the Temple of the Lord. It had been a needless expense to invent a slander: he who could not prove a single Jew to be a false witness, or a bad citizen, gained his verdict in alluding to the undoubted fact that many Jews were religious, devoted, consistent, and brave. For he could add to the list of our merits the terrible indictment of our calamities. The Gods, he said, had shown what they thought of our claims in giving us over to the rule of his pitiless countrymen. The conqueror, who had penetrated to our Holy of Holies, showed a superfluous nicety of conscience, he hinted, in leaving untouched the gold and gems in its neighbourhood. Our loyalty to Sion, and to the unseen Father who has appointed there the shrine of His worship—our fidelity to His law through the inscrutable decree that opens our holy city to the Gentile foe—these are the crimes which render it, in Roman eyes, a merit to give up our wealth to pillage, and pour insult on the defenceless victims whom they approach only to plunder."*

We draw on imagination in supposing that ninety years before the parable of the unjust steward was spoken, such words as these were written by a Jew at Rome to a Jew at Jerusalem. But if we say that the emotions which they express were felt and justified, we are writing history. It is probable enough that some aged Jew at the Pharisee's dinner, a few days previously, could remember hearing in his childhood how a righteous vengeance had overtaken the great rhetorician who had defended a plunderer of the Temple of the Lord; it is certain that Jesus was addressing Jews to whom the experience of their brethren at Rome was already tinged with those associations which were to haunt the whole long record of Jewish intercourse with men of European race. We see the trembling yet opulent Israelite already forced to "make himself friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness"; we know what kind of friends they were to prove. We know, and can we doubt that Jesus knew, or what that knowledge was to Him? He, who was not less the son of Israel because He was the son of Man, seems in the parable we misread so perversely to have as much excused as satirized the unfaithfulness of the steward.

* *Pro Flacco*, c. 28. "*Quam cara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa.*"

whose name was to become, for so many centuries, a symbol for the unrighteous mammon. How deep the mournfulness of his sarcastic advice we can understand only when we read it in connection with his last farewell to the Jewish women who followed their Teacher to the place of death: "Weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." The judgment had already gone forth upon Israel, "Thou mayest be no longer steward;" the delay which severed the death of Jesus from the fall of Zion was but as the interval between the lightning flash and the crash of doom, which, for mortal discernment, followed it; to the spirit dwelling in the realm of the Eternal that crash was already audible. Jesus knew what had to be endured by those to whom the Temple was still the dearest spot on earth. An awful foreboding seems to check Him as He reaches the crisis of the parable; He paints the temptation of the Jew in face of the Gentile; He sums up, in words that would strike us as prophetic, if we could really take in their import, the verdict that history has pronounced on a race which has supplied neither workers nor paupers; He excuses the leniency which, under this temptation, softens debt in hope of partaking advantage, and then He breaks off. He does not tell us how the debtors repaid the steward's service. It was not because that repayment was not already obvious to every true Jew. It was, doubtless, because He felt already what He expressed later, when He bade the woman who pressed to the foot of the Cross weep for the fate of those who were to see the armies of Titus enter Jerusalem.

No tragedy of history equals the fate of Israel on European soil. The earliest exiles would have felt Babylon a paradise if they could have looked forward to the fate of their descendants in the new Babylon and its successors. Yet it is the least intolerable part of that fate which stirs the world's sympathy. Antonio's insults, Front de Bœuf's gridiron, the San Benito of the Inquisition—all, to the true Israelite, would have been endurable, without that sentence which was heard through all, "Thou mayest be no longer steward." From the first moment that the Jew found himself in the Eternal City that dread sentence was heard, dimly and indistinctly, but with growing power. "Thou hast cheapened the holy law and given the Gentile a receipt in full where thou shouldst have claimed a debt, and now thou shalt see that law thou hast taught him to despise and might have taught him to love a mark for deadly hatred, even before it becomes a signal for cruel persecution." Poet, orator, historian; all were at one in contempt and hatred for the law that was the breath of life to the Jew. They had good reason to be so; it was known to them through the medium of an unreasoning fanaticism, chronicled in tumult, bloodshed, and stupid resistance to measures that had no aim but their welfare. As the law became the badge of unbending resistance to upstart despotism,

it gathered to itself a passionate Hebrew devotion, in which the distinction of important and unimportant almost disappeared. In times of persecution nothing is unimportant which may be made a badge of loyalty. It is the boast of the Jewish historian * that the escape from a death of anguish could not tempt more than one or two Jews to deny the law familiar to them as the name of each one to himself, and, "as it were, engraven on their own souls," and his contrast of their utter devotion with the reluctant submission of other races to *their* laws was hardly more triumphant than just. That devotion to their law was wrought up with all in their nature that was highest and lowest. It kindled at the promise, "In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blest;" it glows in the beacon-light of Isaiah; it had not quite died out to the gaze of some Jewish slave in a Roman household, whispering in the ear of a mistress the message that joins the weak and oppressed in a common hope. And that devotion was also allied to all in their nature that was poor, and base, and grudging—to the spirit that heard Paul patiently until he spoke of an admission of the Gentiles to a joint inheritance, and then burst forth in the cry, "It is not fit that such a fellow should live;" † to the spirit that Juvenal commemorates ‡ when he describes a Jew refusing a cup of water to a thirsty traveller, or information as to his way if he had lost it. A persecutor in heart, alternately a flatterer and a churl in demeanour—this was the rôle for the unfaithful steward, received into the everlasting habitations of the debtors of his Lord.

We can understand as we dwell on that thought how the Teacher broke off after describing the endeavour of the steward to ingratiate himself with those who could receive him into "everlasting habitations," and left his ultimate fate unspoken. Perhaps we may understand, too, why He turned to his disciples as he uttered this fragment of a parable. He knew that they, and their successors, were to succeed to the stewardship that had passed from Israel. Were they to exercise it more honestly? Alas, history answers with faltering lips. The very emphasis with which the protest of an Ambrose against the crime of a Theodosius is recorded by Christian historians shows how rare and how timid was Christian assertion of a debt when the debtor was mighty. It is thought a wonderful thing that a Bishop, addressing an Emperor fresh from massacre, should *not* hasten to copy the unrighteous steward, that he should not at once find excuses for an Imperial sinner, and admit to the mysteries of Christian worship one whose hands were dyed in innocent blood. If the Saviour, looking along the vista of ages, saw that on the Christian, too, as on the Jew, that verdict was to be pronounced, "Thou mayst be no longer steward," we may read in his only recorded sarcasm an anguish deeper than that of Calvary. It may be that the verdict has gone forth, that

* Contra Apion, ii. 19, 33, and 39.

† Acts xxii. 22.

‡ Sat. xiv. 103, 4

the Christian is called on to give an account of an unfaithful stewardship where the trust has been far vaster than that committed to the Jew, and that the religion which has excused the sins of the powerful has to make way for some revelation of the will that Christ came to manifest, unsullied by association with the errors and crimes of Christians. It is possible that we are entering on a period when the scorn of men of intellect for Christianity shall recall the scoffs of a Cicero or a Juvenal for the Jew. But let us not think that we atone for the sins of the past by flattering a mob instead of a monarch; or deem that we reverse our errors when we merely change their objects.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

PROFIT-SHARING.

RECENT events demand a few prefatory remarks to the present article. It was written before the troubles in connection with the London Gas-works had begun, and without the least idea that a scheme of "profit-sharing" was to be brought forward to defeat the demands of the Trade Unions concerned in the struggle. No more forcible illustration, however, could have been given of the necessity of accurately estimating the meaning, limitations, and possibilities of "profit-sharing" as a method of preventing industrial strife, and the views here expressed, though closely applicable to this latest contest, have at any rate the merit of the impartiality of general arguments on economic tendencies.

Profit-sharing is a method of conducting business, and not a form of charity; although, of course, like all good business, it takes account of moral elements. The principle on which it is based is by no means new. It is in truth a special form of the most general and far-reaching of all economic principles, namely, that the work done will vary according to the interest of the worker in the result. The greatest agriculturalists of antiquity, the Romans, discovered that slave labour exacted by fear and torture was slovenly and inefficient, and they established a system by which the *colonus* or cultivator became directly interested in the amount and quality of the produce. The Romans were not philanthropists. The celebrated Cato and the older writers on agriculture thought it cheaper to work slaves at high pressure and shorten their lives. The new method of agriculture established by the Romans in one of its main branches grew into the celebrated *métayer* system which still prevails largely over the south of Europe. The essence of this system is that the landowner provides the capital and receives a share in the produce, normally one-half.

In England, as Professor Thorold Rogers has admirably shown, one of the greatest agencies in the emancipation of the serfs and the establishment of the famous yeomanry was the land-and-stock lease, in which the stock was let with the land, and the owner took a considerable part of the risk. Here also the partial identity of interests created was closely analogous to profit-sharing.

A few other examples may be quoted to illustrate the variety in forms and the wide-spread application of the principle. Fisheries have been, and still are, generally conducted in such a way that part at least of the reward of the workers depends upon the result. In the Scottish herring fishery, for example, the men sometimes work for the curers at definite wages, but more often take their "chance," as they call it.

Again, on both sides of the Border, sheep-farmers very commonly allow the shepherds to keep a certain number of sheep with their own, so that they may be directly interested in the welfare of the whole flock. The method of payment by commission in addition to a certain fixed salary has been adopted on a large scale in all kinds of business, and especially in France prizes (*gratifications*) are often given for quality of work, economy, and general efficiency.

It is well to look at the question in the first place in the broad aspects suggested by these examples for several reasons. Most people in this country like to keep their business and their charity quite separate, and there is no maxim more popular than "Business is business." If practical men can once be brought to see that profit-sharing in some form or other has proved an excellent plan of conducting business they will be more likely to give it a trial than if it is considered only as a method of elevating the working-classes.

Again, it must be distinctly recognized that the principle must be applied in different ways according to circumstances—the kind of industry, the class of workers, the nature of the markets, and the like.

Lastly, the full bearing upon the general wages question cannot be seen if the attention is confined simply to the details of one or two experiments, especially when they have been conducted in a foreign country.

At the same time, however, in these days when the air is teeming with all kinds of socialistic theories, it is certainly desirable to study actual living examples of success, and also to account for any prominent cases of failure. For such an appeal to experience the literature of profit-sharing now affords ample materials. The decision of the Society founded in Paris in 1878 for "the practical study of the various systems under which workmen participate in profits" is a good illustration of the need which, even in France, the country *par excellence* of ideas, industrial reformers feel that

they have of the aid of hard facts. This Society, in order to preserve the absolutely practical character of its studies determined to admit to membership none but persons actually engaged in manufacture or commerce. An annual *Bulletin* in quarterly numbers gives some two hundred pages of information collected by the members on the progress of the participatory movement.*

It is, however, to Germany that one naturally turns for a complete compilation of facts and theories with ancient and modern instances. Professor Böhmert has written an elaborate work,† in the first part of which he gives the theoretical and historical side of the question, whilst a special part is devoted to an examination of more than one hundred actual cases taken from nearly every country in Europe, as well as from England and America.

Nor has the subject failed to attract the attention of English economists. J. S. Mill, in the chapter in his "Political Economy" on the Probable Future of the Labouring Classes (bk. iv. c. 7), gave an account of the first and most successful experiment by M. Leclaire, who is justly regarded as the father of profit-sharing in the strict sense of the term. Professor Jevons in a paper on "Industrial Partnerships" (1870), and W. T. Thornton in his work "On Labour" (1870), did much to make the principle and the most striking examples of its application familiar to English readers, and the subject has found a place in all the best text-books since the work of Mill. Quite recently two important works on Profit-Sharing have appeared—one by Mr. Sedley Taylor (1884), and the other, by an American, Mr. N. P. Gilman (1889). In both of these books the case is presented with great impartiality, and with a full sense of the difficulties and dangers as well as of the direct and indirect benefits of the system.

There are, indeed, few economic proposals of a practical kind which have been so long, and so persistently and with such authority presented to the public, and yet it must be confessed that hitherto, in this country especially, profit-sharing has received much more attention from the theoretical economist than from the practical man. Compared with the great mass of industry conducted on the ordinary system of payment by wages, either by piece-work or time, the amount of profit-sharing in the specific sense of the term (according to which in addition to the wages usually current for the same work the labourers receive a share in the surplus profits) is practically infinitesimal. The latest returns compiled by Mr. Bushill,‡ Coventry, show that there are less than thirty firms in the kingdom which have adopted the plan, and the number of labourers employed is only about

* "Profit-Sharing between Capital and Labour," p. 45, by Mr. Sedley Taylor, a work to which, throughout this article, I am much indebted.

† "Die Gewinnbetheiligung." Leipzig, 1878. Translated into French and brought up to date. Paris, 1888.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Schloss, *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1889.

10,000. The numbers are from one point of view considerable, but compared with the millions of ordinary wage-earners, they are insignificant—especially when we remember that many celebrated economists and social reformers in the last forty years have not only given the plan their cordial approval but a wide publicity.

It will naturally occur to most readers who know anything of trade that if profit-sharing really possessed the merits claimed for it as a method of business, and not merely as a philanthropic scheme, it would have been much more generally adopted. • It is notorious how in these days of excessive competition every new idea, tried by one firm with any success, at once finds imitation—*e.g.*, artistic advertising. The first thing, then, that those who advocate profit-sharing on its merits must do, is to explain why it has hitherto obtained so little practical recognition, especially amongst the English-speaking nations, which have taken the lead in most great industrial changes; and an inquiry into the nature and results of profit-sharing may advantageously follow the same lines.

One reason, undoubtedly, why the system has not even been tried at all generally lies in the fact, that even in our day the economic value of various so-called moral forces is altogether under-estimated. The self-interest of employers and of parents ought to have made the long series of Factory Acts unnecessary. It ought to have been evident to master manufacturers that excessive hours of work, bad air, and other notorious evils, not only caused a degradation of labour, but that labour so degraded was inefficient. Parents ought to have seen that it would pay them better in the long run to have their children properly educated and brought up in a healthy manner, even if they regarded them merely as sources of revenue. But it is more than doubtful if either sanitation or education would have been promoted, even to the interest of those most directly concerned, by reliance simply upon that interest. In spite of example and precept, the economic value of moral forces, except of the most obvious kinds—*e.g.*, trustworthiness in a manager,—is rarely recognized. The chief reason why productive co-operation is a comparative failure is, that the value of business capacity is under-rated, and efficiency is sacrificed to nominal cheapness in management. It may be allowed, then, that on analogy with corresponding business methods, profit-sharing may be perfectly sound and practicable in spite of the fact that it has made so little headway. Any one can see at once the value of a new mechanical process; but an improvement in the mechanism of human motive power is not so easily understood.

Another cause of the slow progress of the movement, also of a general character, and therefore more liable to be overlooked, is the popular conception, usually entertained both by masters and men, of the natural economic relations of labour to capital, and of wages to profits. The

greatest industrial success achieved by labour in this century, judged by the ordinary standards of numbers, funds, and results, is undoubtedly trade unionism. Co-operation, boards of conciliation, sliding-scales, and other methods of social reform have obtained a certain amount of practical support from labour, but, directly and indirectly, trade unionism has done more for the welfare of the working-classes than all these other methods put together. Trade unionism has, in fact, been so successful that it has now reached the point of development at which the danger to be feared, on the analogy of corresponding forms in industrial history, is the danger of excessive power. But the outcome of trade unionism is at the best an armed peace—the unions may be, and are to a large extent, benefit societies, but essentially they are great fighting organizations. If there is a rise in prices an advance of wages is demanded, and if there is a fall a reduction is resisted. The natural result is that both in the minds of masters and men there seems to be an irreconcilable opposition between profits and wages, and it is generally believed that the one can rise only at the expense of the other. This is one crucial difficulty which profit-sharing as a practical scheme must overcome before it can hope to be widely adopted.

The nature and force of this difficulty can only be appreciated when the characteristic features of profit-sharing are fully realized. In the typical case the workmen are to receive the ordinary rates of wages current in the neighbourhood, and these rates are in general fixed at the maximum possible according to the state of trade by the action of strong trade unions. Yet, under the proposed scheme, the master is to set aside only a fixed percentage for himself by way of interest on capital, provision for wear and tear and the like, and anything earned beyond this rate is to be divided in certain proportions between the employer and the employed. It certainly looks, at first sight, as if the master was compelled to pay the market rate of wages, but to receive something less than the market rate of profits. And this supposition is strengthened when it is observed that the labourers are never to be called upon to share in exceptional losses, and that at the outside in bad years they can only fail to receive the exceptional bonus obtained in good years. Surely masters may naturally argue that if they are to meet the losses of a depression they must be able to draw upon the gains of an inflation.

There is only one possible answer to this objection, and this is the answer which was given by M. Leclaire, and which is the kernel of the whole matter. *Under the stimulus of profit-sharing the workers must create the additional profits which they are to receive.* If they do not increase the efficiency of their labour or make economies by avoiding waste of materials, or by taking greater care of tools and machinery, if, in a word, they do not for the same wages in some

way or other either increase the out-put or diminish the cost of production, then profit-sharing is simply a gain to the workers at the expense of the masters.

On the other hand, if the system works well, it is plainly possible for wages and profits to rise simultaneously. That the system can be made to work well, the experience of the *Maison Leclaire*, now extending over nearly half a century, furnishes at once a striking and most interesting proof. The story has been often told, and Mr. Gilman deserves praise for having once more imparted freshness to the subject, "by tracing the development of the *Maison Leclaire* in close connection with the circumstances of its founder's life." Nor is this the only example of success. In an industrial census of the whole world 150 is certainly a very small number of firms to quote as evidence of the acceptance of the principle; but when it is found that this number includes various kinds of business, and that the proportion of failures is much below the average, and in most cases due to extraneous causes, the appeal to experience has more weight than appears at first sight. For an inductive proof, however, the reader must turn to the volumes already quoted; it is plainly impossible to compress such a proof within the limits of an article.

To return to the examination of the causes why, especially in the United Kingdom, the progress of profit-sharing has not been greater, another reason is at once suggested by the appeal just made to experience. The English practical man is only too fond of saying that "an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory," and unfortunately in this case the facts with which he is most familiar seem to be against the system, at any rate on the surface. The failure of the experiment made by Messrs. Briggs is even more widely known than the success of the *Maison Leclaire*, and the English attempt which next to this has attracted most attention—that made by Messrs. Fox, Head and Co.—was also abandoned after eight years' trial. These two examples have had so much influence in practically dissuading employers from making the experiment for themselves that, even in an argument of a general kind, they demand a certain amount of attention. As regards the Whitwood Colliery of Messrs. Briggs, very full information is given by Mr. Sedley Taylor in a memorandum* offered to him for publication by two of the original partners. It will be seen from this document that the Messrs. Briggs themselves do not consider the abandonment of the system in their own case a decisive test of its unfitness for this country, for they state explicitly at the conclusion of the paper that "nothing that has occurred seems to show that the system inaugurated at Whitwood may not eventually be generally and successfully adopted, and lead to a more intimate union of interests and a more cordial feeling between capitalists and

* "Profit-Sharing between Capital and Labour," p. 117.

their workmen." In response to a request by Mr. Sedley Taylor for further information, Mr. Archibald Briggs stated that down to 1872, about seven years, the bonus paid to the workmen was really earned by extra care and economy, and that the outside shareholders also reaped a benefit, but in the two years of great inflation which followed, the bonus paid to workmen was more than was earned by the extra efficiency of labour, and thus from a business point of view the shareholders were not so well off as they would have been without the system of profit-sharing. He also said that in his opinion no isolated concern could reap the full benefits of the plan, and that the greatest advantages could only be secured by its being generally adopted, and altering the whole tone of the relations between employer and employed, and doing away with the *antagonistic combinations of one class against the other*.

To the present writer, after a careful examination of the evidence, the main cause of the failure of the Whitwood experiment seems to lie in the fact that from beginning to end the principal object aimed at was to provide a substitute for the influence of the trade unions, and not simply to increase the efficiency of the whole concern with the view of creating a divisible bonus. The chief reason given by Messrs. Briggs for the original adoption of the scheme was, that during a period of ten years four strikes had occurred, lasting in the aggregate seventy-eight weeks, and it was supposed that if the workmen were allowed to become industrial partners they would have no further interest in strikes. Whilst every one must approve of any method which diminishes the number and severity of strikes, and equally of every advance towards a better understanding of their mutual interests by masters and men, it seems fallacious to argue that, as matters stand, it is not for the interest of those workmen who join an industrial partnership to give any support to the action of trade unions. For it must be remembered that the essence of the system as a method of business is to pay a minimum interest on capital and also the market rate of wages before there can be any bonus to divide.

But it is easy to see that the bonus paid to labour must always be small compared with the market rate of wages, and, accordingly, that it is for the economic interest of the workmen to look first to the best mode of increasing the *ordinary* rate of wages, which in the concrete means the action of trade unions. The men in the Whitwood Collieries were fully alive to this elementary fact, and the immediate cause of the breakdown of this industrial partnership was an attempt to keep the men from attending a meeting of unionists. At the same time, whilst the men naturally considered that the bonus, large as it was during the years of inflation, was not large enough to make them independent of their unions, the shareholders, apart from the actual managers, naturally thought the bonus was to a great extent taken from

profits, and not from additional earnings; and on the matter of fact, there can be little doubt that in the two years of very high prices the opinion of Mr. A. Briggs, already quoted, was correct, and that the bonus paid to labour was not due to extra exertion or economy, but mainly to the accidental rise in prices. As a consequence, just as labour looked for the market rate of wages, capital looked for the market rate of profits, and it was announced that the minimum interest reserved to capital before any participation of surplus was allowed would be raised from ten to fifteen per cent. Even after this rise, the outside shareholders grumbled, because they thought their profits were lower than they ought to have been.

The position was one of great difficulty, and when the plan was first adopted no one had ever dreamed of such an abnormal rise in prices. Both Mr. Sedley Taylor and Mr. Gilman maintain that the rise of profits (reserved) from ten to fifteen per cent. was unjustified and contrary to the essence of the scheme. Of course, if it had been foreseen that such a rise was possible, a provision should have been inserted in the original agreement, and in this way a certain amount of friction would have been avoided. As matters stood, however, there appears to be no reason why, as Mr. Briggs points out, when wages had risen fifty per cent. (without the bonus) the interest on capital should also not receive an increment (apart from the bonus), especially as no one could tell how long the "boom" would last, though there was little doubt that very lean years would follow on the natural over-production of the fat years. But although there was some friction over the division of the unexpected surplus, and neither the shareholders nor the men were satisfied, this was not the principal cause of the abandonment of the system. It was not a dispute over the "bonus" but over the ordinary rate of wages and the conditions of work which really led to the disruption. The men wished to support the trade unions, and the shareholders practically threatened to fine them heavily if they did.

The failure of the profit-sharing system adopted by Messrs. Fox, Head and Co., in their ironworks at Middlesborough, may also be largely ascribed to the hostility shown towards the trade unions. It was definitely stipulated that no employes were to belong to trade unions; and in return the employers agreed not to join any association of employers. But, as Mr. Gilman's criticism* shows very plainly, the workmen must have found in the eight years' experiment that Messrs. Fox, Head and Co. were asking much more than they gave. In the first place, ten per cent. interest with six per cent. for renewals and depreciation of the works and plant, and one-and-a-half per cent. for bad debts, constituted a large reserve from profits, and the highest bonus earned by labour in the best year seems to have been four per cent. The firm also

* "Profit-Sharing," p. 274.

secured for itself immunity from strikes, and it decided for itself any question of wages and prices, whilst the workmen had to cut themselves off from the unions which not only tried to obtain a maximum wage, but also carefully looked after the general conditions of labour. Trade unions, however, have done too good service for too long a time to be abandoned for such a small bribe as a bonus on wages. Thus, an examination of the two most celebrated cases of failure tends to prove that the failure was due to an insufficient recognition of actual industrial conditions and an exaggerated idea of the magnitude of the real changes introduced by profit-sharing.

Both "industrial partnership" and "profit-sharing" are apt to suggest a much closer identity of interests than is really involved in this method of business, and it may be questioned whether it would not be better to adopt some such simple name as "bonus system."* The term "partnership" is certainly misleading, for neither in the conduct of the business nor in responsibility for losses are the workmen "partners;" and even as regards profits they have no share in the "interest," which is reserved, nor in the "wages of management," nor in the "reward for risk"—the three elements into which gross profits are generally analysed. What the workmen really share is the increased earnings due to a better use of capital by labour.

Every one will admit that a system of profit-sharing as usually understood offers favourable opportunities for the improvement of the relations between masters and men; but it would be a great mistake, both in theory and fact, to suppose that a "share in the profits," or a bonus on wages, as it is more properly called, is the only possible foundation of a cordial understanding between masters and men, and the only way to obtain various social advantages. On the other hand, in considering the causes of the slow progress of the system practically, some weight must be given to the fact that the purely business principle has been overshadowed in the public mind with these secondary influences. There is no reason why the least charitable and least philanthropic of masters should not adopt some form of extra payment for extra results, some simple form of profit-sharing, any more than that he should adopt piece-work instead of time wages; but many masters are inclined to think that their workmen out of their own wages can make savings and invest them, and also provide themselves with decent recreation and, if they choose, education. Accordingly, although those more elaborate schemes of profit-sharing which set aside so much for social purposes, pensions, insurance against accidents and the like, and which allow, if they do not compel, the savings of the workmen to be invested in the shares of the concern—although such schemes are much more attractive to social reformers and seem to offer much greater

* In the neighbouring collieries the Whitwood scheme was commonly spoken of as "Briggs' bonus."

advantages, still they tend to alarm the average man of business and to make him think that profit-sharing is in reality a form of charity—at his expense. And even from the point of view of the workmen it may be doubted whether it is always prudent to rely upon their particular business for old age, provision for sickness and children, and so forth, rather than on benefit and insurance societies; and they might often prefer to have any bonus they could earn placed entirely at their own disposal. Thus, the indirect social advantages which have justly received such high praise in a few celebrated cases—*e.g.*, Leclaire and Godin—may really have prevented the spread of the system in a more elementary form. Those who could not or would not imitate these great philanthropists on the social side have thought that they need not look at the question at all.

Again, many employers who take a great interest in their workmen, and are ready and anxious to promote their welfare in many ways, still object most strongly to giving them any voice even indirectly in the management, and they think that if profit-sharing were introduced their independence would be sacrificed. This objection takes many forms. It is said, for example, that if workmen are allowed to share in the profits they will insist upon seeing the books, and will distrust the returns made by the masters. To this it is answered that the accounts might be submitted to sworn accountants, whose decision should be final. But, again, it is objected that the rate of profit earned must necessarily be made public, seeing that the amount of bonus will depend upon it, and thus, if the rate is high, that competition might be increased, whilst, in case of bad trade, it is feared that the non-payment of a bonus after a payment for some years might even lead to a partial loss of credit. Thus, whether profits were very high or very low it would not be to the advantage of the firm that the fact should be known. Again, it is said that in years of good trade large profits might be earned for a time, which were in no way due to the extra exertions or carefulness of the men (as in the case of the Whitwood Collieries during the great inflation), and that these profits ought to be set against the exceptional losses of a depression, in which, although the workmen may not receive a bonus, they never share in the actual loss.

The general result of all these objections is that, rightly or wrongly, masters think that under a system of profit-sharing their profits would, in the long run, be less, and that they would also be hampered in the management of their business. Experience has shown that these fears are certainly exaggerated, and also that they are generally expressed by those who have never given the system a trial; but at the same time they do much towards explaining the small amount of favour which the system has practically received from the great mass of employers. When the other reasons already advanced are also taken into account, it is not difficult to understand why profit-

sharing has hitherto altogether failed to realize the expectations formed of it by very good judges, and few would now be inclined to endorse the opinion of Prof. Jevons * in 1870, that "the sharing of profits is one of those apparently simple inventions at the simplicity of which men will wonder in an after-age."

The method of inquiry hitherto pursued in this paper has been, in the main, to consider why this "apparently simple invention" has met with so little practical recognition. It remains now to indicate the way in which this experience from the past may be utilized for the future. To some the natural conclusion would be that a tree which has borne so little fruit for half a century might now be cut down and burned. To my mind, however, to continue the simile, what the tree needs is a liberal use of the pruning knife and the lopping off of a mass of luxuriant but unfruitful foliage.

In the *first place*, in the light of experience and in the present condition of industry, it is ridiculous to suppose that "profit-sharing" can be a substitute for trade unions. Any ordinary firm which intends to give the system a fair trial should be prepared to leave the employ  s absolutely free to take part in the meetings and policy of the unions, just as it should reserve to itself the right of joining combinations of the masters. The reason for this course is obvious. A bonus on wages, after the reserved profits have been allotted to the masters, is not an economic equivalent for the abandonment by the men of their unions, which have so much influence in determining the rates of wages and the conditions of employment. Again, the unions are so strong in a great number of industries, that it would be extremely impolitic for a new and weakly institution to provoke their hostility.

Secondly, it must be remembered that the so-called share in the profits is simply an addition to and not a substitute for wages. Even if the system were adopted almost universally, the working-classes would still in the main depend upon the ordinary rate of wages, which again is determined by the conditions of industrial demand and supply. All that trade unions themselves can do is to see that the best bargain is made which the conditions of the market allow; and profit-sharing can do no more.

Profit-sharing as such furnishes no guarantee against instability of earnings and fluctuations in employment. No system of division of the proceeds can be a guarantee that the proceeds will be forthcoming. The greatest perseverance would be no remedy against over-production or the loss of a foreign market, or an enormous rise in the price of raw material, or the popular adoption of some substitute for an old staple. But in the great mass of industries, fluctuations in wages and employment are the most crying evils of the day. In some businesses of a peculiar character and with well-established custom

* "Methods of Social Reform," p. 125.

these evils are not felt, but the great industries of a manufacturing country are not of this fortunate kind. Thus, profit-sharing at the best will not of itself be a sufficient remedy for some of the most serious evils affecting labour.

Thirdly, there are other methods of obtaining the social advantages connected with the most celebrated examples of profit-sharing. It is not every business that could provide, like that of M. Godin, for the education, amusement, and general comfort of its members, and the example in this country which comes the nearest to it—*Saltaire*—does not, I believe, adopt the profit-sharing principle. Supposing that profit-sharing were as widely spread as its most ardent supporters desire, it would probably not be an unmixed gain for the country at large if, for general social purposes, every business establishment aimed at becoming self-sufficing and independent.

When, however, all this pruning has been accomplished, the stem and its main branches—the principle and its logical consequences—are left intact. And that principle, as pointed out at the outset of this article, is not a principle of charity or philanthropy, but essentially an economic principle: In every business in which time-wages are paid there is always a great waste of time. Nor can this waste be considered as a pleasure to the workmen themselves. Every one knows that it is really much more pleasant to work with brisk, lively energy, and with interest, than to idle and dawdle, and be always looking at the clock. Again, if piece-work is adopted, it is well known that quality is sacrificed to quantity, unless the supervision is stringent and effective.

But so long as the time-worker is paid simply for time, and the piece-worker for quantity, there will be a loss in the value of the output, a loss which is a gain to nobody. Apart from this, there is a further loss in the waste of material, carelessness in the use of machinery, and the like, when the workers have no interest in the general result. Accordingly it is quite clear that in most businesses there is room for extra earnings, and the best way to secure this end is to give a large share to those who by their efforts or care contribute to the result. Profit-sharing of this kind must be advantageous to all concerned. The master obtains a share of the income in proportion to his wages of superintendence, and the workmen obtain their bonus on wages. If this bonus is paid at considerable intervals, or is invested in the form of shares, the compulsory saving thus effected is strictly analogous to that which has produced such good results in the old co-operative societies.

The question has been treated on the whole from the business point of view, and profit-sharing has been considered mainly as increasing the efficiency of the productive agents; but the more successful the system is as a method of business, so much the more will it tend to

bring about those moral and social results for which in most quarters it is generally recommended. The constant effort to make the most of the concern, the creation of a keen *esprit de corps* amongst the workers, the knowledge that to a large extent the interests of masters and men are identical, the application of a share of the profits to social purposes, the opportunity for the gradual accumulation of capital out of extra earnings, and the consequent sense of independence—all these are factors which make for the moral elevation both of masters and men, and tend to diminish the friction between classes. If profit-sharing is a business success, there is little doubt that the rest will follow. Even in private firms it is those on the margin of bankruptcy, and not those with exceptional profits, which give labour the least reward for the hardest work. The best business for the master is, as a rule, best also for the men. But if profit-sharing does not prove a good method of business, it is vain to talk of the social improvements which would follow on its general adoption—for the simple reason that it will never be generally adopted.

An illustration may be taken from co-operation. The co-operative societies for distributive purposes amongst the working classes have been a wonderful success. In Great Britain they have a membership of about 900,000, and sell goods to the amount of nearly £33,000,000 per annum. The net profits are about £3,000,000. Now, after making full allowance for the moral enthusiasm of the original founders, and for the co-operative spirit of the present members, there can be little doubt that this great success is in the main to be ascribed to economic causes—*e.g.*, better quality of goods, and, directly or indirectly, lessened cost. The co-operative productive societies, from the moral standpoint, offer much greater attractions, but they have succeeded only to a small extent, and again the principal causes of failure are purely economic—*e.g.*, competition and inferior business capacity.

But the co-operative movement furnishes a still more definite illustration of the position that profit-sharing must in the first place stand or fall on its economic merits. At the Co-operative Congress in 1888* it was recommended that, “by whomsoever productive enterprises are established—by either the wholesale or distributive societies, or by organizations of the working-men themselves—an alliance be formed on equitable conditions for the sharing of profits and risks between the worker, the capitalist, and the consumer.” A copy of this resolution was sent to the different societies, and questions were put in a circular as to their treatment of their workers. “To this circular only 199 sent replies, of which 138 said that they had no productive works, while 61 gave replies more or less full to the question: ‘Does the society admit the workers employed

* See Report for 1889, p. 28, and Appendix VIII., p. 40.

in it productively to any share in the profits of its business?" *Five societies only replied in the affirmative and 46 in the negative.** To the question: "Would the society be disposed to enter into any plan by which the whole profits in production, or any, or what part of them might be applied for the permanent benefit of the workmen by providing against sickness, disability from age, or assurance on death?" *Ten societies replied in the affirmative and 30 in the negative.*

Could a more convincing proof be offered of the contention that however attractive may be the moral aspects of profit-sharing it must, for practical purposes, be considered in the first place as a matter of business? It is too much to hope that the ordinary capitalist will regard the question from a higher standpoint than the managers of the co-operative distributing agencies which also take up production, encouraged as they are by the public opinion of the great body of co-operators.

Profit-sharing is capable of a much wider extension than it has yet attained, but the first condition of success is that the nature of the economic principles on which it rests, as well as the industrial forces with which it must work, should be fully realized.

At the same time the stress laid on the business side of the question in this paper must not be misunderstood. The ideal of profit-sharing is to make the best use not only of the physical strength and the technical skill, but also of the moral energy of all the workers, the managers included; and the principal obstacle in its path, as in every department of industrial progress, lies in the fact, noticed at the outset, that the economic value of moral forces is constantly under-rated.

J. SHIELD NICHOLSON.

* The returns referred to were made by the distributive societies, and do not include those occupied only with production. The figures quoted in the Appendix (apparently later) are 264 replies—181 no productive works, 10 affirmative, and 61 negative.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA AND IN IRELAND :

A CONTRAST.

I HAVE spent nearly fifty years in Ireland and in India : in the latter I have represented Government in its dealings with populations varying between half a million and five millions.

The five millions, of different races and faiths, formerly bitterly inimical to each other, oppressing and oppressed, are now at peace. Peace has been maintained for many years without a single white soldier ; for appearance sake a few companies of plump and idle sepoys are maintained, but no bayonet or bâton charge, no battering-ram, has, in my experience, been needed in a region larger than Ireland and Wales combined. There it has been my duty to practise the art of government ; and seeing Ireland still garrisoned with 42,000 soldiers and military police, and noting the desire that it be so safeguarded from popular discontent for twenty years more, I would fain say a few words on the contrasts which British rule exhibits in the little island with its four millions of restless grumblers, and in the great Empire with its two hundred and fifty millions of peaceful toilers. Particularly I would note how errors in the administration of both have led to a cry for Home Rule. These demands may soon be heard on a united platform, and may herald a far-reaching federation ; but I deal here with the striking and instructive contrasts in the causes which have led to the two agitations. The leaders, the machinery, the immediate objects, the official resistance hitherto offered are of very different types ; the ultimate aims are probably the same, namely, the abolition of bureaucracy and the development of Imperial Federation by means of constitutional agitation.

The first question is, who pays for the agitation ? For forty years it has been notorious that the Irish movement has depended on popular support : women have brought their mites, servant-girls their wages,

wherever in Europe, America, or Australia the Irish race is found. They have given of their substance as freely as their sisters in Carthage contributed their hair in order to manufacture bowstrings. In India, on the other hand, out of its two hundred and fifty millions, those who subscribe at all in proportion to their means may be counted on one's fingers. In 1880 the expenses of the annual Congress and of the provincial agitation were very large: the sum of £15,000 was contributed by one retired English officer; a wealthy native barrister proffered £300; and a tax of fifteen shillings per head was levied upon each of the members of the Congress—upon the parliamentary representatives, in fact. These were the main sources of the income; the remaining contributions were few in number, and generally meagre in amount. Making every allowance for the shorter period during which the Indian agitation has been at work, and for the want of education among the masses, it is perfectly clear that, judged by the money test, the demand for Home Rule is a popular movement in Ireland, and is not so in India.

The other contrasted circumstances which I will indicate, point, I think, to the same conclusion: that the British administration in India has been far more gentle and gracious, far more sagacious and popular, than in Ireland. Famines, evictions, land laws, settlements, minorities once dominant but now dethroned—these forces have led the people towards Home Rule in Ireland: they have been quite powerless to do so in India. I will say nothing about contrasts between Indian and Irish religions, climates, or ancient histories. All students are aware that the caste system in India renders it almost impossible to create a unity of national feeling. But passing from such obstacles to Home Rule, I must first refer to one matter worthy of anxious contemplation by every loyal British Imperialist, that is, the comparative condition of the two units, Ireland and British India, during the reign of her present Majesty. Both have undergone great changes in the last fifty years, and it is noteworthy that the changes have been in opposite directions.

In 1838 Ireland had a population of eight millions, while England, Wales, and Scotland had only eighteen. At present there are less than five millions in Ireland, against about thirty-three millions in the others. The Irish population was one-third of the British aggregate; it has now sunk to one-eighth. For the Irish decrease, the Empire is so much the weaker: men have decayed, and so have soldiers; there used to be 70,000 Irishmen in the British army; last year there were only 31,000—a point of some significance when it is remembered that 150,000 men of Irish race fought in the American civil war.

While Ireland has decreased, British India has increased, not only in area, but in wealth, strength, and population, with great, nay startling, rapidity. Successive additions, each in itself a kingdom,

one an empire, have swelled the crescent growth of this most marvellous political creation. Oudh, Burma, the Panjab, Scinde, Nagpur, besides numerous smaller fragments, have been annexed. These five alone cover 570,000 square miles, and have a population of fifty-eight millions. Their expanse is about equal to that of Germany, France, and Spain combined. From them have been raised Sikh infantry, and the cavalry which Sir Charles Dilke recently pronounced the finest in the world. Thus the star of India has waxed brighter and brighter, for its apparent and real strength has more than doubled, not only in the quantity of its material resources, but in the quality of its men from a soldier's point of view. British India formerly consisted of the littoral nearly all round the peninsula and of the Gangetic valley, but by the inclusion of the Panjab and Oudh—the nurseries of armies—and by treaty engagements with the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the Ameer of Cabul, the Empress of India has become the only Sovereign whom the martial races of India regard with the loyalty which is a part of their nature and of their creed. British India has become much stronger, and is now a stupendous integer of the Empire, the biggest object in the statesman's outlook. Fifty years ago it was mainly regarded as the tropic home of toiling but effeminate millions, whose function was to produce cotton, indigo, and sugar, while ours was to shield them from fierce foes all around; now those foes have become subjects too. Wise and firm government command their loyal support; they will fight with us and for us. India has, then, abundantly redressed the balance, and replaced the deficit of three millions of Irishmen with nearly sixty millions of fairly loyal and tolerably contented Indo-British subjects. Lord Mayo once remarked to the present writer, when we were waiting in our howdahs for the outburst of a family of tigers, that the problems which he had to solve as Secretary at Dublin and as Governor-General at Calcutta, showed a great mutual resemblance. But I would dwell rather on the contrasts which the two countries present, because I consider them more instructive on the question of Home Rule, and more pregnant with emphatic lessons in the art of government.

FAMINES.

Famines have had most momentous results in both countries during the period in question. Ireland has suffered from the famine of 1847–1848, and the scarcity of 1879. Both of these have had far-reaching social and political effects. In the former about a million of people perished from want of food or the consequent fever. The result was an enormous emigration to America, and the establishment there of a New Ireland, which is unfriendly to Britain.

In India during the same period there have been four great famines,

besides scarcities. In one, that of 1877-79, above six millions are officially reported to have perished of famine or the resulting fever, yet the political results of this awful agony have been *nil*, and it is difficult to note any economical good which has followed. Farms have not been consolidated, cultivation of new staples has not progressed; railways have, it is true, been spread over the land, but when a famine affects three-quarters of the peninsula and a hundred millions of people, railways can only give local and temporal alleviation. We should look to one broad contrast, however. Undoubtedly the State, in the Indian famines, saved alive many millions who would otherwise have perished. Private charity could do, and did do, comparatively little. In Ireland, within twelve hours' journey of London, private charity was the more effective. State aid was generally refused till too late, and was then very badly managed.

The results of famine to the State and public peace were, in the one case, practically nothing; in the other momentous. The agony in India was far greater, the hecatombs of skeletons much larger, yet there has been no legacy of national bitterness; not one landlord or public servant was assassinated, not one dynamite cartridge was exploded in India by the survivors of the great Indian famines, or by the sons of those who perished. I have witnessed the death of many, but I never heard an angry word; though sometimes a father's glaring eyes gazed sadly enough upon the wan children whom he was leaving behind to be homeless orphans. Famine in Ireland multiplied evictions, and evictions begot outrage; then came popular combinations, secret conspiracies—graveyards filled fast, landlords were shot, and packed juries sent some to the gallows, justly enough too. Even now, after forty years, much of the bitterness in the Home Rule agitation can be traced to the famine of '48.

EVICCTIONS.

In both countries evictions by landlords have been closely watched by Government, but in Ireland rather because they are generally followed by outrages, and are often really sentences of death.

In Oudh, a province smaller than Ireland, there were in one year 87,000 eviction notices, of which about one-third resulted in actual loss of the farm; in other years there were as many as 50,000. In 1849 there were 19,949 evictions in Ireland, and this number has never been equalled since—at least, according to the statistics. They have now sunk to 800 (in 1888). So far the balance would appear to be in favour of the Irish tenant; this is, however, far from being the case. The province of Oudh is quite different from the rest of India. In Madras and Bombay the landlords have been evicted on a large scale, and the same policy was followed in North-west India to a limited extent, while in Bengal, with its sixty-six millions, and in the Panjab,

successive enactments have been passed with the object of protecting the tenant. This course has quite recently been followed in Oudh too, though the assembled barons of that province declared that they would never consent to tenant-right, even if they were all to die in one day. But further, not only have evictions been checked and discouraged, but when they are permitted they present none of the harsh features in India which render them so repulsive in Ireland; for in India they can only be effected at one season of the year—in April, after the harvest has been cut. Further, the tenant resides in a village after eviction from his farm; he generally retains his house, and may get other fields, so that the double hardship of losing both house and land, the unroofing of the home under a wintry sky, never happens in India.

In Ireland there were 90,107 evictions during the thirty-one years 1849–80; of these 58,000 occurred in the years 1849–52, after the famine. Very possibly of those who were made homeless, many survived to become richer and happier in America; but still each eviction in those awful times involved risk of death to the sufferers, who took shelter in ditches, or crowded into poor-houses, to be swept off by typhus. That these 90,000 evictions resulted in many thousands of deaths is certain, and doubtless some forty or fifty of the agrarian murders which occurred during that period were the result of popular revenge.

In Oudh, though the numbers sent adrift were enormously larger, the hardships were much less, and the bloodshed was comparatively trifling. The economic evils of evictions—uncertainty of tenure, and discouragement of industry—remained, and Government has recently passed Acts in order to place the Oudh tenant on an equal footing with his brethren in the rest of India.

Throughout the peninsula, in fact, the cultivator is now protected, a result whose full completion has been achieved by ninety years of noble effort. It is only since 1881 that the Irish tenant has received any real protection, and up to 1870 the entire course of legislation was in the direction of facilitating eviction. That is, for three quarters of a century the aims of Irish and of Indian legislation were directly the reverse of each other, for from 1793 up to date the Indian legislator has been striving to destroy or curtail the landlord's oppressive powers. The three F's were always the main aim of the Indian Government; the means adopted varied in each case. In Madras and Bombay the land was nationalized as a rule. The landlords were evicted, and compensation in pensions or in freeholds was granted, calculated on the principle that they were entitled to ten per cent. of the rental.

In Northern India the landlords are retained to a large extent, but they have to pay half of their rental to the State, while the statute-book bristles with enactments designed to protect the tenant. Opinion

varies somewhat among Indian statesmen as to whether this exploitation of the landlords was equitable, but all have agreed that the results have been most beneficial to one hundred and fifty millions of cultivators, whose rights have been protected and their industry encouraged, while the general interests of the State have been safeguarded by the retention of the land-tax. It yields annually twenty-one millions sterling, and the Indian people have through its means escaped taxes upon windows, paper, tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, medicines, newspapers, such as have impeded civilization, and helped on one occasion to dismember the British Empire.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

In both India and Ireland land matters are dealt with by a special department. The settlement officer in India proceeds with great rapidity to fix both the State revenue and the tenants' rents, systematically dealing with an entire county all at once. He encamps under a tree, and visits, as I have done, fifty small farms in a day, while a staff of clerks and surveyors furnish maps and tabular statistics at a very cheap rate; the officer, after three or four days, moves on and encamps in the centre of a fresh field of labour. In Ireland, a couple of land commissioners, who can be dismissed at a moment's notice, fix themselves in an hotel for several months; they drive ten miles in one direction on one day, inspect one or two farms, and then drive home, and prepare maps and tables with their own hands; they are paid nearly £1000 per annum for work which is done in India by clerks at £15 per annum. Thus it happens that the commissioners, since 1881, have only fixed the rents of 116,000 farms, about one-fifth of those in Ireland; respectable, painstaking, competent men as they are, owing to this want of system they have done little; they creep slowly over the country, picking up little clods of earth, in a shiftless, aimless way, never overtaking their arrears. In India the inspection of one farm vastly aids in the valuation of its neighbour, so all in one barony are finished before the court moves on to another. Ten years at the least will elapse before the Irish land settlement is completed, during which time landlord and tenant will become too often more and more embittered. Even now, eviction, rack-renting, the crowbar, and the battering-ram are sometimes resisted with boycotting and outrage. In India the main object is to settle the land question quickly; if the officers cannot make arrangements for thirty years, they fix the tenant's rent and the State revenue for ten or even five years. Speedy justice for the toiling masses is considered indispensable; if the interests of large landowners stand in the way they must be thrust aside; a fair rent for each farm is laboriously determined, and the landlord has to accept it. When Griffiths' valuation

was being made in Ireland, instructions were issued to the officers that no remarks should be made about rent, as landlords and their agents had objected to such remarks, and they could only raise false hopes: further, officers were to be careful to give every landowner his right title—baronet or esquire, for instance; that is, in dealing with land, Irish officers were to take no notice of rents being moderate or crushing; not a word was to be said about the tenant's welfare—the very foremost object in the Indian officer's aims.

One result of the Indian policy is, that the mass of tenant farmers regard the British Government as their protector from landlord oppression; the ryot will patiently endure for the present a good deal of the white man's contumely; he will take buffets from policemen, or avoid them by bribes and be content, provided he be saved from what was his father's fate for generations—perpetual, gripping rack-renting. Another germane result is, that the Indian peasant is content to follow his plough, and to leave Home Rule agitation to lawyers and schoolmasters. There is real peace in India. There is no veiled rebellion or slumbering volcano at present. It is true that an army of a quarter of a million is maintained; this is mainly for the purpose of dealing with foreign foes; very rarely is it required to oppose internal enemies. There are no unpopular institutions, such as are called in Ireland crowbar brigades, or coercion courts.

THE RELIGIOUS MINORITY.

Religious animosities, however, do exist in India, and often cause much turmoil, requiring the assistance of the military. I must therefore briefly notice the contrast between the Protestant minority in Ireland and the Mussulman minority in India. The former numbers one-fifth, or about a million; Mussulmans number sixty millions, or about a quarter of the Indian total; both profess what they consider a purer faith, and both have waged war for centuries against the so-called idolatrous practices of their neighbours; there is hardly a temple in India of any antiquity which does not bear testimony in the broken noses of its gods to the iconoclastic zeal of the Moslem.

In both countries, for five hundred years, this minority possessed a political ascendancy, which it exercised, however, very differently. The Moslem was haughty and overbearing, but tolerant enough of Hindu worship, save for occasional outbursts of bigotry; he has now been placed entirely on a level with the Hindus; he is nowhere and in no matter dominant. The Protestant, on the other hand, maintained in Ireland for 170 years a most galling system of religious persecution; the houses and the lands, the learned professions, the religious services, the priests and bishops, the very wives and children of the

Catholics, were in constant peril according to law. These disabilities have been removed, but much remains which is not only offensive but injurious. The Protestant minority retain about three-quarters of the land, three-quarters of the unpaid magistracies: 56 of the 72 paid magistrates are Protestants; 228 out of 272 police-officers; 30 out of 32 lord-lieutenants; 36 out of 45 privy councillors; 35 out of 46 commissioners and other officials on Boards of Works and Local Government Boards; while all the high executive officials in Dublin, without a single exception, are Protestants.

The Moslem minority in India possesses no such monopoly. When deprived of their ascendancy, they for many years held sullenly aloof from the English usurpers; bigotry and fanaticism induced the more desperate of the faithful to become assassins, and the men who committed all the noted murders of English officers and governors, such as those of Fraser, Connolly, Macnaghten, Chief Justice Norman, Lord Mayo, were Moslems. These outbreaks of individuals did not lead to reprisals by the State upon the Moslem nation. No Coercion Acts were passed; increased energy was shown rather in sending the schoolmaster among the ignorant Pathans; the great imperial mosque was restored to them, and pains were taken so that they should get their fair share of public offices. The result has been that this minority has forgotten its old ascendancy, and its fancied wrongs; it clings to the British Government even after it has lost all monopoly and privilege, regarding the English as the natural protectors of the few against the many who might try for revenge, or at least for ransom, from their old oppressors.

The people in India, as in Ireland, are divided into two camps on the subject of Home Rule, the minority in each case being generally opposed to it, while the majority labour hard to persuade their ancient enemies that all old animosities are forgotten, and that Nationalists, when allowed to govern in domestic matters, will be tolerant and impartial. The Hindu would have apparently succeeded entirely, had it not been for an unfortunate occasion of strife. The calendars of the two faiths do not correspond: one is always overtaking and overlapping the other. The Moslem faith has one most mournful celebration, that of the martyrdom of Husn and Hosein, the Prophet's grandsons. The Hindus have a joyous festival in honour of the upspringing of the young rice, and of the victory of their deified King Ram; for two years in every thirty-five these two celebrations coincide, and unfortunately, in 1886-1887, the clashing of the rival processions, of the mourners and the revellers, caused bitterness between the two races everywhere, and bloodshed in many places. Moslems demand that idols and processions shall not be paraded past their holy mosques with fife, drum, and all the earsplitting harmonies dear to Hindus; for this cause battles have

often raged round the shrines, and the deaths have numbered about 150 on more than one occasion.

There is no such rock of offence in Ireland. St. Patrick's Day never clashes with the 12th of July. The Protestant minority in Ireland have to dread matters more material; Home Rule would undoubtedly entail the loss of the ascendancy which they still enjoy in the way of State monopolies of place and power. It has been my lot on more than one occasion, as an Indian magistrate, to stand between rival masses numbering 50,000 on one side and 50,000 on the other, both yearning for hostilities; with the aid of a few policemen only, peace was preserved without even a bâton charge or a broken head. That moral suasion succeeded was certainly not due to the peaceful habits of the people, for when British magistrates were absent the butcher's bill at Vellore and Delhi far surpassed that at Belfast. The main reason undoubtedly was that both Hindu and Moslem respect their magistrates as just and impartial, and anything like defiance of their authority, much more any outrage upon their persons, even in a battle of mobs, would be avoided diligently by both sides; they would sacrifice even a religious orgie at the bidding of the just white man. Now, the impartial arbiter is exactly what the Irish people consider to be wanting in their country, and there is no doubt that the yearning for Irish Home Rule, though historically based upon race and religious differences, upon old sufferings, upon landlord wrong, evictions, famines, is at present nourished mainly by the popular abhorrence of their magistrates, police, and Coercion Acts. Nationalists think that the ancient ascendancy of the minority, rudely shattered by the abolition of the Church and land tyrannies, has been restored to former vigour by its alliance with the executive, whose officers, codes, and administrative principles have been adopted at the bidding of the English settlers, now more dominant than ever. They regard Home Rule not merely as the only means of national development, but as the only remedy for much galling injustice.

In Ireland, as already pointed out, the Nationalist majority has no share of State loaves and fishes; the national leaders are to be found oftener in the dock than on the bench. India, too, has men of similar type; Mandlik, Telang, Norton, Hume, Bonnerjee, Syud Ahmed, all are or were agitators; but they have been honoured by the State: not one of them has had personal experience of the plank bed or of the policeman's bâton. In its selection for the unpaid local magistracy, or the paid stipendiaries or police-officers, Government follows national feeling. The people revere Brahmins and Jeyuds, the holy men of the Hindu and Moslem faiths; Government respects and conciliates this sentiment, bigoted as it is; and high caste men, as they are called, if of good character and education, are preferred for official posts. So far, Indian government is according

to Indian ideas, and its vast patronage is used so as to attract popular sympathy, which in Ireland is repelled. Curious to relate, though in every respect the Indian magistrates, paid and unpaid, are more popular, more effective and impartial, than in Ireland, and though there are only one or two relics of ascendancy policy in the administrative schemes, yet these little rifts in the lute injure the harmony. The demand for Home Rule in India is fostered mainly at present by the magisterial and executive posts being confined to foreigners in practice, though open to all in theory.

MAGISTRATES.

In both India and Ireland the work of dealing with criminals has been very largely withdrawn from judges with juries, to be entrusted to paid magistrates, called in Ireland Resident Magistrates—in India District Joint and Assistant Magistrates; in Ireland they number seventy-two, and recently about twenty temporary appointments have been made; in India the civil service of the three Presidencies numbers about 950.

The officers in the latter are chosen by open competition, to which all subjects of her Majesty have access, so that among them are to be found men of all colours, races, and faiths—Hindu, Moslem, Protestant, Catholic, Parsi. All classes of society are blended together impartially in this governing body. The men who moulded final policy most largely with reference to such agrarian questions as the North Indian Tenancy Bills, for eighty millions of people, and the famine codes, were a Catholic from Galway, a Presbyterian from Scotland, and an Episcopalian from Cambridge. The magistrates and judges are similarly of various origin and different early training. The pay of district magistrates varies between £1500 and £2500 per annum; they cannot be dismissed by the Indian Government, and they are entitled to good pensions. The Irish magistrates have mostly commenced at £300, rising to £500; they are removable at pleasure, and are not entitled to pensions, though such are occasionally given; they are selected by Government mostly from police-officers or officers in the army, only eleven of them having been barristers, and those of the briefless order.

The Indian magistrate having been chosen under a system of selection, ably and honestly devised at its origin and repeatedly improved since, is trained elaborately for years before he becomes a district magistrate. He has to pass examinations in law, English, Hindu, and Moslem, and in several languages, classical and vernacular; his actual work is scrutinized and rigidly tested for years after he has passed this ordeal: the language of the court is the vernacular. All pains are taken to ensure that the ablest and most industrious men shall be selected, and if individuals afterwards turn out badly, they

are eliminated by further purgation and dismissal, if necessary, even after long tenure of Indian appointments.

Still more, after they have escaped from the examiners, it is constantly impressed upon them and the public that there is no one more liable to err than a magistrate. So when sentencing in the pettiest case the grey-headed officer has to record his reasons in writing; every prisoner convicted is allowed a copy free of charge, and the gaol officials are compelled to draft appeals for all prisoners. Thus every one can bring his case before a higher court without stamp, fee, counsel, or friend. Not content with this, the superior courts inspect abstracts of all decided cases, which are sent up daily; they call for the records, and in hundreds of cases they cancel the order; and the prisoner, who had not dreamed of appeal, some morning finds himself a free man, and returns to his village blessing with Oriental exuberance the justice which had served his need, though unbought and unsought. The Indian motto, in fact, is that justice must be done between the Queen Empress and the swarthy prisoner at the bar; and, however tedious and costly, all precautions must be taken; while the public which sees experienced officers painfully making voluminous records of every witness's evidence, admits that such men are hard-working servants of the State, and are honestly trying to do justice.

The spectacle of magistrates working all day under a tropical sun, doing the work of shorthand writer, of counsel for the defence, and of judge all at once, conveys to the most irreconcilable Indian nationalist the idea that in some matters the alien rulers are unselfish and pains-taking lovers of justice. In what I have to say about the contrast exhibited in Ireland, I will strive to epitomize public opinion as I have heard and read its utterances.

In every point the Irish magisterial system is the direct opposite of that above described. The officers are chosen not by merit but by favour; they know little or nothing of law at first, and do not learn much afterwards; they are not tested in the Irish vernacular, which alone is familiar to many of those who come before them; the language of their court is always English; they are generally Protestants, and too often political partisans of the ascendancy party, trained from their youth in the idea that those whom they have to try are at heart rebels, hostile to law and order, and the enemies for ages of the magistrate's own kindred and faith. The only condition about legal qualifications is that when a bench of magistrates is trying a case under the so-called Coercion Act, one of the members must be a person of whose legal knowledge the Lord-Lieutenant has satisfied himself. This quaint provision replaces the rules in force everywhere else.

For the black man in India I have described the safeguards taken. For the black man in Jamaica, similarly, every magistrate must be a barrister.

The Irish procedure also leaves latitude for magisterial eccentricities, such as might be expected when officers have no legal training or traditions. They are not compelled when passing sentence to record their reasons in writing; and they often refuse to do this act of simple justice, and thus construct appeals. In recent cases—*The Queen v. Heaphy*, and others—Baron Dowse and Chief Baron Palles poured forth vials of scorn upon these magistrates; the former declared that they could no more state a case than write a Greek ode; the latter objected to a dangerous practice—that of allowing a party to the proceedings to directly or indirectly influence the stating of the case. In *The Queen v. Heaphy*, the bench imprisoned four shopkeepers for refusing to sell bread; they refused to give their reasons in writing, they refused to increase the sentence beyond a month so as to allow of appeal. Ultimately the Court of Exchequer quashed the conviction as being supported by no evidence and opposed to previous decisions, and apparently in their opinion these magistrates as a body are guilty of every fault and incapacity which could disqualify them for their functions—stupidity, ignorance of law, neglect of precedents, inability to give simple reasons, liability to be improperly influenced by parties in the discharge of duty. Such an indictment was never laid by an Indian High Court against any individual magistrate even, while the comments of the High Courts upon the magistrates as a class have always been highly complimentary.

In Ireland, I doubt if anything else could be expected, though my own observation would lead me to a milder conclusion. These poor gentlemen are very unfortunate; placed in a most trying position, for which they are utterly unfitted, they demand sympathy rather than scorn. Public opinion concerning these removables, as they are called, may be summed up as follows:—

Good-natured, bucolic creatures, with no experience save of police barracks or the mess-room, they have been placed upon the bench to try most difficult cases, when their only qualifications are good family, a gentlemanly exterior, and decayed circumstances. Most of them are sons of landlords. They have had to administer an Act specially designed to crush tenant combinations and the Plan of Campaign. Many of them have large families and very small pay; their only chance of bettering themselves lies in pleasing the executive by vigour in the cause of law and order. *Le père de famille, il est capable de tout*; their only passport to securing comfort in their old age lies in getting one of the pensions which are granted as special favours to those who have done exceptional service.

These magistrates possess, then, generally the mother wit and good temper which belong to their country. In every other respect they are disqualified for the exercise of judicial functions—by birth, military training, ignorance of law, political partisanship, poverty, and

entire dependence on the executive. By these benches from twenty to thirty members of Parliament have been convicted, some of whom had been chosen to act as mayors in Dublin and Cork; and dignitaries of the Catholic Church, like Canon Keller, town councillors, and hundreds of others, whom the people delight to respect or even venerate have been tried and condemned.

Some of the magistrates are particularly militant. One may be seen ordering a body of police to baton a crowd who had cheered the Plan of Campaign. He then sentences those who have been caught, seated on a rail, a cigar in his mouth, a billycock hat replacing the conventional wig, a suit of homespun the judicial ermine. In political trials there has been, ever since the Revolution, much dignity and decorum. Even if the laws of libel and conspiracy were unfairly pressed by Ellenborough or Thurlow, the harshness was veiled by the majesty of the procedure, by the learning and ermined splendours of the bench. In Ireland, perhaps designedly, the lowest grade of the hierarchy have been employed to try the leaders of the Irish people, and have sentenced them to hard labour, involving servile tasks, oakum-picking, plank beds, and disgusting sanitary operations.

There are no less than twenty judges in Ireland receiving between £2500 and £8000 per annum, many of them men of unblemished honour and lofty ability; but the trial of Sullivan, O'Brien, Dillon, Harrington, Wilfrid Blunt, Redmond—of poets, priests, parliamentary leaders—was entrusted to men who had been civil engineers or police-officers, whose unfitness for their functions had been repeatedly proclaimed by the Court of Exchequer. One of them had failed repeatedly to pass his examination for the army: he was formerly a police-officer, and had been in charge of the police at Mitchelstown when three men were shot dead. He received, as resident magistrate, £300 per annum, till it was discovered that he had been dismissed from official employment at Capetown on account of embezzlement.

These magistrates had to try the most difficult cases, involving the law of conspiracy, combination, abetment, as Mr. Balfour remarks, during 1888. Their decisions were reversed in ten per cent. only of the appeals, but he omits to add that their sentences were reduced in another twenty-five per cent. In my opinion, it was to the credit of the County Court judges and recorders, holding, in some cases, official appointments at the pleasure of the Crown, that they ventured to interfere with thirty-five per cent. of the decisions.

Under the so-called Coercion Act of 1887 appeal is only allowed on the facts if the sentence exceeds one month; in the large majority of cases the sentences were not above a month. Sometimes the magistrates refused to increase them in order to allow of appeal, so that it is clear that the limited success of appeals is no proof whatever that the 1500 persons who in 1887-88 were

condemned under this Act received a fair trial. It is true that in many cases the magistrates could only condemn, and the Coercion Act does not allow of fine as a penalty. If a girl, or a priest, a Lord Mayor, or an M.P. is convicted of taking part in any criminal conspiracy, of interfering with the administration of the law, by whistling "Harvey Duff," or by laughing at a policeman, or by booing a bailiff, or by addressing constituents on the Plan of Campaign, or by wearing a National League card, or by selling a newspaper containing reports of League meetings, or by leaving church when a boycotted individual enters it, he or she must go to gaol.

So far as I have watched in court the proceedings of removable magistrates, I should say they were courteous in demeanour, outwardly considerate and attentive to counsel, but often savage in the severity of their sentences. A town councillor (Walsh), in Cork, hit a policeman on the shoulder one blow with his fist in sudden anger, because the policeman had stopped the town councillor's little boy, who was quietly going home; there was no disturbance or crowd, the policeman admitted his mistake, and the police authorities offered to withdraw the charge if Mr. Walsh would apologize; he declined, and he was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, to the serious injury of his large business. In India or England, a fine of forty shillings would have been inflicted. An Irish M.P. addresses his constituents in very moderate language; he receives two sentences of imprisonment for different portions of the speech, because it advocated the Plan of Campaign.

In India, the main objects and machinery of the Plan of Campaign are lawful; nay, the course followed by its supporters is prescribed by law as compulsory on the magistrates. In Ireland, the campaigners discuss and determine with their priests and others what rents are fair; these are offered to the landlord in exchange for receipt in full, or are kept for him. In India, if crops have failed, the court lowers the rent in proportion to the loss, or wipes it out entirely; and further, the court is ordered to receive from the tenant, and hold in deposit for the landlord, whatever rent the tenant declares to be justly due.

To put a man out of caste, to "put out his pipe," as it is called, is a thing practised daily in India without any interference on the part of criminal courts; even civil courts have been very chary of meddling with this social ostracism, just as English courts have declined to set aside expulsions from clubs. In Ireland, boycotting has been punished with six months' rigorous imprisonment; letting civilly alone or severely alone is the authoritative interpretation of boycotting; refusing to shoe horses, or to sell bread, leaving the church on the entry of the boycotted, such phases of the crime have been severely punished in Ireland. Nay further, according to the law reports, certain magistrates persist in convictions after the full bench has declared such action

illegal. Not only on this account are these courts odious to the community, but also because they have ousted the jurisdiction of juries and of the local magistracy, who are compelled to leave the bench to look on helplessly, while respectable neighbours are sent to jail through strained construction of a harsh law by men whom they consider to be incompetent and biassed, pliant dependents of the executive.

Hence the Home Rule plan recommends itself to the Irish public; excuses are made for violence of language and of deed, and the cause is hallowed to their minds because it is attacked by what they consider odious instruments and by unfair weapons. The Home Ruler promises to relieve them from the magistrates, police-officers, and coercion laws, which they regard as upas-trees far more noxious than the Irish Church ever was; and whatever else an Irish peasant may forecast as his own peculiar gain from Home Rule, all agree "shure and we'll get rid of them removables."

The above are the views concerning their magistrates, held by the Irish people, and largely concurred in by men of all shades of politics.

POLICE.

In order to grasp fully the strength of the popular feeling about magistrates, I must consider them in connection with the police, and with the outrages which have been always pleaded as the defence for official action in measures of coercion. The contrast between Ireland and India will here appear very marked. In the latter, the police are absolutely under the magistrates, who can control, censure, or suspend them. It is a daily occurrence for a magistrate to disbelieve the evidence for the prosecution, proceed to the spot where the alleged outrage occurred, and investigate, with the aid of local surroundings, not only the conduct of the alleged criminal, but that of the police too. The Irish executive seems powerless. Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M.P., was savagely beaten by police bâtons in Cork, under circumstances which I investigated on the spot; his life was endangered. Mr. Balfour, when asked for judicial inquiry, refused; stating that a law would have to be passed before there could be a judicial investigation. Precisely at the same time, I read that a Burmese woman preferred a charge against an English county inspector of police, or district superintendent, that he had ordered her forehead to be tattooed. At once this police-officer was suspended; he was transferred from the district, and a magistrate was ordered to inquire into the case. This was in Burma, only conquered three years ago, up to last year swarming with brigands and seething with rebellion; yet the reign of law in that savage realm is already benignant, and the liberties of Brahmin, Buddhist, and negro are safeguarded with precaution, and vindicated

with a promptness unknown in Ireland. The cuticle of a Burmese maiden is considered more precious than the skull of an M.P. In Ireland, recently, repeated cases have occurred in which police witnesses were utterly discredited; they professed to have recorded speeches in shorthand, while on trial they proved themselves incapable of doing so. The magistrates in India would at once have taken steps to prosecute them for perjury: in Ireland they could do nothing. Similarly, when a district inspector with his party, escorting Mr. O'Brien, fired three times through the railway carriage window, dreading a rescue, no independent inquiry was made; and in hundreds of other cases the Irish public firmly believe that the police committed brutal assaults and even murder repeatedly. These matters, without a single exception, in India would have been investigated within a few hours by independent magistrates, whom the police could not cajole, and the Government of India could not dismiss.

Hence largely arise the different feelings with which the Hindu regards his magistrate: on their triad of deities the supreme power is represented not only as a destroyer but as a preserver also; and when the English magistrate interferes to rescue the accused from the police, when authority appears impartially sometimes as the punisher of the guilty, and sometimes as the saviour of the innocent from official persecution, the Hindu feels for the time not only content but grateful, even though his ruler be an alien.

Police-officers in Ireland are selected by nomination after an examination of an elementary nature. Their posts, too, like the magistrates', are popularly considered to be used as a means of outdoor relief for the sons or nephews, of landlords whose incomes have been terribly reduced recently, and whose position is deserving of great pity. Thus the police-officer as well as the magistrate represents the ascendancy party, and partakes of the bitterness felt by the minority for the Nationalists. The feeling is reciprocated; charges and counter-charges have been made; police outrages have been sometimes exaggerated, and the strongest denunciations employed in the Nationalist press; exasperation results, and men, generally good-humoured and humane, have developed no small share of savagery when a crowd is to be dispersed, or an agitator terrified by a bâton charge.

GENERAL WORKING OF CRIMINAL LAW.

I have shown why the police and the magistrates are severally unpopular. I must show also how their mutual relations and joint action are regarded.

Both the police and the magistrates are, it is believed, at all times too much under the influence of the ascendancy minority, from whose ranks they are mostly recruited. They are dependent also on the

executive, which can transfer, promote, degrade, dismiss its magistrates at pleasure. But these features, though unique so far as I know, are not those most disliked in Ireland. In India the principle of departmental checks has been followed; the magistrate controls the police, the judge the magistrate. Their powers and emoluments harmonize with this principle. The civil service is guarded by law from the intrusion of policemen or of officers from the army, and the police are strictly subordinate to the judicial branch; they are controlled at every step, whether in arresting criminals, whom they must bring before a magistrate within twenty-four hours, or in preparing statistics, or in dispersing public meetings. This local and automatic check is exercised by trained magistrates, freely chosen from the sons of the soil, who are entitled to pensions, and cannot be dismissed by the Indian Government.

In Ireland, the policemen and magistrates are alloyed, so to speak, and the alloy is, the people think, still more pliant than either of the constituents. On entering an Irish court during the trial of a case under the Coercion Act, there appear on the bench two magistrates: they decide the cases; they have been receiving from £300 to £550, a salary recently slightly raised; near them, when important cases are being tried, there will be a divisional commissioner, whose pay is £1000, the chief detective and prosecutor-general. This officer is head of the executive, he gives orders which the magistrates obey even in their courts. For instance, Mr. Cecil Roche is trying a case; there is some cheering outside the court; the commissioner orders the street to be cleared, and Mr. Roche proceeds to carry out the order. These commissioners transfer the magistrates, it is said, as they please; they are heads of police, too; the judge is under the prosecutor's control. The magistrates themselves, in most cases chosen from among the police-officers, hope to double or treble their meagre pay by becoming heads of the police again themselves. The majesty of the law is not asserted any more than its independence; the magistrates may sit under gilt lion and unicorn, but the might of the State is behind the prosecutor; the magistrates are but pawns on the chessboard. The executive can secure that the prisoner shall be tried before any tribunal which it may select, while early training, future hopes, and political bias incline the magistrate to favour the police, the prosecution. The two bodies are thus welded together into one instrument of discipline, pliant, handy and effective as the long cowhide lash of a Mexican whip. The checks upon magistrates are their own feelings and the publicity of their proceedings. Many of them are humane and gentle; but even when this is so, the laws and procedure often produce a harsh result. The Act of 1887 prescribes that the preliminary inquiry into offences may be conducted in the absence of the accused and without any witnesses, so that publicity is avoided.

The law allows the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim the Land League as illegal; from that time meetings, advertisements, newspaper reports, sale of newspapers, wearing of cards, cheerings and jeerings become crimes, because the Lord-Lieutenant has so ordered. The magistrates can then try offences committed before the date of the proclamation, the jurisdiction is retrospective, as in Mr. Dillon's cases; they can, without giving any reasons, imprison for six months; there is no appeal on the facts, if the sentence is less than a month; the law provides that offences of such an ambiguous nature as "interfering with the administration of the law," "inciting or promoting intimidation," "publication of Land League proceedings," with a "view to promote its object," shall be summarily tried by these magistrates. Lord Mayor Sullivan was imprisoned for this last offence, and so were several newsvendors for selling the papers containing such reports.

While I write, the Attorney-General has ordered all Catholic jurors to stand aside, and a Catholic has been tried for his life by twelve Protestants.

When the Guikwar of Baroda was charged with an attempt to poison Sir Lewis Pelly with a dose of diamond dust, the Indian Government impanelled as assessors at the trial three native princes, Mahratta chiefs like the accused. Indian law provides that jurymen shall be selected by lot, that Britons shall be tried by a jury of whom the majority must be their countrymen, and that the verdict can only be set aside by the High Court; so anxiously has this old Anglo-Saxon privilege of trial by peers been enforced in India and extended to Hindu and Moslem, while it is being withdrawn from Irishmen.

PERSONAL INSPECTION BY GOVERNORS.

One more contrast may be noted. In spite of all provisions, injustice is often committed in India; the people suffer and are reluctant to complain. So there is a local government in each province, and the Governor visits each part of his realm to redress wrongs. For instance, Mr. Mackenzie has ninety thousand square miles to look after; within a year of his appointment he visited personally every district under him; men like Sir Thomas Munro, Sir Henry Lawrence, Jonathan Duncan, lived their lives in India, and died at their posts. It is stated that an Irish Secretary has been above two years in office without spending a month in Ireland, or even a day in the districts in which the problems of Government are being worked by officers so grievously inefficient.

If there is scarcity in an Indian province, Lord Lytton, in the worst season of the year, travels a thousand miles, leaving pleasant Simla behind him; and Lord Connemara descends from Ootacamund

into the sultry and feverish plains. Their officers are active, able, humane, and unbiassed, save by the natural desire for ease. That is not enough. The master must see things with his own eyes. In Ireland there are a hundred matters which distort the views and cloud the perceptions of local officials, yet such are the hard necessities of parliamentary life that Secretary and Lord-Lieutenant are compelled, it is said, to remain in England, and to read only reports by the very men who are impeached. Doubtless officials wearied by party struggles find much needed recreation on the Links at North Berwick, or the breezy downs of Newmarket. Still the contrast may be noted between these officials and the governor or secretary of Bengal, who reaches his post after a quarter of a century's toil, and never leaves it for a single month of his incumbency.

CONCLUSION.

In India a small minority only are discontented, for governors, magistrates, and police all work together in their proper places, aiming at no party objects, intent on the general good, and doubtless on those personal advantages also which men must always desire. In the reverse of this we find the main causes of the demand for Home Rule in Ireland. The people dislike with varying degrees of intensity their magistracy, their police, and the Coercion laws, which those bodies carry out; their minds dwell on secret Star Chamber inquiries, on benches of removables superseding juries, applying with clumsy ignorance ancient law which has descended from Edward III., and modern coercion, which has been obtained from the British Parliament through fictitious statistics and Pigott's forgeries. Generous and statesmanlike has been much of State action, Liberal and Conservative, but the people as a whole have only heard of Lord Ashbourne's Acts; they have seen the bâton charge and the battering-ram, and heard the patter of buckshot; they have witnessed, they think, high-handed outrage by officials followed by no inquiry or redress; police in Ireland bear no numbers, so that civil actions are practically impossible. All this is galling, and they clamour for Home Rule, not because it will place a Parliament in College Green, but because it will sweep away the Castle and the removables, and place the police under control.

In India the nationalists have no such grievance, yet they, too, aim at Home Rule, and Congresses of twelve hundred delegates, with thousands of orations, but very few rupees, support the agitation. They demand that examinations for the Civil Service and the army shall be held simultaneously at London and Calcutta, so that their youth may compete on even terms; they ask to be allowed to volunteer, that men of good character may carry arms for sport or protection;

that executive and judicial functions shall be separated; that some members of the legislative councils shall be elected by the people.

One reason, no doubt, of the temper and moderation with which these demands are pressed, is that Government has so far responded with successive reforms, and its tone has been cautious and conciliatory. Many thoughtful patriotic Indians, though content with their officials as individuals, think that authority should become less autocratic; that the people should do more for themselves, and the bounds of liberty be broadened. Vast will be the task of responding to these requests, according to the varying needs of Indian nations, comprising all types of civilization. The Calcutta Government, inspired by traditions which have descended from warrior statesmen, such as Monro or the Lawrences, have refrained from stubborn refusals; conscious that the empire is God-given, they have not sought to maintain it by any alliance with a minority, or by any dependence upon privileged classes, and they have not become entangled in or discredited by partisan intrigues. Having recently pulverized great kingdoms, and treated land as national property, they are naturally chary of fastening such epithets as rapine or disintegration upon any constitutional agitation.

The Indian nationalists are conscious that they have received blessings which Ireland still lacks. The nationalized land pays easily a revenue of twenty-one millions sterling; rack-renting and evictions are rare and becoming rarer. The breakfast-table is free; the magistracy is able and impartial, freely chosen without favour from white and black; juries are not packed; there is no Coercion Act. The police are controlled, and efforts to correct their errors are ceaseless; there is no dominant minority ever galling the people with fresh instances of the monopoly of State powers and emoluments which they possess. In fact, the fabric of agitation wants the corner-stones which lie handy all over Ireland.

In India there is no angry discontent, there is hopeful, eager aspiration, for cautious concession is the motto of the rulers, not dogged denial. It is the fervent prayer of Indian Nationalists that the British Parliament will soon become representative of the Empire; that it will be relieved of petty domestic matters in Ireland, and will then take up the broad questions which concern two hundred and fifty millions of Indians; to them England has shown that she can be unselfish and benignant, and in their contentment has been her exceeding great reward. May the rulers of Ireland be of like mind. In their dealings with their magistracy and police, in holding the balance between rival parties, in special enactments for peace preservation, may they, as in the land question, not disdain to copy the wise men of the East, with their motto, "Be just and fear not."

A BENGAL MAGISTRATE.

A LUMBER-ROOM.

IT discovers an altar to an unknown god,—humanity in ignorant worship of time. It offends us at the same time that it fascinates; we approach it in impatience; we descend from it with lingering, in dust and tears. As in a vault we look round; we dare not transpose or remove. Our memory's chapel is an attic where grandpapa's crutches touch the long sloping roof, and the moralities are inscribed on a sampler, traversed by mystic signs. Our religion is betrayed in our attachment to the obsolete; the four-post bed in its mouldering uselessness awaits the final trump. Not without hope of ultimate restoration have these rusting fire-irons, this dilapidated furniture, been confided to the custody of the mildew and the moth. Neither are trophies of our mortality wanting. We preserve, as in a crude catalogue, records of our ancient sickness or necessity. We cannot destroy the leading-strings of our own childhood: and what of the knobbed stick, the pad, the crutch? Gratitude still leans on these; the horn spectacles, that have ceased to lighten the eyes of our ancestors, dim our own. The nearer an object has lain to life the keenlier it penetrates our sympathy. A pipe, a ragged purse, a stained palette, a carving half blocked-in, any broken instrument, engage us more than objects stamped with the estranging impress of remoteness or achievement. The globe once habited by gold-fish, the empty bird-cage, even the tenantless mousetrap, distress us. Instinctively we moralize. Divines exhort us to an examination of conscience, and we turn a deaf ear: the conscience is too close for impartial survey and censure. Neither must remorse, which is old conscience, be adverted to. A past to which we are attached either by prejudice or voluntary affection impedes and constricts us. In a lumber-room we conduct the scrutiny of our dead selves without embarrassment: we stand aloof, observe and remember.

Yet why generalize, why speak of lumber-rooms, when it is of one we are thinking,—the many-nooked attic in an old-fashioned farmhouse, where two rosy-cheeked children played in winter on a floor strewn with store-fruit and ripening damsons? It had been revealed to them that, if a certain curious hair-trunk were opened, with due rites and at propitious hour, the dolls they had fondled, lost, forgotten, and after many days desired with tears, would suddenly be discovered lying bright and uninjured as on the day of gift. A warming credulity crept through me as I listened to details of the anticipated reunion. We discussed the toilettes of lost favourites that “suddenly as rare things will, had vanished,” the oddities and infirmity of others taken from us by violence or disaster. We recalled the lovable traits of creatures fallen to decay through ill-usage or neglect. We named them by name—Zinga, the Only Son, Antoinette. Everything was ready; faith flowed to the brim of the event. Had the Child Christ been there, immediately must that hair-trunk have yielded up its dead. I remember the chill of heart with which I heard that nothing had been found. There was some quiet weeping on the attic-stairs, then all reference to the lost generations ceased. The number of these small children of the resurrection was to have exceeded fifty. Great must have been the depopulating of the imagination!

For the tradition of a millennium, a return of the goodliest creatures that have sojourned with us, is exciting and recurrent, and will never be banished from the hospitable human heart passionate to entertain its heroes. The past must return to us, and something more than the past—the past and our joy in meeting it again. It cannot be that King Arthur and Barbarossa have taken leave of us for ever. We want to walk the earth with them again; they kept us in tune; they dispersed the influences that made life spiritless; they set a-ripple the current of our days: let the saints break through to an alien Paradise; the children of earth guard in their hearts everlasting welcome for such as have founded human happiness on worldly triumph, earthliness, pomp, and far-spreading revel. We build monuments to the men who have given order to life: to those who have given colour we render warmer homage; we ask for them back again. We believe they are stored for us in some cavernous lumber-room of earth, and, returning, will one day cast a processional majesty on life. We have not the courage of the children; we dare not lift the lid of the hair-trunk that contains our hopes; we enshrine them, and let no man approach with unreverent feet. For we are tempted to call mystic what we shrink from discovering, equally with that we are impotent to penetrate. Awe of contact with intolerable power operates more rarely than fear of exposing emptiness in retaining us in an attitude of worship.

Belief in a millennium, as we have suggested, may justify the

more honourable contents of our lumber-room, some hope that one day they may be reunited to the glory of the ball-room and the banquet; but what shall we say of the objects stowed away in its lowlier corners, the homely, discarded things an elder world esteemed beautiful, buried by us out of sight with revolt and a struggling shame; or, it may be, the creatures of our own caprice, the fad, the extravagance of an hour, the ephemeral display, the relic of a season's finery that instead of rotting with last summer's leaves continues to grin on us from an obtrusive peg? Why did we not give these things to the elements? What prompted us to preserve them? Has the savage, we cry in our irritation, his lumber-room as well as his idol-chamber? Does he revere his rubbish and his gods? We respect the squirrel's instinct to hoard nuts. What animal, even of the more sober Scripture kind, has been known to retain and consecrate its tarnished weapons, its frayed garniture, or forsaken cell. Is then this habit of storing a spiritual habit of which we may be proud, or one for which a future architect will make no provision? As we reflect on the great lumber-rooms of the world, on the difference in quality between the warehouse and the museum, our conclusion visits us as a smile: had man destroyed universally, instead of discarding, had he never learnt to spare that from which his vital interest was withdrawn, antiquity would not now be lying about us as the hills round about Jerusalem, protecting us against those gusts from chaos that sweep across the plain of time.

One of the peculiar and moving attributes of lumber is its persistency. We are for ever confounding it with rubbish, but rubbish is ephemeral lumber and not worth a thought. Lumber incommodes us; the grim fostering it requires is burdensome; rot, that woody rheumatism, may infest its bones; it has need of air, in certain cases of light and warmth. Yet it does not reward our solicitude. The indefinable grace of length of days, a shadow as from the under-feathers of time's wing, rests over it; its corporeal presence is disconcerting. Our respect for it is mingled with admiration of our own long-suffering. Comfort, luxury, convenience, counselled its removal; it owes its conservation to a lenient reliance on the hereafter. Its "patient continuance" in uselessness impresses us. For how strong is the impulse in living things to get done with themselves when their best is accomplished! "The flower fadeth"—in that is its happiness. The pathos of life lies, not in its transience, rather in its survival of beauty, its monotony, its instinct for the formation of habits. It is natural that the blossom should scatter and the leaf drift. We suffer with the withering flowers that linger, the uncomely creatures that cannot remove, the things that corrupt and do not find a grave, that alter, and yet wane not nor slip away. If a traveller, roving our northern coasts in November, turn from one of the inlet coppices of its cliffs, silver with the curled-up meadow-sweet and gold with wide-flounered fronds of

blemished bracken, to the bare winter sea, he will learn the harshness of imperishable life. The great water lies as under a spell, stricken by its impotence to suffer change, to abandon itself to the passionate, capricious misery of the wind. It is sick of its own monotony; the currents of summer sunshine withdrawn, it would fain grow old, break up and perish. Its tides heave in lethargic revolt against the oppression of their own routine; eternity clings to it as a fetter.

It were not difficult to ponder till one pondered oneself into the paradox that nothing is useful till it has lost its use. From the moment anything is put aside its leavening potency begins. Our awe of the dead springs in part from the sense we have of their being no more subject to life's daily wear and tear. We think of them in the perfect employment of perfect leisure! Again it is the lumber on old faces that attracts us. The reason we feel so keenly the loss of even a commonplace, old acquaintance is that with him is destroyed so much of old-fashioned experience, philosophy fallen out of repute, and inconsequent religion. Evidence harasses us, tradition consoles. To-day is for the craftsman, yesterday for the artist. We cannot reverence what we are ever handling. The sculptor sees his work as it will be when it cools into immortality. He who would attain distinction in the use of speech must have knowledge of the undisturbed, monumental languages. The England we touch and converse with to-day is not our country. Our country is where the moth and worm corrupt, on the battlefield, and in the crypt.

Precious as we have proved our unprofitable effects, we can by no means unreservedly maintain that all things fallen into discredit should be harboured in hope of future spiritual authority. We must discriminate between dead and lively lumber. Dead lumber is that which, before it became lumber, fatigued and disgusted us; lively lumber is that which in its pre-lumber stage gave us interest and delight. What once genuinely excited us may be spared, so only it pertained not to controversy; for controversy, as St. Paul points out, should set before close of day. But any work of art, utensil, instrument, or paper that has depressed or wrought us evil, should, when its term is over, be obliterated cleanly as by flame. Though we would deal tenderly with the pious practice of, as it were, providing almshouses for our infirm and unserviceable chattels, it has, like other gracious customs, its abuse; we hoard documents less than intimate, and more than official. "On ne peut écrire que les choses dures; quant aux choses douces, elles ne peuvent s'écrire et ce sont les seules choses amusantes." Truth, Marie Bashkirtseff! the only amusing things, and of them, though you affirm they cannot be written, your own journal affords delicious examples. In correspondence "les choses dures" should be consigned to the waste-paper basket; "les choses douces" to the pigeon-hole. We should be able to recur to

favourite passages in our letters with the ease and familiarity with which we turn to favourite passages in our books. Instead of this possession of our friends' luminous suggestions and happy eloquence, we crowd our drawers with manuscripts that will never be handled till they are flung by impatient hands in basketfuls on the furnace.

To judge of this habit of accumulation in its fondness and extremity, we must take cognizance of it in the amassments of a lifetime, when the secret places of cabinets and bureaux expose black profiles no delicate personal recollections can tint; miniatures of ladies who open on us the full sweetness of their wide, shining, trustful eyes; locks of hair, alas! not the shade of auburn of the miniatures, a cloudier brown, yet lovable in their strong-fibred curl—baffling and beautiful tokens! We cannot interpret; we should be more at home among the catacombs. From this cynical thought we, guardians or distributors of the worthless treasure of the dead, are recalled by the manifestation, 'mid official files, of a packet curiously corded with flushed ribbon, giving glimpses of a handwriting intricate as fine trellis. Love-letters, modernity! We have reached the heart of our mystery. Our "dark tower" is upon us. We attain the very essence and underlying reality of rubbish in a packet of yellow love-letters. Whether we read them or not matters little. They are the sacred writings, the civilizing scriptures of mankind. We do not open a Bible when we come upon it in foreign characters in a heathen land. We touch it and give thanks.

MICHAEL FIELD.

BRAZIL, PAST AND FUTURE.

AFTER a brief existence of sixty-seven years the last monarchy on the American continent has disappeared. It was founded in 1822, when the Crown Prince of Braganza was made Emperor under the title of Pedro I., whose reign came to an end in 1831, when he abdicated and retired to Oporto. His son, Pedro II., ascended the throne in 1840, at the age of fifteen, and wanted therefore but one year to celebrate his jubilee. As a constitutional Sovereign he left little to be desired, taking no part in politics, and confining his efforts to the promotion of arts and sciences, and the abolition of slavery. But for the Paraguayan war his reign would have been an unbroken career of progress. Nevertheless, the growth of the republican movement has been no secret. It began in Rio Grande in 1835, when Garibaldi headed the Farapos, who were only suppressed after ten years of civil war. In our own time many prominent Brazilians declared openly their intention to proclaim a republic on Dom Pedro's death, and the Emperor himself knew well that his grandson, the Prince of Parà, had no chance of the throne. The revolution, however, was probably hastened by the planters, in revenge for the law of May 1888, abolishing slavery.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

By virtue of the treaty of Utrecht a monopoly of the slave trade was conceded to England in 1713, and during the eighteenth century English merchants conveyed immense numbers of negroes from Africa to Pernambuco, Bahia, Santos and Buenos Ayres. In this manner the industries of Brazil became dependent on negro labour, and when Pedro II. ascended the throne, in 1840, the number of slaves was

understood to reach two millions, or one-fourth of the population. Great Britain had, meantime, not only liberated the slaves in her own West India islands, but had undertaken an active crusade to prevent or abolish slavery elsewhere, and in 1826 a treaty had been signed at Rio Janeyro, prohibiting any further importation of slaves from Africa. It was not, however, until 1872 that a law was passed for the gradual abolition of slavery, whereby it was decreed that all children of slaves should thenceforward be born free, that certain revenues be devoted to the annual redemption of a number of slaves, and that slavery should utterly cease in the year 1900. This measure was brought in by Viscount Paranhos de Rio Branco, the Prime Minister, who was a natural son of Pedro I., and possessed the cordial sympathy and support of his half-brother, the Emperor. The religious orders led the way by manumitting their slaves, and several private persons generously imitated the example. The planters, on the contrary, opposed the measure as far as possible, anticipating that the blacks, once emancipated, would do no more work, but let the coffee and sugar plantations fall to ruin. Nor was the Government heedless of the danger of a labour crisis. In 1880 a special embassy was sent to Pekin, when it was arranged with Prince Kung to introduce 200,000 Chinese into Brazil, but the treaty afterwards fell to the ground. Redoubled efforts were then made, by sending "drummers" all over Europe with offers of free passages, food for twelve months, and free grants of land, which had the effect of attracting more than 100,000 Germans and Italians, no fewer than 131,000 emigrants of all nationalities landing last year at Rio and Santos. The planters, too, imported the newest and best agricultural machinery from the United States and England, for the saving of labour. Such was the position of affairs in May 1888, when the Princess-Regent signed the law emancipating at least 1,300,000 slaves. In 1876 it had been found that 40,000 planters possessed 1,511,000, of all ages and sexes. My space will not permit me to discuss their treatment. I have seen at Rio Grande a female slave who was twice given her liberty, and who refused to leave her mistress. The lash, meantime, was common on the plantations, and many slaves committed suicide, and even killed their children, to avoid a life of hopeless toil and ill-treatment.

AREA AND POPULATION.

Brazil is about the size of Europe, some of its provinces being three times as large as France. The census of 1874 was as follows:—

Europeans	244,000
Brazilian whites	3,787,000
Free negroes	2,291,000
Negro slaves	1,511,000
Indians	3,275,000

Europeans settle almost exclusively on the coast.* There is in fact a strong vein of foreign blood at all the ports, as the names of many of the old families imply. The Dutch held Pernambuco in the seventeenth century. The French founded Rio Janeyro, where Fort Villegagnon takes its name from an equerry of Mary Stuart. Italians have been up and down the coast for two centuries. Germans are 70,000 strong in Rio Grande do Sul, and Scotch red-headed children are seen along the San Paulo railway. When we call to mind that Portugal banished all her Jews to Brazil in 1548, it is surprising how few there are : only a handful at Rio Janeyro. Portuguese is the dominant race, partly because the conquerors were of that stock, partly because immigration from Portugal has been continuous : thus, in ten years ending 1884, no fewer than 137,000 Portuguese settlers landed in Brazil. But in the next century it is possible the Germans or Italians, who have much more energy than Brazilians, may exercise paramount influence in public affairs.

BRITISH INTERESTS.

In 1875 it was computed that \$1 millions sterling of British capital were invested in Brazil, thus :—

Government loans	.	.	.	£19,200,000
Railways, banks, &c.	.	.	.	12,000,000
Total	.	.	.	£31,200,000

At present it would appear that our investments reach 93 millions, of which 28 millions are in State loans and the rest in railways and other joint-stock enterprises. In the last fourteen years our monetary relations with Brazil have trebled, but they were until 1875 of very slow growth, seeing that our dealings with that country go back more than 300 years. In 1530 a Brazilian king came to visit Henry VIII., and died, says Southey, on the return voyage. Mr. Pudsey built a factory at Bahia in 1542, John Whithall at Santos in 1581, James Purcell at Maranham in 1626, and John Dorrington started a mercantile house at Bahia in 1658. In the story of Robinson Crusoe, in the eighteenth century, Defoe alludes to the sugar-plantations owned by Englishmen at Bahia and Pernambuco. In 1808 we find the English merchants of Rio Janeyro offering a sum of £1200 sterling to the secretary of Princess Carlotta to obtain them permission from the Viceroy Liniers to open branch houses at Montevideo and Buenos Ayres : they certainly held a great portion of the trade of Brazil in their hands, and still more so after the overthrow of Portuguese rule in 1822. At the same time Lord Cochrane and others lent valuable services in the Brazilian navy, and General

* In Mrs. Mulhall's *Travels in Brazil* (Stanford, 1882), it is mentioned that we only met three Europeans in Matto Grosso, one of whom was Mr. Youle, a Scotch settler.

Galdwell in the army. With the introduction of gasworks and railways in 1851, numbers of engineers and capitalists became connected with the country. Henry Law constructed the Ilha das Cobras docks, William Ginty the roads to Tijuca and Petropolis, while English companies were laying down the San Paulo, Bahia, and other railway lines, establishing banks all over the empire, putting steamboats on the internal waters, and developing the mining wealth of San Juan del Rey. Individuals, too, helped efficaciously in the onward march of trade; Proudfoot and Crawford at Rio Grande, Bramley-Moore at Rio Janeyro, Hugh Wilson at Bahia, Bowman at Pernambuco, Bennett at Tijuca, McGinity at Port Alegre; these and many others did good service.

PRODUCTS.

Coffee is the sheet-anchor of Brazilian industry and wealth. Its cultivation was introduced by a poor priest in 1754, and Brazil now grows 60 per cent. of the coffee of the world, the crop in 1885 being estimated at 390,000 tons, against 163,000 in 1855. The plantations cover 2,200,000 acres, with about 900,000 million trees. In good years the crop is valued at 22 millions sterling, nine-tenths being exported. Sugar is the oldest industry, the crop averaging 300,000 tons, valued at £4,000,000. Cotton has declined of late years, the area being under 100,000 acres, and the yield from 30,000 to 40,000 tons of cotton-wool, worth about £1,500,000. The yerbaes or tea-forests cover ten million acres, the annual product being 40,000 tons, of which one-half is exported, of the value of £500,000. India-rubber from the Amazon averages £800,000. The tobacco crop, from 100,000 acres, is estimated at 38,000 tons, valued at £1,400,000. Thus the total vegetable products make up about 30 millions sterling. Animal products are considerably under four millions sterling, and manufactures of all descriptions fall short of ten millions. There was a time when gold and diamonds formed principal products, when the Viceroy's horse was shod with the glittering metal, but at present the total product under these heads is barely £400,000 a year. If to the foregoing we add the earnings of railways, tramways, gas companies, shipping, banks, merchants, professional classes, &c., we find the total earnings of the nation approach a sum of 70 millions sterling per annum. We see, therefore, that the wealth of Brazil is rather a figure of speech than a reality. The earnings and industries of the Argentine Republic in 1884 amounted to £62,300,000, with a population of only 3,200,000 souls, or one-third that of Brazil. In the one country the average is nearly £20 per head, in the other barely £6, but wealth is so congested in the latter that two-thirds of the population are extremely poor, while many of the planters have

enormous incomes. There is some similarity between the condition of things in Russia and that in Brazil, neither country being at all as rich as its neighbours.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Engineering has done wonders in Brazil, and the traveller is astonished at the signs of gigantic labour and persevering energy amid a people and climate suggestive of indolence. The first railway was made in 1851, by *Baron Mauá*, to the *Organ Mountains*, and was soon followed by the *Pedro Segundo*, a main trunk line with numerous branches, which passes through the most magnificent scenery, carrying two million passengers yearly. The *Santos and San Paulo* line, made by a London company in 1860, at a cost of three millions sterling, is another triumph of engineering, being carried over the *Serra Cubaton* at a height of 2700 feet by means of four inclinés of one in ten, up which the train is drawn by a chain. The *Bahia and Pernambuco* lines, also by English companies, were made about the same time. Several new lines are being constructed in the interior, one of the most remarkable being the *Misiones and Rio Grande* line, of which *Mr. O'Meara* has recently opened some sections on the *Upper Uruguay*. At the close of 1888 there were 5300 miles of railway in Brazil in actual traffic, of which 4200 miles had been constructed since 1877. Some of them cost over £30,000 a mile, owing to the tremendous natural obstacles of the route. The total outlay exceeds 100 millions sterling, about 1300 miles having been made by Government, including the *Pedro Segundo* line, and 4000 by joint-stock companies, chiefly English. There are 7100 miles of telegraph by land, besides cables along the coast, from the *Amazon* to *Montevideo*. Except *Ginty's roads* near *Rio Janeyro* there are few highways; distances are so great and population so sparse. The overland route from *Rio Janeyro* to *Goyaz*, for example, takes 120, and that to *Matto Grosso* 140, days. Nevertheless, all the principal towns have gasworks, schools, and other marks of civilization. The municipal hospitals of Brazil are some of the finest in the world, that of the *Misericordia* at *Rio Janeyro* receiving 14,000 indoor patients yearly. Schools are not yet sufficiently numerous, only 15 per cent. of children of school age receiving any instruction. Dockyards and arsenals are numerous and well-equipped, and many of the principal ports have been improved by *Sir John Hawkshaw*.

COMMERCE.

During his reign *Dom Pedro* had the satisfaction to see commerce quintupled, as shown by the official statement of imports and exports combined, viz. :—

ANNUAL AVERAGE.

	£
1836-41	9,900,000
1852-61	22,800,000
1872-81	39,600,000
1885-87	43,600,000

The fiscal system has, nevertheless, always been essentially bad, all successive generations of Brazilian economists being blind believers in the "balance of trade" theory, of the Dark Ages, and hence directing all their efforts to stimulate exports and diminish imports. They succeeded in their insane purpose, the exports being always largely in excess of imports, viz.:—

AVERAGE YEARLY, £.

Period.	Imports.	Exports.	Surplus Exports.
1862-66	13,700,000	15,100,000	1,400,000
1872-74	17,200,000	21,400,000	4,200,000
1885-87	20,400,000	23,200,000	2,800,000

Trade is lamentably hampered by oppressive tariffs: customs-dues on imported merchandise in 1887 amounted to £8,400,000, or 40 per cent. of the value. Brazilian statesmen excuse themselves by saying that import-dues must form the bulk of the public revenue, but a good deal of the money thus collected is subsequently wasted in bounties to sugar-mills, cotton-mills, &c. It was stated in 1886 that some mill-companies had drawn heavy sums in Government guarantees, without ever having turned out a pound of sugar or a yard of calico. Our trade relations with Brazil do not increase much; they amounted last year to £11,800,000, against £10,800,000 in 1878. Internal commerce depends chiefly on railways and rivers; the freight on the former, as Colonel Church truly observes, is often excessive, and the rivers traverse very thinly peopled territories. The itinerary of the Amazon Company shows a length of 22,000 miles, including tributary rivers, of which the Amazon has a hundred bigger than the Rhine.

FINANCE.

So much British capital is at stake in Brazil that it is necessary to approach this part of the subject with cool discrimination. The growth of revenue and debt is the first point for consideration, viz.:—

Year.	Revenue.	Debt.
1864 .	£6,100,000	£18,700,000
1874 .	11,200,000	72,100,000
1888 .	14,100,000	107,200,000

All South American financiers speak of increase of revenue as proof of growing prosperity and wealth, when it is sometimes the reverse, being simply an increase of taxation and poverty. Brazil depends so largely on her agricultural products that the value of her exports affords a fair measure of her wealth and resources. If, then, we compare the figures for 1888 with those of 1864 we find that in twenty-

four years wealth and commerce have risen only 54 per cent., while taxation has increased 133 per cent., and public debt nearly 500 per cent. The increase of taxation is, in fact, mainly the result of growth of debt, the latter having risen £88,500,000 since 1864, which is accounted for thus:—

Paraguayan war	£48,000,000
Railways	26,000,000
Sundries	14,500,000
Total	£88,500,000

The actual debt of 107 millions sterling is not excessive. The burden of taxation is, however, apparently as much as the country can conveniently bear. We have seen that the sum total of Brazilian industries is hardly 70 millions sterling a year; the general taxation is, therefore, equal to 20 per cent. This is exclusive of local taxes, which are usually more than 50 per cent. of those of the nation, each province having its own customs-dues over and above what is collected by the imperial officials. Thus nearly one-third of the total-earnings of the Brazilian people go in taxes, whereas in the United Kingdom we pay only 125 millions sterling a year out of a gross income of 1260 millions, or about 10 per cent. In one respect, of course, the burden of taxation comes to be less felt in Brazil than elsewhere: one-half of the population consists of negroes, who have few wants or expenses, and whose labour, meantime, helps so largely to swell the national revenue. It is quite possible that Brazil could raise her taxation, if necessary, to 20 millions sterling, by simply reducing the income of the 40,000 planters on an average £150 each. As long, however, as the finances are carefully handled, there is no reason for any more revenue than at present. The taxes might even be lightened, if the bounties and guarantees on sugar and cotton mills could be abolished.

Perhaps it is better at present not to raise tariff questions that might cause feelings of rivalry. Let the new Government go on in the beaten track, and be a little more liberal in land-grants to immigrants. The danger of a labour crisis is probably exaggerated. It is said, indeed, that the coffee-crop last year fell off by one-third, consequent on the abolition of slavery. Some confusion must be expected at first, but the country will rapidly recover its energies. The United States at present produce twice as much cotton as before the abolition of slavery: there is every reason to expect that Brazil will likewise increase her exports, especially as the influx of Italians, Germans, &c., continues unabated.

THE POLITICAL PROSPECT.

Will Brazil hold together, or break up into half a dozen republics? This is a difficult question to answer. Notwithstanding a residence

of twenty-five years in South America, watching the ebb and flow of Brazilian politics, I dare not offer a prediction in the matter. Disintegration was the fate of Spanish America after the Independence; Mexico lost Guatemala and Nicaragua, Venezuela lost New Grenada, Peru was shorn of Bolivia, and the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres saw the secession of Paraguay and Uruguay. This was partly the result of enormous distances between some of the old viceregal seats of government and their provinces at a time when railways were unknown. It took, for example, a mounted courier sixty days to ride from Caracas to Guayaquil, or from Buenos Ayres to Tarija or Tucuman, with an order from the viceroy to the local "intendente." In later times there has been more or less of a centripetal tendency. We have seen the Argentine Confederation, in 1863, annex itself to the Republic of Buenos Ayres, and a similar project in 1866 was narrowly defeated for combining the five republics of Central America under Guatemala. Even at present there is a party favourable to the annexation of Paraguay and Uruguay to the Argentine. It would be wrong, therefore, to suppose that all South American nations must split up into small fragments.

In the case of Brazil it is true we have the great difficulty of enormous distances, for it is much easier to go from Rio Janeyro to St. Petersburg than to Matto Grosso or Goyaz. Nevertheless, there is no reason why the Republic should not administer those remote provinces as well as the Empire did, and I think they were much better governed than some of the other parts of South America. At Cuyabà, 3000 miles from Rio Janeyro by the only practicable route, the water one, I found a city as large and well-built as Shrewsbury, and as well ordered in every respect. There were no iron bars on the windows, such as are common in the neighbouring countries. It will be said, perhaps, that the remote provinces will be the first to throw off the yoke of the metropolis, but this is most unlikely, since they enjoy special favours and advantages. The people of Matto Grosso are allowed to receive European products free of all import dues, and the Treasury of Rio Janeyro maintains a monthly line of steamers from Montevideo to Cuyabà for their benefit. In those provinces which are exposed to attacks from Indians considerable garrisons are, in like manner, kept up by the nation for the protection of the inhabitants.

Nor must we overlook racial tendencies and traditions. Portuguese and Brazilians are more peaceable and orderly than Spaniards and Spanish Americans. There have been but two revolutions in Brazil in seventy years, and both have been bloodless. The people are patriotic and industrious, and despite of climate have made great progress, while preserving an enviable degree of security for life and property.

While I write, a telegram appears in the London papers that the province of Rio Grande do Sul desires to separate from Brazil and join the Republic of Uruguay, which lies along its southern frontier. Such an event has long been predicted, and may come to pass. Rio Grande is not quite Brazilian as regards language, Spanish being commonly spoken, and German in the vicinity of Port Allegre. It cannot be forgotten, as I observed before, that the province made a determined effort in 1835 to secede from Brazil, and was aided by the Republic of Uruguay, whose forces were led by Garibaldi, the struggle lasting ten years. It is, therefore, quite possible that the Rio Grandenses should now seek to coalesce with their old friend and ally. Commercial interests may also tend in that direction, the railway system of Rio Grande and Uruguay being already one, and apart from that of Brazil, which terminates at Santos.

In case of Rio Grande joining the Republic of Uruguay, the port of Montevideo would probably become its chief outlet, by means of the Northern Uruguay Railway, now rapidly pushing forward its rails to Bagé. The port of Rio Grande is inaccessible to ocean steamers, its bar being dangerous even to small craft, while Montevideo receives sixty European steamers monthly. Pelotas is the industrial centre of Rio Grande do Sul, having large "saladeros," where a million head of cattle are annually slaughtered and salted down, for exportation to the West Indies. The province possesses great pastoral wealth, the natives being the best horsemen in South America, and akin in tastes and pursuits to those of Uruguay.

Supposing that Rio Grande secedes from Brazil, this would mean a loss of 140,000 square miles, and 480,000 inhabitants—that is, 4 per cent. alike of area and of population. But we must not count heads only, the Rio Grandenses being the finest people in Brazil, with a mixture of 70,000 Germans. The loss of such a province would be greater than that of Bahia or Pernambuco.

It is, however, far from certain that Rio Grande desires to secede. The "fazendeiros," who own estates of vast extent, will hesitate to join with Uruguay, a republic which had twenty-six revolutions from 1864 to 1887. They care nothing for the triumph of Blancos or Colorados at Montevideo, however the advanced republicans, mostly shopkeepers, may call out for the union. Neither will the 70,000 Germans vote for the Uruguayan annexation.

Perhaps the wish is father to the thought when I say that the probability is in favour of Brazil holding together. Every day that passes lessens the danger of disruption, and Brazilians know well that the good opinion of the outer world largely depends on their keeping the even tenor of their way, as they have done for seventy years in the past.

M. G. MULHALL.

RUNNING FOR RECORDS.

A N ocean racer in mid-Atlantic—the sea running what, to the sea-sick imagination of inexperienced travellers, seems “mountains high.” Huge green waves come towering up on the starboard bow, as if about to overwhelm the steamer, which, however, rises buoyantly to them as they approach, passes over them, and, presently, the same waves may be seen rolling from under the port quarter. In all their majesty of volume, lashed into foam by the struggling propeller of the mighty “liner,” as the ship lies down in the trough of the sea. Such waves, indeed, seem to tower up like mountains, though, in reality, they are seldom—unless in very bad weather—more than twenty feet from trough to crest. Waves even of this height can make things very lively on board the largest mail steamers—huge and immovable as they seem when lying alongside the quay, or anchored out in the Mersey; and the impression of vastness produced on any one standing on a ship’s deck in mid-ocean, and seeing a huge wall of green water rolling up—though in reality it may not be more than two or three feet above the level of the deck—may account for a great deal of exaggeration as to the height of waves.

“Time and tide wait for no man,” says the old proverb, and certainly a modern mail steamer never waits for wind or weather. The good ship *Atalanta* was being driven “all she knew” into a head wind and sea, till her masts fairly shuddered, as wave after wave swept up to her bows, and parted with a thundering roar before her sharp cutwater.

Now with her bows raised high in the air, as she breasts a gigantic sea, now diving down into the trough beyond, trembling from stem to stern with the “racing” of the engines, as the propeller is lifted nearly out of the water, then all but stopping as she plunges at the next huge

wave and buries her nose in it, the engines nearly pulling up dead with the tremendous strain brought on them by the sudden immersion of the screw as her bow is again lifted and the decks swept fore and aft by a heavy sea, she holds on her stormy way.

On deck, no one is visible but the officers and men on duty, the passengers being either safe in their berths or lying scattered about the saloon settees in a half-inanimate condition. Down in the engine-room, the two engineers on watch—senior and junior—have their hands full, as, with every roll of the ship, coal, shovels, and rakes go sliding about the stoke-hole, and the firemen have hard work to keep their feet as they heave the coal into the insatiable furnaces. The “greaser” crawls cautiously about, never letting go the hand-rail with one hand, while he holds the oil can in the other, watching every pitch and roll of the ship, and revolution of the engine, to get an opportunity of dropping the oil into the cups without being pitched head-foremost into the crank-pits, or knocked senseless by the “cross-heads” or “pump-levers.” Night is fast closing in, and the huge engine seems wrapped in a misty twilight, except just where a solitary lamp throws a stream of light on the steam-gauges and clock, which are fixed just in front of the starting-platform. Suddenly, as the electric light is turned on, everything flashes out, bright and distinct, and the “moving rods and links” flash back rays of light from their polished surfaces. The engineer, standing by the “throttle-valve lever,” his whole attention, for the time being, taken up with watching the pitching of the ship, and preventing “racing” of the engines with the throttle—for the “governor” has suddenly refused to act—glances wearily at the clock and wishes for eight bells. The huge ship creaks and groans as she is struck again and again by the seas, and the incandescent glow of the electric light rises and falls, for it is impossible to keep steam steady in weather like this.

Half-way up the side of the engine-room, standing on a grating close under the main steam-pipe, are two or three engineers, working as if for dear life to get the obstinate governor into working order; and presently a shout announces to the one below the welcome news that their work is done. As the connecting-bolt is put in place, he lets go the handle of the throttle, which, worked by an air-vessel in the stern, opens and shuts itself with superhuman force, as the propeller is lifted clear of the water, or again plunged deep into the waves.

The “governor” being now in good working order, the engineers not on watch disappear up the ladders, and the second and his junior begin preparing for the welcome relief which comes at eight P.M., when the fourth takes the watch till midnight.

All coal contains a certain amount of dirt and slag, which soon chokes up the fires, of which a certain number are consequently cleared at the beginning of every watch. In rough weather this is no easy

work; the fire has to be pushed on one side, the clinker pulled out, the embers spread over the bars again, and fresh coal put on. Yet the firemen manage to keep their feet while working the heavy rakes and "slices,"* and avoiding the hot clinkers and ashes as they rake them out of the furnace; their figures now standing out clear and distinct as silhouettes against the glare from the open furnace-doors, now half hidden by clouds of steam, as the hose is turned on the hot clinkers. On one side stands the engineer holding open the furnace-door with a shovel and urging on the firemen to hurry up and get the fire in again before the steam drops too low. Just as the last fire is finished, a tremendous pitch and roll sends men, coals, barrows, and shovels sliding down the stoke-hole in a confused heap, and for a few seconds the stoke-hole is a very pandemonium of confusion. Then comes a pause as the ship rights and an awful stillness. As the stern of the steamer lifted, the engines, acted on by the governor, slowed down; and now they have failed to go on again, as the stern drops. Something is wrong with the governor.

The engineer rushes into the engine-room, the engines are crawling round dead slow, and the junior engineer, with his feet against the bulkhead and his shoulder against the throttle-valve lever, is exerting his utmost strength to open the valve which has been jammed shut by the too sudden action of the governor.

"Can you manage it?"

"No; bring a hammer."

A rush into the store—and, as the engineer reappears with a copper hammer in his hand, the rising steam lifts the safety-valves, and a sudden dull roar, as it rushes up the escape-pipes, warns him, and, shouting to the firemen to close the dampers, he rushes up the ladder to the valve, and with two or three sharp blows brings it back to its proper position, and off go the engines again—just in time, as two or three tremendous rolls give warning that the ship is just on the point of losing steerage-way. All this has taken about thirty seconds, though it seems much longer, and the rest of the engineers, who, aroused by the stoppage of the engine and the roar of escaping steam, have risen from their bunks, drop back on their pillows with a sigh of relief.

"How's things working?" asks the engineer of the junior, as they both descend to the lower platform.

"Low pressed go-ahead guide working warm. I have given the greaser extra oil for it—all the rest working well."

"Guide dangerous?"

"Not yet—but it's not getting cooler."

"How's the thrust?"

* A "slice" is an iron bar eight or nine feet long, and flattened like a chisel at one end, which is used for breaking up clinker.

"Keeping just the same."

"All right. Watch that guide well, and let me know if it gets any hotter"—and away he goes into the stoke-hole.

The firemen are still toiling away and trying to keep up steam, but the work is beginning to tell, and now and then one walks into the engine-room and takes a wistful glance at the clock, which, to the nearly worn-out men, seems to move slower and slower towards the welcome eight bells. Four hours' work at the fires of an Atlantic racer tells on the strongest man, even in fine weather, and when the labour is increased by the rolling and pitching of the ship in a heavy sea, almost passes the limit of human endurance.

But letting the steam get low is a crime not soon forgiven by the chief, and the engineer drives and urges on the firemen, who go round the fires with rake, slice, and shovel, till the sweat pours off them in streams.

"Coal! coal!" The coal is being used up faster than the trimmers are bringing it out of the bunkers, but, urged on by the shout, two or three trollies shoot out from a small dark alley-way, pushed by men as black as the coal itself, who duck their heads as they dive after their trollies through the low passage between the boilers, and discharge their loads in the centre stoke-hole, while some invisible agency shoots heaps of black diamonds out of the bunker doors on the plates of the end stoke-holes.

As the steam rises, the engineer passes into the engine-room, and nearly runs into the arms of the junior, who is just coming for him.

"What's the time?"

"A quarter past eleven."

"How's the guide?"

"Worse and worse—will not cool without water."

Together they proceed up to the grating, where the greaser stands close under the cylinder, throwing huge splashes of oil from a large can on the guide, as the "cross-head" descends at every stroke—but the guide is too hot, and, each time the slipper passes over its surface, is left as dry as the inside of an oven. Putting out his hand, the engineer lets it rest for a second on the polished surface, but instantly snatches it back, smarting and nearly blistered with the intense heat.

"Put on the water."

The greaser passes the oil-can over to the junior engineer, and runs to the store, reappearing with an india-rubber hose. He screws one end on the water-service pipe passing up the column of the engine, and ties the nozzle to an eyebolt under the cylinder, so that a small stream of water runs down on the hot guide, and is thrown off in scalding drops by the "cross-head" as it rushes up and down with every revolution of the engine. The greaser is sent off to look after the rest of the engine; and the junior, having made a mixture of oil

and sulphur, makes dashes, every few seconds, into the scalding shower, with a long-handled tar-brush, with which he applies the mixture to the "guide."

The senior, who has gone into the stoke-hole to urge on the firemen, again appears on the platform below, and shouts up, "How's she doing now?"

"Getting worse."

"Well—it's a quarter to twelve now—call the watch, and then fetch the chief down to that confounded guide."

"All right!" and, coming out from under the cylinders, drenched through and through with water and oil, the junior goes up to call the third engineer's watch, and then round to the chief's cabin. He finds that gentleman sitting in a chair in his shirt and trousers, pulling on a pair of boots, and listening to the roar of the engines below.

"What's that water on for?" is his first question, as the junior appears at his door.

"Low-pressed guide hot, sir."

"Can't you cool it without water?"

"No, sir—water's been on twenty minutes, and it's getting worse."

"How are the intermediate crank-pin and thrust?"

"All right, sir."

"Everything else all right?"

"Yes, sir."

"All right!" and off goes the junior below, as fast as the rolling of the ship will allow him—now going a few steps down the ladder, as the ship lays over to port, and then clinging to the hand-rail, to save himself from being pitched headlong to the bottom, as she swings the other way. The senior, who has taken his place on the gratings during his absence, now relinquishes the "swab-brush," and goes below to prepare for the relief. In a few minutes down comes the chief, and looks at the guide—one look is enough. The way the polished surface is left dry and almost smoking at every stroke shows him that, were he to lay his hand on it for the twentieth part of a second it would leave a blister; and without delay comes the order—

"Call the second!"

As the junior departs to obey, eight bells sounds from the deck—just heard above the rush of the wind over the skylights; and eight strokes, sharp and clear, reply from the engine-room. Before the sound has died away, the third engineer and his watch are half-way down the ladder, to give a welcome respite to their predecessors; and the junior sighs, as he reflects that he must stay below till the hot guide is cool, as it now needs so much attention that the engineers on watch cannot look after it and the engine at the same time. Again descending with the second, he finds the guide beginning to

smoke, and the water, turned on full by the chief, coming off in clouds of steam.

"Here, Mr. Smith!" shouts the chief, as the second makes his appearance, "fetch that spare hose, and bring the water from the intermediate guide service."

The eight to twelve watch being relieved, all go off with the exception of the two engineers; and the senior follows the second to the store, returning with a second india-rubber hose, which they attach to the service-pipes on the intermediate engine, and lead over to the low-pressed engine, where the junior, seizing the nozzle, turns it full on the vertical surface of the guide, which now begins to show sparks and a dull red band down the centre, which gets brighter and brighter, and slowly grows broader and broader every time the cross-head rises and falls, and the slipper passes over the glazed surface.

On goes the water, and, as it strikes the heated surface of the guide, throws off clouds of steam, through which loom the figures of the two engineers, standing in a shower of scalding water, every drop of which gives a sharp and stinging smart as it penetrates to the skin, and now and then causes them to shrink back, with a muttered imprecation, as a hotter shower than usual falls over them.

Behind them stands the chief, silently holding on to the hand-rails, the heels of his boots jammed against the bars of the gratings on which he stands, to keep him steady, as the ship pitches and heaves; and the second moves round, giving directions to the store-keeper to keep the oil-pots (out of which the "fourth" is "swabbing" the guide) full, now and then shutting off the water, to get a better view of the guide, and turning it on again, and occasionally taking the place of one or other of the engineers, as, almost blinded and suffocated by the splashing water and the fumes from the oil, they retreat from under the cylinders to rub their eyes, and wring some of the water out of their wet clothes.

Minute after minute passes, and the minutes crawl into long hours, and still the engineers work on in their fierce fight against the powers of Nature—their eyes tingling with pain from the hot salt water and burning oil—their bodies swaying backwards and forwards with the rolling of the ship, holding on with one hand, while they direct the water and apply the oil with the other, jarred through and through every few minutes, as—the propeller being lifted out of the water—the engine makes an effort to "race," and shakes the grating on which they stand, as if it had been made of aspen wands instead of solid iron, while the steamer gives a tremble throughout.

The passengers in their berths sleep on, or, if kept awake by the rough weather, wonder vaguely how long it will last, and then turn over and try to go to sleep again, in blissful ignorance of all that is going on below.

Hour after hour goes slowly by—and, as the morning approaches, the weather moderates, and the ship becomes steadier. But, in spite of all the water poured on it, the guide will not cool down. The enormous friction produced by the high speed of the engine keeps up the heat; and although the water poured on has slightly reduced the temperature, it fails to bring it down to the normal degree. The only cure will be to slow down the engines, but slowing down is the very last resource on an ocean racer nowadays, when the Atlantic trip is so accurately timed that one boat often beats the record by a few minutes only, and no engineer would run the risk of losing the place gained by his ship, by slowing down, as long as he can *safely* keep at full speed.

Four o'clock comes, and as eight bells again strikes, the third engineer's watch is relieved by that of the second—the third only remaining below to take the second's place while the latter looks after the guide.

The chief goes on deck for a few minutes, but presently returns. "Any cooler?" he asks the fourth.

"No, sir."

"Slow her down, Mr. Smith"—the order comes reluctantly from him at last.

"All right, sir;" and the second descends to the lower platform, sends to the third to shut the dampers, and as the steam drops a pound or two, half shuts the throttle-valve. As the three huge cranks gradually ease down to half-speed, the sudden lull in the continuous roar of the engines is almost painful to the ear, and the beat of the valves and clank of moving masses resolve themselves into distinct noises, while a long-drawn squeal comes from the hot guide, which now rapidly cools down under the reduced friction and copious streams of water.

The electric lights are beginning to pale, as a dull grey dawn shines through the skylights. The second—being now free to attend to his watch—sends the third up to his cabin, and presently, the guide having greatly improved, the engines are once more put at full speed, and as the guide continues to get cooler, the chief at length goes off to bed.

The water is kept on for some time longer, and after it is shut off the two engineers by turns continue to swab the guide with oil and sulphur.

It is nearly eight bells before the second at last declares the guide "safe," and they crawl on deck to get breakfast and a few mouthfuls of fresh air before beginning a fresh watch.

As the bell strikes they once more go below, to drag on through another weary four hours, when they are so tired that lifting their limbs is painful, and quick motion an agony. Yet, in moving round that engine and feeling its brasses and rods, should a man hesitate one instant in withdrawing the arm stretched out to test that piston-rod,

it would be shattered or rendered useless by a merciless blow from that mighty remorseless engine which it can control like an obedient child.

At noon the fourth watch is relieved by the third, and the two tired-out engineers at last get a respite, after nearly sixteen hours in the engine-room. At four the second watch takes the place of the third, till eight, when the fourth once more comes on, and so, unless something is wrong, it goes on day and night in unvarying monotony, till the ship passes Sandy Hook, steams slowly through the Narrows, and swings into her berth alongside the jetty at New York.

"And then," innocently remarks a passenger, "your fun begins."

"Does it?" queries the engineer to whom he is speaking. "Well—yes—if completely overhauling that engine in five days is fun, our fun does begin."

"Overhauling the engine! why, what on earth is wrong with it? it is working all right, and has been since we left Liverpool."

"Yes, but it has to work right all the way back," is the reply, and the passenger, not caring to exhibit any more ignorance, walks slowly away.

Yes, everything has to work right all the way back, and nothing is left to chance. Every day, from morning till night, and sometimes on into the night, the engineers are at it, cleaning the boilers and examining every working part of the engine, to make sure that nothing is wrong or likely to go wrong in the coming run across the Atlantic. It is only by unremitting care that the huge engines of our modern mail steamers can be kept in good order, and the hundreds of trips yearly made "to time" across the Western Ocean show how well these engines are looked after.

In the "season" five or six days is usually the limit of time spent in New York, and then, with engines polished and clean as when she arrived, and looking as if they had never been touched, in spite of the fact that they have been completely taken to pieces, the *Atalanta* swings out stern first into the Hudson, and, dropping down by Castle Garden and the Bartholdi statue of Liberty, passes out through the Narrows, and is once more put full speed ahead, with her nose to the east.

Now is the chance for a quick passage, as wind and currents are usually favourable on the eastward run, and on the stately steamer rushes. Soon the land sinks below the horizon, and she enters the hot, steamy atmosphere of the Gulf Stream.

It is a hot, calm day in the middle of summer, the sea rolling in long, smooth, oily swells. There is a light breeze right astern, but the ship is steaming as fast as the wind, and the sails hang listlessly from the yards, and flap against the masts and ropes. As one descends the engine-room ladder, the air feels close and deadly heavy,

and brings on a dull headache. The engineer on watch is dragging himself round as if his limbs were of lead, and even the engines do not seem to be going ahead with their usual energy. As we pass through the tunnel which connects the engine-room with the stoke-hole, the stifling atmosphere nearly drives us back. There is not a breath of air coming down the ventilators, and the heat is so great that one has a sensation as of a lump of lead in the ears, and one's voice sounds thick and far away.

The firemen are stripped to the waist, and the engineer has very little more on, being only distinguishable by the gilt band and badge on his cap, as he moves about from one furnace to another, directing the firemen, or regulating the water in the boilers.

In spite of the heat, the fires burn dull, for they can get no air, and the firemen, urged on—one might almost say driven—by the engineer, are doing "all they know," with rake and shovel, to keep up steam, the perspiration running in streams down their coal-begrimed bodies, and leaving them striped like zebras.

Each man in turn falls back exhausted, and is succeeded by another, who lays hold of the heavy "slice," and works the fire through and through; but all to no purpose, for in spite of all they can do the steam will not rise. In technical language, "she is steaming stiff," and, unless the wind changes, or gets stronger, will continue to do so.

To keep on at this work without drinking is impossible, and the firemen consume an incredible quantity of water; but, in spite of all the praise bestowed upon this beverage by teetotallers, it has its dangers when drunk to excess, especially in a high temperature, and presently one of the men, who has been indulging too freely, is seized with cramps in the stomach, and has to be carried on deck, leaving the rest tearing away at the obstinate fires.

Now and then one goes up to lay his throbbing head on the deck, gasp in a little fresh air, and, if possible, gather a little strength before once more attacking the fires in the awful den below. The forward stoke-hole is even hotter than the others, and the heaps of coal and ashes lying about, the sudden glare, as furnace doors are opened and again shut, the trollies of coal pushed out of the bunkers and returning empty, the ash-buckets passing up and down the ventilators as the ashes are hoisted on deck to be thrown overboard, the rattle of lumps of coal on the iron floor-plates, the clang of furnace-doors and fire-irons, and seeming general confusion, make one wonder if Dante would not have used the stoke-hole of an Atlantic liner—had he known of such a thing—to illustrate his "Inferno."

The fires here are as bad as the others; they will not burn well, and the engineer and two of the most hardened firemen are trying to raise the steam by working the coal about. The former flings open

the door of the first fire, and holds up the iron shield to keep back the fierce glare, while the first man pushes in the heavy slice and rakes the fire through, sending a shower of glowing ashes down through the fire-bars into the ash-pit. Two minutes' hard tearing work, and the man steps back almost exhausted, the shield is withdrawn, and the second man, advancing with a shovel into the full glare of the mighty fire, heaves on load after load of coal, till he has covered the glowing mass with a smoking layer of fresh fuel, and then bangs to the door.

But slicing fires soon tells, and the first man obliged to knock off work goes on deck for a few minutes to try and pick up his strength in the fresh air. Down goes the shovel as the second man seizes the abandoned slice and attacks the next fire, for the least pause at once shows itself on the steam-gauge. The engineer, too, is almost done up, but there is one more fire to be cleared and filled. As the fireman drops the slice for the shovel he calls up another man.

"One more, my hearty—give her fits and make her sing!"

The fire is raked, the slice withdrawn, and the man staggers back.

"Now, my hearty, fill her up!"

On goes shovel after shovel full of coal—first right to the back of the fire, then nearer and nearer to the front—till the glaring white-hot mass has a black top, off which the smoke rolls in clouds.

"That's it—let her rip!"

The last load is pitched on, bang! goes the fire door, the shovel falls from the man's nerveless hands, and utterly done up and exhausted, he drops on the iron floor-plates, and vomits like a dog.

Such is modern "Life on the Ocean Wave," though, of course, the weather is not always bad, nor does machinery always go wrong and work hot. On the contrary, many a run is made across the Atlantic without a hitch, and in fairly calm weather; but the care and watchfulness of the engineers on duty must not be relaxed for a single minute; and the work of the firemen, though intensified by bad weather, is killing enough at the best of times.

Patent fuel—a composition of coal tar, crude petroleum, and the refuse coal dust from the mines, moulded into bricks—is, when good, greatly preferable to bad or indifferent coal; but a new horror is being introduced into the stoke-holes of steamers by the ease with which this fuel can be adulterated with sand. Not only is it next to impossible to "keep steam," but a great deal of extra work is thrown on the firemen, who have to heave on deck and throw overboard huge quantities of sand and grit, which fall through the bars into the ash-pits, instead of burning and passing away up the funnel in smoke, as it would were the fuel made of the proper materials.

In some cases, things are made harder for those who have to be below, by the eagerness of the captains to take advantage of every

slight current or capful of wind that may be in their favour, in order to make fast runs, not perceiving the false economy they are thus practising—for a steamer will, as a rule, steam much better and make better progress with a very light breeze abeam or ahead, than with the same breeze astern.*

On one Atlantic steamer the captain, finding a current and *very* light breeze in his favour, kept the ship fair before the wind till the stoke-hole grew so close, for want of proper ventilation, that the men below could hardly breathe. The chief engineer went to the captain and told him the state of affairs, expressing his opinion that the ship would make better progress if he would alter her course a little to the north, as the wind could then blow down the ventilators and the ship steam better in consequence; but the captain could not be brought to see it, and kept on his course with all the sails set, and flapping idly against the masts. One fireman after another was brought up from the stoke-hole sick and exhausted, and, at last, the chief went again to the captain and told him that, if he did not soon bring the ship round, he would soon have to depend on his sails altogether, for there would be no men left fit to work the fires; and the course was altered at last.†

Racing across the Atlantic is fast becoming as reckless a game as ever was played by the captains of Mississippi river-boats, with this difference, that whereas on the Mississippi the passengers were in constant danger of being blown up, on the ocean they need have no fear of a boiler explosion, the danger to health, life, and limb being confined to the engine-room staff.

This apparent anomaly is explained by the fact that, in fast ocean steamers, economy of space and fuel is one of the chief considerations, and the boilers are made of the smallest possible size that will supply the engine with the requisite amount of steam. The consequence is that it is often as much as the firemen can do to keep the steam up to the working pressure, as it is used up by the engines as fast as it can be generated, and only with the greatest difficulty could they raise it to the pressure to which the safety valves are loaded.‡ Besides this, the boilers are tested to double the working pressure when new, and frequently examined and tested afterwards by the Board of Trade.

The Mississippi boats, on the contrary, being able to obtain fuel at

* This, of course, only applies to very light winds; for if the wind is strong enough to force itself down the ventilators, the ship will, naturally, make most way with it astern.

† Fact. On a subsequent voyage of the same steamer, one of the men was carried up from the bunker, dead from congestion of the brain. The ship was steaming as fast as the wind, and the smoke from the funnel rose vertically up instead of dropping in a long trail astern. It is well-known that, in the Red Sea, captains, in a like case, sometimes turn their steamers round, head to wind, in order to relieve passengers and crew from the close, stifling heat.

‡ Usually only one or two pounds above working pressure.

frequent intervals, from wood-flats and lumber-wharves, had no need to economize space, and carried boilers of ample size, so that steam could be easily raised, till it roared through the safety-valves, which, if all reports are true, were often overweighted, and sometimes with disastrous results.

A few months ago, a very good cartoon, illustrative of the present state of things on the Atlantic, appeared in an American comic paper. This represented the captain of a steamer standing on the bridge, with a speaking trumpet to his mouth, shouting down at a perspiring engineer, whose head and shoulders protruded from a man-hole in the upper deck.

"Engineer. We can't go any faster, sir—the steam is up to working pressure, and the firemen are all exhausted and nearly dying."

"Never mind," shouts the captain through his trumpet, "get up that steam at all costs; we are not running for safety, we are running for records."

"And if this is the state of things," asks the sceptical critic, "what is the remedy?"

Remedy!—Well, as long as the present excessive competition is kept up by the public demand for faster and cheaper locomotion, there will be no remedies until steam is superseded by electricity or some other motive power, except such as the steamship companies will not resort to save under compulsion—*i.e.*, to carry larger crews, in order to give the men shorter watches. But more men means either more money or a reduction of wages. The latter are low enough already; and how, ask the companies, are we to pay any dividends if we have to carry larger crews when, at the present rate of fares, we can barely make both ends meet?

Larger boilers, with more heating surface in proportion to the size of the engines, would certainly make the firemen's work less arduous; but naval architects are already hard pressed to provide room for all that has to be got inside the skin of the ship, and yet leave enough cargo-space to render her a paying speculation—to say nothing of extra first cost.

Then comes the question—"Suppose boilers of ample size are provided in any one boat, how long would it be before the owners yielded to the temptation of running the engines at a greater number of revolutions per minute in order to obtain a higher speed, thereby using up the extra steam and throwing extra work on the firemen?" Probably only till another faster steamer was built by some opposing company; and then the pitch of the propeller would be altered, and the chief engineer get his orders to "let her rip."

The owners of the *Teutonic* and *Majestic*—the finest and newest of all the "ocean greyhounds"—besides having spared no expense to provide for the safety and comfort of their passengers, have generously

furnished these vessels with ample boiler power. But hardly has the first of these ships left Liverpool on her maiden run to New York, when there appears in the papers an account of the boat and her performances, in which the suggestion is made that—the boilers being large enough to supply more steam than the engines can possibly use, as they are at present run—the pitch of the propeller should be reduced, and the engines run at a greater number of revolutions. Has the writer of the above ever had to drive a steamship at her full power as he here suggests? Probably not, as he leaves no margin for bad or indifferent coal and other emergencies. Surely it is time to reduce the pitch of the propeller and not strain ship and men to their utmost when it has been proved that the White Star liners cannot “beat the record” as they are, or when a larger and faster steamer appears on the ocean racecourse, and they are obliged, in sheer self-defence, to keep up their reputation for speed.

The possibilities of obtaining an increasing speed with steamships seem, at first sight, as limitless as the ocean on which they float; but, like all else, they must end somewhere. At one time it was supposed that there must be a limit in size, beyond which materials did not exist of sufficient strength to enable steamers to be built. But wood was superseded by iron, and iron in its turn by steel; and there yet remain the possibilities of manganese, bronze, and aluminium. Then it was supposed that, as engines got bigger and bigger, the momentum of the huge moving masses of their cranks and rods would shake the ships to pieces; but practical engineers laughed at this, paid a little more attention to the design and balance of their engines, and, as they increased in size, divided their power and adopted twin screws.

Then came the alarm that no ships could carry the enormous quantity of coal necessary to keep up their speed for the run across to America; but, again, the engineers were equal to the occasion, and engines were first compounded, then tripled, and, finally, several quadrupled expansion engines have been built, while every nerve is strained to attain economy of fuel in other directions.

Competition waxed fierce and strong, and shipowners became anxious lest the demand for speed should render their boats unremunerative, through the great reduction in the cargo-space caused by the enormous bunkers. But still the race has gone on, and the passenger traffic across the Atlantic is assuming such enormous proportions that it is becoming a question whether it will not soon be possible to build and run boats, for passengers only, across the Atlantic, as is now done across the Straits of Dover, and yet make them pay.

Next came a cry that ships were getting too large to enter the docks—but new and deeper docks were speedily built and the entrances of others widened; till now, at last, it seems as if the end would only come in view when ships get too big to handle, or the power of

driving them attains such vast proportions as to make it impossible to build a ship large enough to carry the necessary fuel; and who can say how near or how far off this time may be?

The power necessary to drive a ship *increases as the square of the speed*,* and it would seem that, at this rate, a limit must soon be reached. But against these fearful odds engineers and naval architects work on undaunted, ever finding, in the boundless resources of science, ways and means to overcome each fresh difficulty; and ship after ship sails forth to breast the Atlantic billows, to bear proud witness to the indomitable perseverance that gave her birth, and the British pluck and daring that drives her across the stormy seas.

J R WERNER.

* This proportion is somewhat less when the speed exceeds eighteen knots.

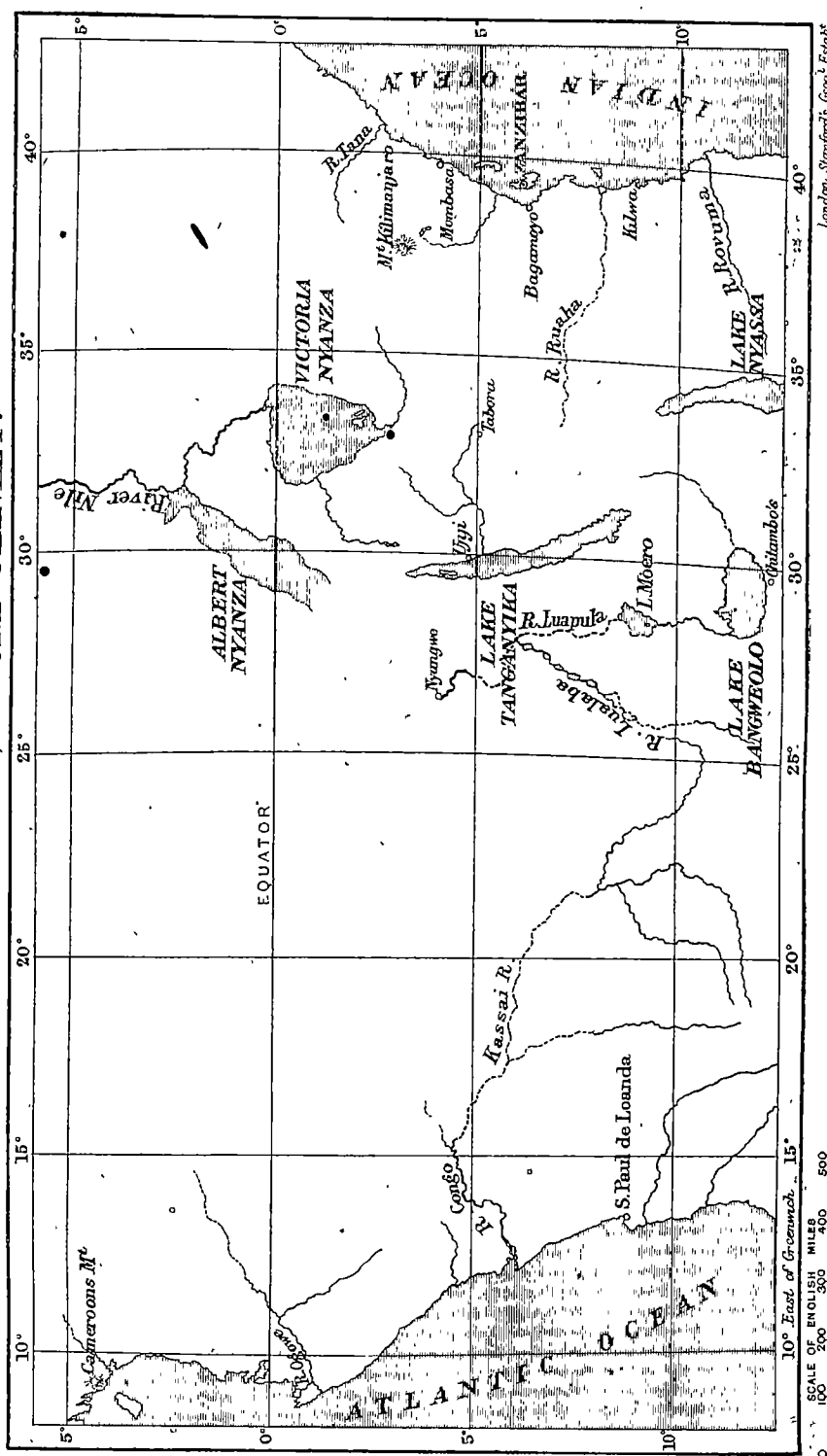
WHAT STANLEY HAS DONE FOR THE MAP OF AFRICA.

IT is nineteen years this month since Stanley first crossed the threshold of Central Africa. He entered it as a newspaper correspondent to find and succour Livingstone, and came out burning with the fever of African exploration. While with Livingstone at Ujiji he tried his 'prentice hand at a little exploring work, and between them they did something to settle the geography of the north end of Lake Tanganyika. Some three years and a half later he was once more on his way to Zanzibar, this time with the deliberate intention of doing something to fill up the great blank that still occupied the centre of the continent. A glance at the first of the maps which accompany this paper (pp. 128-9) will afford some idea of what Central Africa was like when Stanley entered it a second time. The ultimate sources of the Nile had yet to be settled. The contour and extent of Victoria Nyanza were of the most uncertain character. Indeed, so little was known of it beyond what Speke told us, that there was some danger of its being swept off the map altogether, not a few geographers believing it to be not one lake, but several. There was much to do in the region lying to the west of the lake, even though it had been traversed by Speke and Grant. Between a line drawn from the north end of Lake Tanganyika to some distance beyond the Albert Nyanza on one side, and the west coast region on the other, the map was almost white, with here and there the conjectural course of a river or two. Livingstone's latest work, it should be remembered, was then almost unknown, and Cameron had not yet returned. Beyond the Yellala Rapids there was no Congo, and Livingstone believed that the Lualaba swept northwards to the Nile. He had often gazed longingly at the broad river during his weary sojourn at Nyangwé, and yearned to follow it, but felt himself too old and exhausted for the task. Stanley was fired with

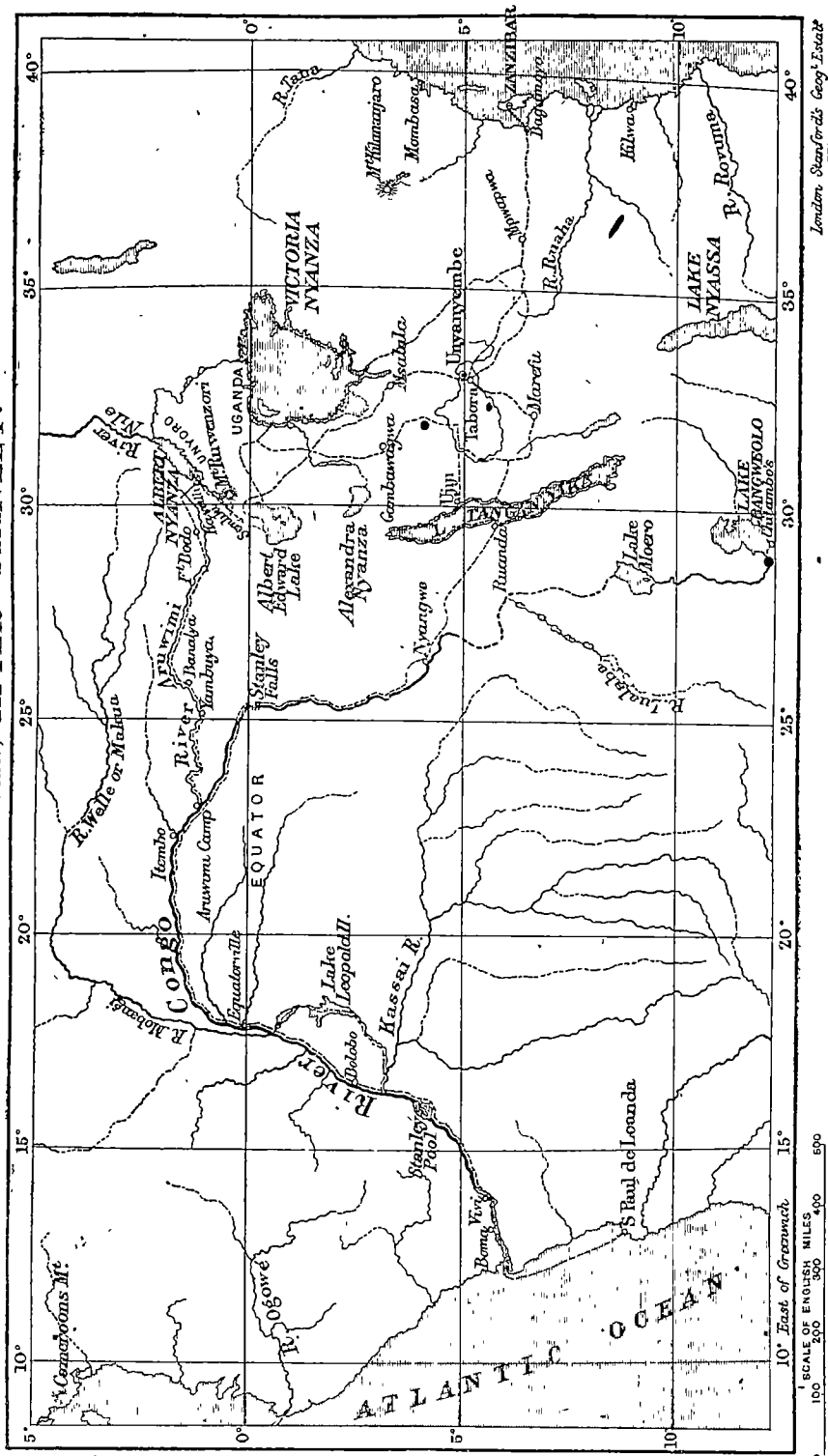
the same ambition as his dead master, and was young and vigorous enough to indulge it.

What, then, did Stanley do to map out the features of this great blank during the two years and nine months which he spent in crossing from Bagamoyo to Boma, at the mouth of the Congo? He determined, with an accuracy which has since necessitated but slight modification, the outline of the Victoria Nyanza; he found it to be one of the great lakes of the world, 21,500 square miles in extent, with an altitude of over 4000 feet, and border soundings of from 330 to 580 feet. Into the south shore of the lake a river flowed, which he traced for some 300 miles, and which he set down as the most southerly feeder of the Nile. With his stay at the Court of the clever and cunning Mtesa of Uganda we need not concern ourselves; it has had momentous results. Westwards he came upon what he conceived to be a part of the Albert Nyanza, which he named Beatrice Gulf, but of which more anon. Coming southwards to Ujiji, Stanley filled in many features in the region he traversed, and saw at a distance a great mountain, which he named Gordon Bennett, of which also more anon. A little lake to the south he named the Alexandra Nyanza; thence he conjectured issued the south-west source of the Nile, but on this point, within the last few months, he has seen cause to change his mind. Lake Tanganyika he circumnavigated, and gave greater accuracy to its outline; while through the Lukuga he found it sent its waters by the Lualaba to the Atlantic. Crossing to Nyangwé, where with longing eyes Livingstone beheld the mile-wide Lualaba flowing "north, north, north," Stanley saw his opportunity, and embraced it. Tippu Tip failed him then, as he did later; but the mystery of that great river he had made up his mind to solve, and solve it he did. The epic of that first recorded journey of a white man down this majestic river, which for ages had been sweeping its unknown way through the centre of Africa, he and his dusky companions running the gauntlet through a thousand miles of hostile savages, is one of the most memorable things in the literature of travel. Leaving Nyangwé on November 5, 1876, in nine months he traced the many-islanded Congo to the Atlantic, and placed on the map of Africa one of its most striking features. For the Congo ranks among the greatest rivers of the world. From the remote Chambeze that enters Lake Bangweolo to the sea, it is 3000 miles. It has many tributaries, themselves affording hundreds of miles of navigable drains; waters a basin of a million square miles, and pours into the Atlantic a volume estimated at 1,800,000 cubic feet per second. Thus, then, were the first broad lines drawn towards filling up the great blank. But, as we know, Stanley two years later was once more on his way to the Congo, and shortly after, within the compass of its great basin, he helped to found the Congo Free State. During the years he was

CENTRAL AFRICA, BEFORE STANLEY.



CENTRAL AFRICA, AFTER STANLEY.



officially connected with the river, either directly or through those who served under him, he went on filling up the blank by the exploration of other rivers, north and south, which poured their voluminous tribute into the main stream; and the impulse he gave has continued. The blank has become a network of dark lines, the interspaces covered with the names of tribes and rivers and lakes.

Such then, briefly, is what Stanley did for the map of Africa during his great and ever-memorable journey across the continent. Once more Mr. Stanley has crossed the continent, in the opposite direction, and taken just about the same time in which to do so. Discovery was not his main object this time, and therefore the results in this direction have not been so plentiful. Indeed, they could not be; he had left so comparatively little to be done. But the additions that he has made to our knowledge of the great blank are considerable, and of high importance in their bearing on the hydrography, the physical geography, the climate, and the people of Central Africa.

Let us rapidly run over the incidents of this, in some respects, the most remarkable expedition that ever entered Africa. Its first purpose, as we know, was to relieve, and if necessary bring away, Emin Pasha, the Governor of the abandoned Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sudan, which spread on each side of the Bahr-el-Jebel, the branch of the Nile that issues from the Albert Nyanza. Here it was supposed that he and his Egyptian officers and troops, and their wives and children, were beleaguered by the Madhist hordes, and that they were at the end of their supplies. Emin Pasha, who as Eduard Schnitzer was born in Prussian Silesia, and educated at Breslau and Berlin as a physician, spent twelve years (1864-1876) in the Turkish service, during which he travelled over much of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, indulging his strong tastes for natural history. In 1876 he entered the service of Egypt, and was sent up to the Sudan as surgeon on the staff of Gordon Pasha, who at that time governed the Equatorial Province. In 1878, two years after Gordon had been appointed Governor-General of the whole Sudan, Emin Effendi (he had Moslemized himself) was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Province, which he found completely disorganized and demoralized, the happy hunting-ground of the slave-raider. Within a few months Emin had restored order, swept out the slavers, got rid of the Egyptian scum who pretended to be soldiers, improved the revenue, so that instead of a large deficit there was a considerable surplus, and established industry and legitimate trade. Meantime, the Mahdi had appeared, and the movement of conquest was gathering strength. It was not, however, till 1884 that Emin began to fear danger. It was in January of that year that Gordon went out to hold Khartoum; just a year later both he and the city

fell before the Madhist host. Emin withdrew with his officers and dependents, numbering probably about 1500, to Wadelai, in the south of the province, within easy reach of Albert Nyanza.

Rumours of the events in the Sudan after the fall of Khartoum reached this country; but no one outside of scientific circles seemed to take much interest in Emin till 1886. Rapidly, however, Europe became aware what a noble stand this simple *savant*, who had been foisted into the position of Governor of a half-savage province, was making against the forces of the Mahdi, and how he refused to desert his post and his people. Towards the autumn of 1886 public feeling on the subject rose to such a height that the British Government, which was held to blame for the position in the Sudan, was compelled to take action. Our representative at Zanzibar, as early as August of that year, instituted inquiries as to the possibility of a relief expedition, but in the end, in dread of international complications, it was decided that a Government expedition was impracticable. In this dilemma, Sir (then Mr.) William Mackinnon, Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company, whose connection with East Africa is of old standing, came forward and offered to undertake the responsibility of getting up an expedition. The Emin Pasha Relief Committee was formed in December 1886, and Government did all it could to aid, short of taking the actual responsibility. Mr. H. M. Stanley generously offered his services as leader, without fee or reward, giving up many lucrative engagements for the purpose. No time was lost. The sum of £20,000 had been subscribed, including £10,000 from the Egyptian Government. Mr. Stanley returned from America to England in the end of December; by the end of January he had made all his preparations, selecting nine men as his staff, including three English officers and two surgeons, and was on his way to Zanzibar, which was reached on February 21. On the 25th the expedition was on board the *Madura*, bound for the mouth of the Congo, by way of the Cape; nine European officers, sixty-one *Portuguese*, thirteen Somalis, three interpreters, 620 Zanzibaris, an Arab slaver and merchant, Tippu Tip and 407 of his *tribe* south of the Congo was reached on

knows Africa better—Mr. Stanley selected the Congo route ; though had he foreseen all that he and his men would have to undergo he might have hesitated. As it was, the expedition, which it was thought would be back in England by Christmas 1887, only reached the coast in November 1889. But the difficulties no one could have foreseen, the region traversed being completely unknown, and the obstacles encountered unprecedented even in Africa. Nor, when the goal was reached, was it expected that months would be wasted in persuading Emin and his people to quit their exile. Not the keenest-eyed of African explorers could have foreseen all this.

Want of sufficient boat accommodation, and a scarcity of food almost amounting to famine, hampered the expedition terribly on its way up the Congo. The mouth of the Aruwimi, the real starting-point of the expedition, some 1500 miles from the mouth of the Congo, was not reached by Mr. Stanley and the first contingent till the beginning of June 1887. The distance from here in a straight line to the nearest point of the Albert Nyanza is about 450 miles; thence it was believed communication with Emin would be easy, for he had two steamers available. But it was possible that a detour would have to be made towards the north so as to reach Wadelai direct, for no one knew the conditions which prevailed in the country between the Aruwimi mouth and the Albert Nyanza. As it was, Mr. Stanley took the course to the lake direct, but with many a circuit and many an obstruction, and at a terrible sacrifice of life. An entrenched camp was established on a bluff at Yambuya, about fifty miles up the left bank of the Aruwimi. Major Barttelot was left in charge of this, and with him Dr. Bonny, Mr. Jameson, Mr. Rose Troup, Mr. Ward, and 257 men ; the rear column was to follow as soon as Tippu Tip provided the contingent of 500 natives which he had solemnly promised. Although the whole of the men had not come up, yet everything seemed in satisfactory order ; explicit instructions were issued to the officers of the rear column ; and on June 28, 1887, Mr. Stanley, with a contingent consisting of 389 officers and men, set out to reach Emin Pasha. The officers with him were Nelson, Lieutenant Stairs, Dr. Parke, and Mr. Jephson.

Five miles after leaving camp the expedition began. The ex-

It was fondly hoped that here at least the Arab slaver had not penetrated; but on September 16, 200 miles from Yambuya, making 340 miles of actual travel, the slave camp of Ugarowwa was reached, and here the treatment was even worse than when fighting the savages of the forest. The brutalities practised on Stanley's men cost many of them their lives. A month later the camp of another Arab slaver was reached, Kilinga Longa, and there the treatment was no better. These so-called Arabs, whose caravans consist mainly of the merciless Manyuema, from the country between Tanganyika and Nyangwé, had laid waste a great area of the region to be traversed by the expedition, so that between August 31 and November 12 every man was famished; and when, at last, the land of devastation was left behind, and the native village of Ibwiri entered, officers and men were reduced to skeletons. Out of the 389 who started only 174 entered Ibwiri, the rest dead, or missing, or left behind, unable to move, at Ugarowwa's. So weak was everybody that 70 tons of goods and the boat had to be left at Kilinga Longa's with Captain Nelson and Surgeon Parke. •

A halt of thirteen days at Ibwiri, with its plenty of fowls, bananas, corn, yams, beans, restored everybody; and 173 sleek and robust men set out for the Albert Nyanza on November 24. A week later the gloomy and dreaded forest suddenly ended; the open country was reached; the light of day was unobstructed; it was an emergence from darkness to light. But the difficulties were not over; some little fighting with the natives on the populous plateau was necessary before the lake could be reached. On the 12th the edge of the long slope from the Congo to Lake Albert was attained, and suddenly the eyes of all were gladdened by the sight of the lake lying some 3000 feet almost sheer below. The expedition itself stood at an altitude of 5200 feet above the sea. But the end was not yet. Down the expedition marched to the south-west corner of the lake, where the Kakongo natives were unfriendly. No Emin Pasha had been heard of; there was no sign even that he knew of Stanley's coming or that the messenger from Zanzibar had reached him. The only boat of the expedition was at Kilinga Longa's, 190 miles away. Of the men 94 were behind sick at Ugarowwa's and Kilinga Longa's; only 173 were with Stanley; 74 of the original 341 were dead or missing; and, moreover, there was anxiety about the rear column.

Stanley's resolution was soon taken. Moving to the village of Kavalli, some distance up the steep slope from the lake, the party began a night march on December 15, and by January 7 they were back at Ibwiri. Here Fort Bodo, famous in the records of the expedition, was built. The men were brought up from the rear, and on April 7 Stanley, with Jephson and Parke, once more led the expedition to Lake Albert, this time with the boat and fresh stores. Meantime, Stanley himself was on the sick-list for a month. This time all the natives along the

route were friendly and even generous, and on April 22 the expedition reached the chief Kavalli, who delivered to Stanley a letter wrapped in American cloth. The note was from Emin, and stated that he had heard rumours of Stanley's presence in the district; it begged Stanley to wait until Emin could communicate with him. The boat was launched, and Jephson set off to find Emin. On the 29th the *Khedive* steamer came down the lake with Emin, the Italian Casati, and Jephson on board. The great object of the expedition seemed at last to be all but fulfilled.

But the end was not yet. There was the party at Fort Bodo; there were the sick further back with whom Lieutenant Stairs had not returned when Stanley left the fort; and, above all, there was the rear column left at Yambuya with Major Barttelot. It would take some time for Emin to bring down all his people from Wadelai and other stations. So after spending over three weeks with the vacillating Emin, Stanley, on May 25, was once more on the march back to Fort Bodo to bring up all hands. He left Jephson, three Sudanese, and two Zanzibaris with Emin, who gave him 102 natives as porters, and three irregulars to accompany him back. Fort Bodo was reached on June 8, and was found in a flourishing state, surrounded by acres of cultivated fields. But of the fifty-six men left at Ugarowwa's only sixteen were alive for Lieutenant Stairs to bring to Fort Bodo. As there was no sign of the rear column nor of the twenty messengers sent off in March with letters for Major Barttelot, Stanley felt bound to retrace his steps through the terrible forest. This time he was better provisioned, and his people (212) escaped the horrors of the wilderness.

Fort Bodo was left on June 16, Stanley letting all his white companions remain behind. Ugarowwa's camp was deserted, and he himself with a flotilla of fifty-seven canoes was overtaken far down the river on August 10, and with him seventeen of the carriers sent off to Major Barttelot in March; three of their number had been killed. On the 17th the rear column was met with at Bonalya, eighty miles above Yambuya, and then for the first time Stanley learned of the terrible disaster that had befallen it:—Barttelot shot by the Manyema; Jameson gone down the Congo (only to die); Ward away; and Troup invalided home. No one but Dr. Bonny; of the 257 men only seventy-two remaining, and of these only fifty-two fit for service. No wonder Mr. Stanley felt too sick to write the details; and until we have the whole of the evidence it would be unfair to pronounce judgment. One thing we may say: we know, from Mr. Werner's recently published "*River Life on the Congo*," that before Major Barttelot left Yambuya to follow Stanley it was known to Mr. Werner, to more than one Belgian officer, to several natives, and to the Manyema people with Barttelot, that instructions

had been given by Tippu Tip to these last to shoot Major Barttelot if he did not treat them well. Yet no one cared to warn the Major, and he was allowed to depart to his almost certain fate. The thing is too sickening to dwell upon. It was at this stage that Stanley sent home his first letters, which reached England on April 1, 1889, twenty months after he started from the Aruwimi, and over two years after he left England. The relief was intense; all sorts of sinister rumours had been floated, and most people had given up the expedition for lost.

Once more back through the weary forest, with the expedition re-organized. A new route was taken to the north of the river through a region devastated by the Arab slavers; and here the expedition came near to starvation, but once more Fort Bodo was reached, on December 20. Here things were practically as Stanley had left them; there was no sign of Emin, though he had promised to come to the fort. The combined expedition marched onwards, and Mr. Stanley, pushing on with a contingent, reached the lake for the third time, on January 18, only to learn that Emin and Jephson had been made prisoners by Emin's own men; the Mahdists had attacked the station and created a panic, and all was disorganization and vacillation. At last, however, the chief actors in this strange drama were together again: and Mr. Stanley's account of Emin's unstable purpose; the long arguments with the Pasha to persuade him to come to a decision; the ingratitude and treachery of the Egyptians; the gathering of the people and their burdensome goods and chattels preparatory to quitting the lake—these and many other details are fresh in our memories from Stanley's own letters. But the main purpose of the expedition was accomplished, at however terrible a cost, and however disappointing it was, to find that after all Emin was reluctant to be "rescued." When the start was made from Kavalli's, on April 10 last, 1500 people in all were mustered. An almost mortal illness laid Stanley low for a month shortly after the start, and it was May 8 before the huge caravan was fairly under way. Some fighting had to be done with the raiders from Unyoro, but on the whole the homeward march was comparatively free from trouble, and full of interest; and on December 6 Mr. Stanley once more entered Zanzibar, which he had left two years and ten months before. Such briefly are some of the incidents of the rescue expedition; let us now as briefly sum up the geographical results.

When Stanley left for Africa in January 1887 there remained one of the great problems of African hydrography still unsolved—what is known as the problem of the Wellé. Schweinfurth and Junker had come upon a river at some points which seemed to rise in the neighbourhood of the Albert Nyanza, and appeared to flow in a north-west direction. The favourite theory at the time was that the river Wellé was really the upper course of the Shari, which runs into Lake Chad

far away to the north-west. But as the Congo and its great feeders on the north, and the lie of the land in that direction, became better known, it began to be conjectured that after all the Wellé might send its waters to swell the mighty volume of the great river. Stanley, I know, hoped that, among other geographical work, he might be able to throw some light on the course of this puzzling river. But, as we see now, the cares and troubles that fell upon him prevented him going much out of the way to do geographical work. While, however, Stanley was cleaving his way through the tangled forest, Lieutenant Van Gèle, one of the Free State officers, proved conclusively that the Wellé was really the upper course of the Mobangi, one of the largest northern tributaries of the Congo. But another and kindred problem Stanley was able to solve. Before his journey, the mouth of the river Aruwimi was known; the great naval battle which he fought there on his first descent of the river is one of the most striking of the many striking pictures in the narrative of that famous journey. But beyond Yaabûya its course was a blank. The river, under various names, "Ituri" being the best known, led him almost to the brink of the Albert Nyanza. One of its upper contributories is only ten minutes' walk from the brink of the escarpment that looks down upon the lake. With many rapids, it is for a great part of its course over 500 yards wide, with groups of islands here and there. For a considerable stretch it is navigable, and its entire length, taking all its windings into account, from its source to the Congo, is 800 miles. One of its tributaries turns out to be another river which Junker met further north, and whose destination was a puzzle—the Nepoko.

Thus this expedition has enabled us to form clearer notions of the hydrography of this remarkable region of rivers. We see that the sources of the Congo and the Nile lie almost within a few yards of each other. Indeed, so difficult is it to determine to which river the various waters in this region send their tribute that Mr. Stanley himself, in his first letter, was confident that the southern Lake Albert belonged to the Congo and not to the Nile system; it was only actual inspection that convinced him he was mistaken. How it is that the Ituri or the Aruwimi and other rivers in the same region are attracted to the Congo and not to the Nile is easily seen from Mr. Stanley's graphic description of the lie of the country between the Congo and the Albert Nyanza. It is, he says, like the glacis of a fort, some 350 miles long, sloping gradually up from the margin of the Congo (itself at the Aruwimi mouth 1400 feet above the sea), until ten minutes beyond one of the Ituri feeders it reaches a height of 5200 feet, to descend almost perpendicularly 2900 feet to the surface of the lake, which forms the great western reservoir of the Nile.

But when the term "glacis" is used, it must not be inferred that the ascent from the Congo to Lake Albert is smooth and

unobstructed. The fact is that Mr. Stanley found himself involved in the northern section of what is probably the most extensive and densest forest region in Africa. Livingstone spent many a weary day trudging its gloomy recesses away south at Nyangwé on the Lualaba. It stretches for many miles north to the Monbuttu country. Stanley entered it at Yambuya, and tunnelled his way through it to within fifty miles of the Albert Nyanza, when it all of a sudden ceased and gave way to grassy plains and the unobstructed light of day. How far west it may extend beyond the Aruwimi he cannot say; but it was probably another section of this same forest region that Mr. Paul du Chaillu struck some thirty years ago, when gorilla-hunting in the Gaboon. Mr. Stanley estimates the area of this great forest region at about 300,000 square miles, which is more likely to be under than over the mark. The typical African forest, as Mr. Drummond shows in his charming book on "Tropical Africa," is not of the kind found on the Aruwimi, which is much more South American than African. Not even in the "great sponge" from which the Zambesi and the Congo draw their remote supplies do we meet with such impenetrable density. Trees scattered about as in an English park in small open clumps form, as a rule, the type of "forest" common in Africa; the physical causes which led to the dense packing of trees over the immense area between the Congo and the Nile lakes will form an interesting investigation. Mr. Stanley's description of the great forest region, in his letter to Mr. Bruce, is well worth quoting:—

"Take a thick Scottish copse, dripping with rain; imagine this copse to be a mere undergrowth, nourished under the impenetrable shade of ancient trees, ranging from 100 to 180 feet high; briars and thorns abundant; lazy creeks, meandering through the depths of the jungle, and sometimes a deep affluent of a great river. Imagine this forest and jungle in all stages of decay and growth—old trees falling, leaning perilously over, fallen prostrate; ants and insects of all kinds, sizes, and colours murmuring around; monkeys and chimpanzees above, queer noises of birds and animals, crashes in the jungle as troops of elephants rush away; dwarfs with poisoned arrows securely hidden behind some buttress or in some dark recess; strong, brown-bodied aborigines with terribly sharp spears, standing poised, still as dead stumps; rain pattering down on you every other day in the year; an impure atmosphere, with its dread consequences, fever and dysentery; gloom throughout the day, and darkness almost palpable throughout the night; and then if you will imagine such a forest extending the entire distance from Plymouth to Peterhead, you will have a fair idea of some of the inconvenience endured by us from June 28 to December 5, 1887, and from June 1, 1888, to the present date, to continue again from the present date till about December 10, 1888, when I hope then to say a last farewell to the Congo Forest."

Mr. Stanley tries to account for this great forest region by the abundance of moisture carried over the continent from the wide Atlantic by the winds which blow landward through a great part of the year.

But it is to be feared the remarkable phenomenon is not to be accounted for in so easy a way. Investigation may prove that the rain of the rainiest region in Africa comes not from the Atlantic, but the Indian Ocean, with its moisture-laden monsoons. And so we should have here a case analogous to that which occurs in South America, the forests of which resemble in many features those of the region through which Mr. Stanley has passed.

But the forest itself is not more interesting than its human denizens. The banks of the river in many places are studded with large villages, some, at least, of the native tribes being cannibals. We are here on the northern border of the true negro peoples, so that when the subject is investigated the Aruwimi savages may be found to be much mixed. But unless Europe promptly intervenes, there will shortly be few people left in these forests to investigate. Mr. Stanley came upon two slave-hunting parties, both of them manned by the merciless people of Manyema. Already great tracts have been turned into a wilderness, and thousands of the natives driven from their homes. From the ethnologist's point of view the most interesting inhabitants of the Aruwimi forests are the hostile and cunning dwarfs, or rather pigmies, who caused the expedition so much trouble. No doubt they are the same as the Monbuttu pigmies found farther north, and essentially similar to the pigmy population found scattered all over Africa, from the Zambesi to the Nile, and from the Gaboon to the east coast. Mr. Du Chaillu found them in the forests of the west thirty years ago, and away south on the great Sankuru tributary of the Congo Major Wissmann and his fellow-explorers met them within the past few years. They seem to be the remnants of a primitive population rather than stunted examples of the normal negro. Around the villages in the forest wherever clearings had been made the ground was of the richest character, growing crops of all kinds. Mr. Stanley has always maintained that in the high lands around the great lakes will be found the most favourable region for European enterprise; and if in time much of the forest is cleared away, the country between the Congo and Lake Albert might become the granary of Africa.

To the geographer, however, the second half of the expedition's work is fuller of interest than the first. Some curious problems had to be solved in the lake region, problems that have given rise to much discussion. When in 1864 Sir Samuel Baker stood on the lofty escarpment that looks down on the east shore of the Albert Nyanza, at Vacovia, the lake seemed to him to stretch illimitably to the south, so that for long it appeared on our maps as extending beyond 1° S. latitude. When Stanley, many years later, on his first great expedition, after crossing from Uganda, came upon a great bay of water, he was naturally inclined to think that it was a part of Baker's

lake, and called it Beatrice Gulf. But Gessi and Mason, members of Gordon Pasha's staff, circumnavigated the lake later on and found that it ended more than a degree north of the equator. So when Stanley published his narrative he made his "Beatrice Gulf" a separate lake lying to the south of the Albert Nyanza. Mr. Stanley saw only a small portion of the southern lake, Muta Nzigé, but in time it expanded and expanded on our maps, until there seemed some danger of its being joined on to Lake Tanganyika. Emin himself, during his twelve years' stay in the Sudan, did something towards exploring the Albert Nyanza, and found that its southern shore was fast advancing northwards, partly owing to sediment brought down by a river, and partly due to the wearing away of the rocky bed of the Upper Nile, by which much water escaped, and the level of the lake subsided. Thus, when Baker stood on the shore of the lake in 1864, it may well have extended many miles farther south than it does now. But where did the river come from that Mason and Emin saw running into the lake from the south? As was pointed out above, Stanley at first thought it could not come from his own lake to the south, which he believed must send its waters to the Congo. But all controversy has now been ended. During the famous exodus of the 1500 from Kavalli to the coast, the intensely interesting country lying between the northern lake Albert and the southern lake, now named Albert Edward, was traversed. Great white grassy plains stretch away south from the shores of Lake Albert, which under the glitter of a tropical sun might well be mistaken for water; evidently they have been under water at a quite recent period. But soon the country begins to rise, and round the base of a great mountain boss the river Semliki winds its way through its valley, receiving through the picturesque glens many streams of water from the snows that clothe the mountain-tops. Here we have a splendid country, unfortunately harassed by the raids of the Wanyoro, in dread of whom the simple natives of the mountain-side often creep up to near the limit of snow. Up the mountain, which Lieut. Stairs ascended for over 10,000 feet, blackberries, bilberries, violets, heaths, lichens, and trees that might have reminded him of England flourish abundantly. Here evidently we have a region that might well harbour a European population. The mountain itself, Ruwenzori, a great boss with numerous spurs, is quite evidently an extinct volcano, rising to something like 19,000 feet, and reminding one of Kilimanjaro, farther to the east. It is not yet clear whether it is the same mountain as the Gordon Bennett seen by Stanley in his former expedition, though the probability is that, if distinct, they belong to the same group or mass. Apart from the mountain the country gradually ascends as the Semliki is traced up to its origin in Lake Albert Edward. Mr. Stanley found that, after all, the southern Nyanza

belongs to the great Nile system, giving origin to the furthest south-west source of Egypt's wonderful river, which we now know receives a tribute from the snows of the equator.

The southern lake itself is of comparatively small dimensions, probably not more than 45 miles long, and is 900 feet above the northern Lake Albert. Mr. Stanley only skirted its west, north, and east shores, so that probably he has not been able to obtain complete data as to size and shape. But he has solved one of the few remaining great problems in African geography. The two lakes lie in a trough, the sides of which rise steeply in places 3000 feet, to the great plateaus that extend away east and west. This trough, from the north end of Lake Albert to the south end of Lake Albert Edward, is some 260 statute miles in length. About 100 miles of this is occupied by the former lake, 45 by the latter, and the rest by the country between, where the trough, if we may indulge in an Irishism, becomes partly a plain, and partly a great mountain mass. But this trough, or fissure, a glance at a good map will show, is continued more or less south and south-east in Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, which are essentially of the same character as Lakes Albert and Albert Edward, and totally different from such lakes as Victoria Nyanza and Bangweolo. Here we have a feature of the greatest geographical interest, which still has to be worked out as to its origin.

There is little more to say as to the geographical results of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. There are many minute details of great interest, which the reader may see for himself in Mr. Stanley's letters, or in his forthcoming detailed narrative. In his own characteristic way, he tells of the tribes and peoples around the lakes, and between the lakes and the coast; and it was left for him on his way home to discover a great south-west extension of Victoria Nyanza, which brings that lake within 150 miles of Lake Tanganyika. The results which have been achieved have been achieved at a great sacrifice of life, and of suffering to all concerned; but no one, I am sure, will wish that the work had been left undone. The few great geographical problems in Africa that Livingstone had to leave untouched Stanley has solved. Little remains for himself and others in the future beyond the filling in of details; but these are all-important, and will keep the great army of explorers busy for many years, if not for generations.

J. SCOTT KELTIE.

ROBERT BROWNING.

WHEN the news was flashed from Venice that Robert Browning had died, men felt as of old they felt when a great king had passed away—one who, at a time of change, had absorbed the new aims and thoughts of his nation while they were yet unshaped, who had given them form in himself, and sent them forth alive and fresh, to be loved and used by his folk, and who, continuing to shape and reshape them with more and more completeness, had himself quietly grown into such a power that he impressed the seal and spirit of his personality upon the character of his people. The movement is slow of such a life and the strife is long, but at last, and when the best of his work is done, he comes forth, recognized as one of the spiritual kings, listened to by all as one of the prophets of mankind. This was the history of Robert Browning. He waited long, without complaint, without pretension, for his recognition by men of good-will; and he had the happy fortune to attain it before he died. He had loved men, and he lived long enough to feel that they loved him. It is not the common lot; but his courage, his joyfulness, his consistent soundness of mind, deserved that gratification.

We look back over a space of fifty-seven years to his first poem. "Pauline" was sent to press in January 1833; and though it is exceedingly immature, yet there has been rarely any youthful poem which more clearly foretold that a new world of poetry was about to open its doors to men. It has absolutely nothing to do with the past. There is, it is true, the sound in it of the blank verse of Shelley, but it does not belong to any of the separate countries, which yet had one atmosphere, of the world in which Wordsworth and Coleridge, Byron and Shelley, Keats and Scott, thought and felt. It was part of the

first rush of a new wave of emotion and thinking upon the shores of England.* His poetry of introspection which asked, "Who am I, whence have I come, whither am I going?" began in it. His poetry which grew more and more eager round theological questions, with a wholly new turn in the theology—which went below dogma to the impassioned human desires out of which dogma had grown—began in it. His poetry which asked what was the aim of human life, what was the meaning of its problem, why the strife was so hard, and what was the use of it—and which asked this, not for the world at large, but for the individual in the world—began in it. His poetry, which determined to represent not what was common to human nature, to all men, but what was special in different types of humanity, and special to individual phases of each type, began in it. Moreover, there arose in it, as also in Tennyson—but in Tennyson it was less original, more on the model of past poetry—a new kind of natural description, or rather a new element in natural description, the subtle differentiation of which is too long to speak of now, but which is more composed, more invented, more infused with intellect, less drawn on the spot from Nature, more surcharged with humanity, more passionate, more conceived in colour less in line, more illustrative of the human purpose of the poem, than had before arisen.

This novelty in the work, connected with the date, is full of interest. The last great poetry had closed about ten years before, in the deaths of Shelley and Keats. Both of them felt, but Shelley less than Keats, because he was away from England, that the world in which they lived was exhausted of beauty, interest, and excitement. There was none of that popular emotion which flowing from the minds and hearts of men kindles a poet and forces him into creation. The storm which followed on the Revolution of France had blown itself out, and Shelley, after in vain striving to excite himself with the struggle for Hellenic

* I say "part of the wave," because, even before "Pauline," Tennyson had begun to write, and the same new elements, though mingled more with past motives, appeared in his poems. "The Supposed Confessions of a Sensitive Mind not in Unity with Itself," "The Poet," and "The Poet's Mind," "Love and Death," the manner of the "Sleeping Beauty"—all published in 1830—illustrate the new paths into which poetry was turning. The same things jut out in the poems of his brother. They are still more marked in the poems of 1832. "The Palace of Art" is steeped in them. The "Lotus-Eaters" strikes another note of the same theme; and the "Lovers' Tale," published privately in 1833, may be compared throughout with "Pauline." How like, we say, yet how different! Nothing would be more fascinating than to isolate the new elements in Tennyson's works from 1830 to 1833, but our business is with Browning. May it still be long before we have to write of Tennyson as we are doing now of Browning. And it seems as if it would be long, for his last volume is full of poems so fair, so strongly wrought, so joyful in their strength, so pathetic, and so passionate that we seem to be reading the work of a man of thirty-five, in the plenitude of power. Goethe wrote well at eighty years of age, but there was no youth in his works. There is nothing in literature which resembles the young strength and feeling of this book by a man of eighty but the production of the "Œdipus at Colonus" by Sophocles, if it be true that the drama was given to Athens when Sophocles was so old.

liberty, took to love-songs and metaphysics, while Keats fled back to Greece and to mediæval Italy for subjects. Then, in a dead back-water of exhaustion, pretty little poems of *pot-pourri* sentiment and *bric-à-brac* description, like those of Mrs. Hemans, delighted and enfeebled the cultivated world. But a new excitement which stirred the dead bones now came on England. The Reform movement was born, and though the poets did not write about it, yet they breathed the atmosphere of passion in which the country lived. They were no longer forced to go to Greece and Italy to stir themselves into creation. They found their impulse in their own country and their own age. They took that excitement, and they changed it in themselves into an excitement on questions of the soul, of life, of human nature, of Nature herself. The political ideal aroused in them the conception of a new spiritual ideal. The stir, the life, the battle in England did not become subjects which the Muse could treat, but they awoke the Muse from slumber and filled her with eagerness to do her own work; and as the ground temper of the world had changed since the time of Shelley and Byron, since it no longer looked backwards, but forwards, the work of poetry also changed, and looked also forward. But the new elements of the soul of poetry were all in confusion, mingled and tossed together like a sea in the centre of a hurricane, tumbling up and down, no ordered run in the waves—elements unable to be handled, seized, or isolated, their relations to each other unknown, their tendencies only guessed at, what they would be when crystallized as yet unimagined—so that we do not wonder at the tentativeness, the obscurity, almost the muddle of a poem like "Pauline." It is eminently representative of the fitful, strange, tormented, moody, wayward time; but, while we say this, we must remember that the trouble and fantasy of that time, its agony and waywardness, were not those of age, but of growth, not of an exhausted, but of a new-born period. Therefore their evil, in growth, would be eliminated—if the poet were true, and if his age pursued nobility. This was the case with Browning, and the growth was swift. In "Paracelsus," published two years later than "Pauline," in 1835, the vague thoughts of "Pauline" had taken clear form: the poet became master of his ideas, and gave them luminous shape; the waves ran in one direction before a steady wind.

Simultaneously with the political excitement and with the new poetic movement arose a theological excitement and a religious reform. It took two distinct shapes. One looked backward to find the perfection to which it aspired; the other looked forward to a like perfection. Both wished to bring religion home to the people, and the practical effect of both has been great. One was the movement which Newman led, and the other the movement which Maurice led.

The only thing I wish to mark in them was common to both. It was their passion, their eagerness, their sense that a new world was beginning, their indignation at the apathy of the age just behind them in all matters of the soul with God, of the nation conceived as having a duty to God. "Let us re-create theology and religious life as its form," they cried; and, what is more, they did that work.

This impulse, unlike the political one, could unite itself to poetry, and express its more ideal portion in verse. It was an impulse which had to do with the soul, with hopes, pleasures, and aspirations beyond the world, with the shaping of the right way of living, with Nature, with the heart of man, and God. It was immediately taken up by Browning. It was not, save very slightly, taken up by Tennyson till 1842, when such poems as the "Two Voices" and the "Vision of Sin" appeared; till 1850, when "In Memoriam" concentrated all its questions round the problem of loss and sorrow. To Browning, on the contrary, the whole theological matter in its application to the question, "What is the meaning and the end of this life?" was always dear, and continued dear to him for more than half a century of work. In "Paracelsus" the way he meant to meet the problem and his view of it were clearly laid down, and from that view he has never swerved. What he said there, he went on saying in a hundred different fashions through the whole of his poetic life. In "Pauline" we have the same view, but unshaped, in broken bits, like elements in solution; uncombined, but waiting the flash of electricity through them, which will mingle them, in their due proportions, into a composite substance, having a clear form, and capable of being used for a distinct purpose. That flash was sent through the confused elements of "Pauline," and the result was "Paracelsus."

This is the history of the poet at his beginning in relation to the time at which he began. I have no intention of dealing with "Paracelsus," or with the wonderful world that was created after it. That were too large a task; for surely no other modern poet has had a greater variety than Browning within his well-defined limits. Nor can I attempt, in the few hours given me to write this article, to define the main lines of his work, or the main characteristics of his genius. That should be the result of some months of careful reading of his poems as a whole, and of careful thought. It may be years, indeed, before we can stand enough apart from him, and from that deceiving atmosphere of the contemporary, to see clearly what he has done, to give it its just value, and to distinguish those powers and their pleasures which are unique in it, as well as useful for the growth of the imagination and the soul in man. The dead, who have been great, pass through a period of enthusiasm for their work—then of depreciation of it; and then from the balance of the two extremes arises at last the just appreciation which allots them their

true place in the temple of poetry. Our grandchildren will know the judgment of time on Browning. Only one thing is quite clear. That judgment will give him a lofty seat and a distinct one; and I believe, if I may venture to prophesy, that, among the whole of the English-speaking peoples, and in proportion as they grow in thought, in spirituality, and in love of men and women, the recognition and the praise of the main body of Browning's poetry will also grow, and grow into a power the reach of which we cannot as yet conceive.

What I have yet to say will be taken up with "Pauline." That is a matter small enough to treat of in an article so necessarily occasional as this. Nevertheless, it has its own interest. Had "Pauline" been rejected from his works by Browning—were it as poor, as imitative, as the first efforts of poets commonly are, we should have no right to speak of it. But he has republished it; he felt there was stuff below its immaturity; he knew it was original and of its time, and that in the history of his poetic development it had a distinct place. It was crude and extravagant; "good draughtsmanship and right handling," he says himself, "were far beyond the artist at that time;" but he was right, though "with extreme repugnance and purely of necessity," in retaining it. It is valuable for the history of poetry, and it is valuable for the history of his own development.

It is a fragment of a larger design; of a poem which was to represent, as in dramatic contrast, various types of human life. Of these types, some were put aside, or worked up afterwards with other poems. "Pauline" is the presentation of the type of the poet.

It is remarkable that even at the age of twenty years Browning had chosen one of his methods, and chosen it for life. Even to his latest book he pursued this contrasted dramatization of characters, setting type over against type, and specialties of the one type over against another, without, strange to say, any power of making a true drama. The character drawing is superb, but the characters do not clash or cohere to form a dramatic whole. They stand apart, like peaks in an Alpine range, each clear and proud, but the attempt to co-ordinate them fails. Here in "Pauline" we have the poet, but the poet in the confused, chaotic time of which I have spoken. We find him caught by love and hiding in his love from a past he longed to forget. He had sought wild dreams of beauty and good, strange fair worlds, and the end was vanity. The past was dead, but its ghost haunted him and made him for ever restless—the shame of failure, of hopes grown craven, was ever with him. Once he had "sung like one entering bright halls," but he had not been true to his aspiration. He had fallen, out of the enthusiasm which took him beyond himself, under the dominion of self, and all the glory departed. And a fine simile of his soul as a young witch whose blue eyes

"As she stood naked by the river springs
Draw down a god,"

but who, as he sat in the sunshine on her knees singing of heaven, saw the mockery in her eyes, and vanished, tells, with much of the after-force of Browning, of how the early ravishment departed, slain by self-scorn that sprang from self-worship. Then he tells, in contrast with this, of the reverence and love he had, and which still survives, for one great poet whom he calls "Suntreader," and who may be Shelley, and this adoration at the root of his soul keeps him "not wholly lost." To strengthen this self-forgetful element, the love of Pauline has now come, and something of the old joy returns. A new impulse has arisen on him out of the universe. Let me take it, he cries, and sing on

"fast as fancies come :
Rudely, the verse being as the mood it paints." *

This is the exordium, and it is Browning all over—the soul aspiring, the failure to realize the aspiration, the despair; and then the new impulse coming whence men know not, which bids the soul aspire again. It is failure, then, that makes growth possible, and bids man, discontented, reach upwards to God, from whom the new impulse has come.

Then he strips his mind bare. What are its elements? he asks. The first is (and it is Browning's conviction concerning all men and women—the root of his clear impersonation of them in which he excels all modern poets) an intense and living personality, linked to self-supremacy, and to a principle of restlessness

"Which would be all, have, see, know, taste, feel all."

But this would plunge him, "while confined in clay," into the depths of self, were it not that imagination also is there, and never fails—imagination which bears him beyond himself! With that there is also

"A need, a trust, a yearning after God,"

which forces him to see God everywhere, to always feel His presence, to know, even when most lost, that One beyond him is acting in him.

Of these, imagination, fed by ancient books and tales, made him creative, so that he *was* all he read of—"a god wandering after beauty," or

"a high-crested chief
Sailing with troops of friends to Tenedos."

Never was anything more clear than these lives out of himself, never anything clearer than what he saw—and the lines in which he records the vision have all the sharpness and beauty of his after-work.

* A line which lays down one of the critical rules in accordance with which Browning wishes the metrical movement of his verse to be judged.

"Morn

On the dim clustered isles in the blue sea,
The deep groves, and white temples and wet caves :
And nothing ever will surprise me now—
Who stood beside the naked Swift-footed,
Who bound my forehead with Proserpine's hair."

"Yet it is strange," he goes on, "that having these things—God in me urging me upwards, imagination making mine an infinite world, I should aim so low, seek to win the mortal and material, strive for the possible, not the impossible—even while there was, beyond all I could conceive of myself in God, 'a vague sense of powers folded up in me,' which, developed, would make me master of the universe."

But now, having aimed low, he fell into the sensuous life—and remorseful, sought in self-restraint peace—turning the mind against itself; but there was no rest gained thereby. For it is one of Browning's root ideas that peace is not gained by self-control, but by letting loose passion on noble things. Not in restraint, but in the conscious impetuosity of the soul to the highest, is the wisdom of life. A hundred after-poems are consecrated to this idea.

So, giving up that, the poet returned to song. But song alone did not content him. Music—the music of which Browning alone, with Milton, has written well, and the love of which appeared in this first poem—claimed him, and painting, and then the study of the great poets, in whom he "explored passion and mind for the first time;" till now his soul, fed at these great springs, rose into keen life; all his powers burst forth, and he gazed on all things, all systems and schemes, and heard ineffable things unguessed by man. Then he vowed himself to liberty, to the new world that liberty was to bring, where

"Men were to be as gods, and earth as heaven."

All Plato entered into him; it seemed he had the key to life; his soul rose to meet the glory he conceived.

And then he turned to prove his thoughts, turned to

"Men and their cares and hopes and fears and joys ;
And as I pondered on them all I sought
How best life's end might be attained—an end
Comprising every joy."

But as he looked the glory vanished, as if it were a dream dissolved by the touch of reality:

"I said 'twas beautiful
Yet but a dream—and so adieu to it !

* * * * *
First went my hopes of perfecting mankind,
And faith in them, then freedom in itself
And virtue in itself, and then my motives, ends
And powers and loves, and human love went last."

But, strange to say, this seemed his success; he had gained the world. As old feelings left, new powers came—wit, mockery, intellec-

tual force, a grasp on knowledge; and they were his because that aspiration for the unknowable had gone. God, too, had vanished in this satisfaction, and in the temple where He had been knelt troops of shadows, and they cried—Hail, King!

Then, as the position given above is like that which Wordsworth relates as his, when after the vanishing of his expectations from the French Revolution he found himself without love but with keen powers of analysing human nature—and was destroyed thereby—so the passage which follows, and which is exceedingly remarkable, is built on the same theme as that which Tennyson has used in the "Palace of Art":

"The shadows cry,
 'We serve thee now, and thou shalt serve no more!
 Call on us, prove us, let us worship thee!'
 And I said—'Are ye strong! Let fancy bear me
 Far from the past.' And I was borne away
 As Arab birds float sleeping in the wind,
 O'er deserts, towers and forests, I being calm;
 And I said, 'I have nursed up energies,
 They will prey on me.' And a band knelt low
 And cried 'Lord, we are here and we will make
 A way for thee in thine appointed life!
 O look on us!' And I said, 'Ye will worship
 Me; but my heart must worship too.'"

He is not yet, however, wholly lost in self. The plaguing which drove the soul in the "Palace of Art" into despair begins here in the felt necessity of worship. The shadows know that this feeling is against them, and they shout in answer:

"Thyself, thou art our king!"

But the end of that is misery. His success is his ruin.

Still the effort to realize all success on earth goes on. "I will make every joy mine own, and then die," he cries; "I will be a poet whom the world will love, and find in that earthly love, satisfaction; I will have full joy in music, in old lore loved for itself; all the radiant sights of Nature—all human love shall be mine. My fulness shall be on earth."

Yet, "when all's done, how vain seems all success"; the curse of decay and perishing is on it all. "And now," he cries, "that I love thee, Pauline, I know in touching the infinite of love, that I cannot rest in these successes of earth; I cannot accept finality":—

"Souls alter not, and mine must progress still;
 I cannot chain my soul, it will not rest
 In its clay prison.
 It has strange powers and feelings and desires;
 They live,
 Referring to some state or life they live unknown."

Therefore he tries for the infinite—but still he will have it on earth. He will have one rapture to fill all the soul; he will have all knowledge. He will live in all beauty. He will have a perfect human soul which at some great crisis in human history shall break forth, and lead, and

conquer for, the world. But when he tries, everywhere he is limited, his soul demands what his body refuses; everywhere he is baffled, maddened, falling short, chained down, unable to use what he conceives, to grasp what he can reach in thought, hating himself, imagining what he might be, and driven back from it into despair.

What does this puzzle mean? It means "this earth is not my sphere"—

"For I cannot so narrow me but that
I still exceed it."

"Yet," he continues, "I will not yet give up the earth. I have lived in all human life; it is not enough to satisfy the undying craving in me. Nature remains, and perhaps in her beauty I may find rest. I can live in all its life;" and, as he thinks, he is carried away by the passion of external beauty mingled with his love for Pauline. "Come with me," he cries, "out of the world," and there follows a noble passage of natural description clearly and subtly invented, morning, noon, and evening, with their colours and their movement, seen and felt as he and Pauline pass upwards through the changing scenery of a mountain glen; a passage full of many of those sharpened points of description in which Browning, all his poetry through, concentrates the sentiment of a landscape—and the passion of the whole rises till it reaches the height of eagerness and joy, when suddenly the whole fire of it is extinguished:

"I cannot be immortal, nor taste all.
O God, where does this tend—these struggling aims?
What would I have? What is this *sleep* which seems
To bound all? Can there be a *waking* point
Of crowning life? The soul would never rule;
It would be first in all things, it would have
Its utmost pleasure filled, but, that complete,
Commanding, for commanding, sickens it.
The last point I can trace is, rest, beneath
Some better essence than itself, in weakness;
This is *myself*, not what I think should be:
And what is that I hunger for but God?
My God, my God, let me for once look on thee
As though nought else existed, we alone!
And as creation crumbles, my soul's spark
Expands till I can say,—Even from myself
I need thee and I feel thee and I love thee;
I do not plead my rapture in thy works
For love of thee, nor that I feel as one
Who cannot die; but there is that in me
Which turns to thee, which loves or which should love.
Why have I girt myself with this hell-dress?
Why have I laboured to put out my life?
Take from me powers and pleasures, let me die
Ages, so I see thee!

* * * * * *
All that errs
Is a strange dream which death will dissipate."

Beauty has risen on him again, he makes an end in perfect joy. "I believe," he cries, "in God and truth and love. Know my last state is happy, free from doubt or touch of fear."

This, again, is Browning all over. These are the motives of "Paracelsus," of "Easter Day," of "Abt Vogler," of "Andrea del Sarto," of "Waring"—

"Oh, never star
Was lost here, but it rose afar!"

of a hundred poems—motives wrought out with astonishing variety, in characters of men and women who loved nature and knowledge and art and love: motives consistently kept from youth to age, the child, in these, the father of the man; never better shaped, nor with greater force and individuality than at the trenchant and magnificent end of "Easter Day," where the questions and answers are like the clashing of sharp scimitars. Take the close, when driven from all earthly successes, and finding that to stay in them was to stay in ruin of the soul, he breaks forth:

"Thou love of God! Or let me die,
Or grant what shall seem Heaven almost!
Let me not know that all is lost,
Though lost it be—leave me not tied
To this despair, this corpse-like bride!
Let that old life seem mine—no more—
With limitation as before,
With darkness, hunger, toil, distress:
Be all the earth a wilderness!
Only let me go on, go on,
Still hoping ever and anon
To reach one eve the Better Land."

Out of the same quarry, then, from which "Pauline" was hewn, were hewn all the rest. The interest of this early poem is that the blocks are of similar shape to those which were afterwards used, and of the same stuff. But the stones, though quarried out, are only roughly hewn, unsculptured with ornament, not fitted to each other, lying as it were loose about the quarry—as indeed in the confused time at which the poet then lived they were likely to be.

It pleases us thus to see the first shaping of unorganized thought, when the thinker has afterwards built them into a nobly architected temple, when he has been faithful to his first conceptions and perfected them. Few have been so consistent as Robert Browning, few have been so true to their early inspirations. He is among those men

"Who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought."

It is well, with this in our minds—it has been well, with a desire to realize this constancy of purpose and effort, to look back to his first book now that he has gone from us beyond the antechamber into the plenitude of the spaceless Palace. Then we feel how steady, how fulfilled his life has been. Fifty-seven years of creative labour! When we think of that, we rather rejoice than mourn. Indeed, there is nothing to mourn for in such a death coming on such a life. It was a life lived fully, kindly, lovingly, and at its just height from the

beginning to the end. No fear, no vanity, no lack of interest, no complaint of the world, no anger at criticism, no "villain fancies," no laziness, no feebleness in effort, no desire for money, no faltering of aspiration, no pandering of his gift and genius to please the world, no surrender of art for the sake of fame or filthy lucre, no falseness to his ideal, no base pessimism, no slavery to science yet no boastful ignorance of its good, no despair of men—no retreat from men into a world of sickly or vain beauty, no abandonment of the great ideas or disbelief in their mastery, no enfeeblement of reason, such as at this time walks hand-in-hand with the worship of the discursive intellect—no lack of joy and healthy vigour, and keen inquiry and passionate interest in humanity—scarcely any special bias running through the whole of his work, an incessant change of subject and manner combined with a strong but not overweening individuality which, like blood through the body, ran through every vein of his labour: creative and therefore joyful, receptive and therefore thoughtful, at one with humanity and therefore loving, aspiring to God and believing in God and therefore steeped to the lips in radiant hope; at one with the past, passionate with the present, and possessing by faith an endless and glorious future—it was a life lived on the top of the wave and moving with its motion from youth to manhood, from manhood to old age!

Why should we mourn that he is gone? Nothing merely feeble has been done, nothing which lowers the note of his life, nothing we can regret as less than his native dignity of soul. The imaginative power has varied through many degrees, as in all artists, but it never wholly failed, it never lost its aspiration, it never lost its pleasure in creation, it never painfully sought for subjects. It was nourished by a love of beauty in nature, and by a love of love in man and of his wondrous ways, which was as keen in age as it was in early manhood. His last book is like the last look of the Phoenix to the sun before the sunlight enkindles the odorous pyre from which the new created bird will spring.

And, as if the Muse of Poetry wished to adorn the image of his death, he passed away amid a world of beauty, and in the midst of a world endeared to him by love. Italy was his second country. In Florence lies the wife of his heart; in every city he had friends, friends not only among men and women, but friends in every fold of Apennine and Alp, in every breaking wave of the blue Mediterranean, in every forest of pines, in every church and palace and town-hall, in every painting that great art had wrought, in every storied market-place, in every great life which had adorned, honoured, and made romantic Italy, the great mother of beauty, at whose breasts have hung and whose milk have sucked all the arts and all the literatures of modern Europe. In Italy he died, and in Venice. Sea and sky and city and mountain glory encompassed him with

loveliness, and their soft graciousness, their temperate power of joy and life made his death easy. There is nothing which is not fair about his departure, nothing unworthy of him, nothing which leaves behind one trace of pain. Why should we mourn him? Strong in life, his death was gracious. Mankind is fortunate to have so noble a memory.

Nor has he left undone that which gives to us a further right to think happily of his death. He has left behind him a religious lore of life, based on faith in a life to come. It is well that both our greatest poets in England, that is, the two greatest men in all our modern England, men whose power will be ever young when every other name in the last hundred years will be with difficulty remembered—for the Poet is the eternal Power—it is well that both, in an age whose intellect and imagination have been so weakened by outside knowledge, that it has become unable or unwilling to see God, and has no shame in claiming utter death as the true repose of men—should both maintain for us the mighty truths of God's fatherhood and man's perfection beyond death.

In a material world, in a world which claims the reasoning of the understanding, apart from emotion, as the judge of all things, Browning never faltered in his claim of the spiritual as the first, as the master in human nature, nor in his faith of God with us, making, guiding, loving us, and crowning us at last with righteousness and love. In a world, the knowledge of whose educated men is chiefly concerned with the knowledge of death, the passion of which is chiefly absorbed in gathering treasure which the moth and the rust corrupt, the ideas of whose upper classes are decaying, which fears the future and clings to the past as if the morning were there; whose culture is criticism, and whose outlook in life is too often the outlook of cynicism or sorrow or despair, for it sees nought but death at last as absolute monarch—this poet held up the blazing torch of life in God, of aspiration to that life, of an ineffable glory which was to fill humanity. He kept his contempt for hopelessness, his hatred for despair, his joy for eager hope, his faith in perfection, his pity for all effort which only claimed this world, for all love which was content to begin and end on earth—his reproof for all goodness and beauty which was content to die for ever. It is a mighty legacy to leave behind.

And now Paracelsus has "attained."

"If I stoop
Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,
It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
Close to my breast; its splendour, soon or late,
Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge one day.
You understand me? I have said enough."

STOFFORD A. BROOKE.

THE ROAD TO AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

“THE keynote of British politics just now,” said an eminent man to me lately, “is that it is parochial. If it desires anything it plots to obtain it, like a vestryman, below the market price.” But the price of a thing, we may be assured, is on a scale with its value, and with a low price we are apt to get a damaged article. The imperial spirit which cheerfully makes a present sacrifice for a remote end, the national finance which sows seed for the future, have almost disappeared. If we want something that would confessedly be a great gain—the federation of the Colonies, for example, the federation of the Empire, or the pacification of Ireland—the partisans of the scheme assure us that it will cost next to nothing, while its opponents clamour that if this disastrous thing be done the British taxpayer will mayhap have to disburse another penny in the pound. Our financing may be “according to Cocker,” but it has ceased to be according to Chatham. We will neither pay nor play; a great design is sure to be troublesome, and the vestryman thinks it can wait, and at any rate he flatters himself it is some one else’s business.

The federation of the Australian colonies concerns British interests closer than any question for which we keep ambassadors at Berlin or Paris, and the colonists are exhorted from time to time in eloquent articles to overcome the hindrances which impede it—hindrances which it is tolerably certain they cannot overcome without assistance from without. The federation of the Empire, if it is postponed until after the next European war, will probably never take place while the world lasts. But we are warned, in the highest political quarters, that we must not be impatient; we ought to wait, it seems, for what Providence will send, as the little politicians of the nursery wait for what Santa Claus or Epiphany will drop into their stockings.

This was not the method of Burke or Chatham. They brooded over State problems till a solution was found, and straightway strove with all their strength to create the essential means and agencies that the end might follow. It was not by the modern method that the British Empire, or any empire, was ever made; and not so can it be held together. If the British taxpayer cannot look sacrifice cheerfully in the face for adequate ends, if the British statesman cannot draw all the scattered or discontented fragments of the Empire into one confederacy at any present cost, a penalty little dreamed of will have to be paid by-and-by for their incapacity or neglect.

A rapidly increasing number of thoughtful men, at home and in the colonies, are persuaded that Imperial Federation is not a question for some remote future, but for the present. Before it can come in any intelligible shape, however, the Australian and African groups must each of them be brought under the authority of a supreme Legislature, entitled to negotiate on their behalf. This is the first and indispensable step, and the way is barred by embarrassing impediments. But they are impediments which a child can see, and a statesman could remove. They are not new or unexampled; quite otherwise, they are as old as history. They forbade the union of the Greek States two thousand years ago, and of the Italian States five centuries ago, but were overcome in later times by the authority of George Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. They are simply local jealousies, and they only await the intervention of an umpire whom the dissentients can all respect and trust. This is the *sine quid non* of colonial agreement. Where is this umpire to be found? Colonists smiled somewhat sardonically, it may be, at the exuberant hopes of the London press a couple of months ago that Sir Henry Parkes was the essential man. They knew that whatever way Federation may come, there was slight probability of its coming in that way.

Sir Henry Parkes is a man of great ability, and sincerely desires the end he proposes. He has been a constant friend of Federation indeed for thirty years, but it is a curious phenomenon that probably he alone of all his class in Australia does not recognize the fact that he has rendered himself impossible as a mediator. No one has done more to sow the local jealousies which it is the main business of an umpire to appease. Here are a couple of recent instances. The Colonial Office, in the old, arbitrary, blundering days, in fixing the boundaries between New South Wales and Port Philip (now Victoria), gave the control of the great river that divides them exclusively to the elder colony. It was as if some boundary commission assigned the exclusive control of the Thames to Surrey, ignoring the claims of Middlesex. The waters of the river have been recently used for irrigation by the enterprising population of Victoria, and

after the example of Egypt and Italy they design to make immense tracts covered with a worthless scrub blossom like the orchards of Devonshire; or, if this hope be too extravagant, at any rate to render them fit for human use. But the Prime Minister of New South Wales did not bless this beneficent work. On the contrary, he interposed, declaring that his colony owned the water, and was entitled to forbid the waste of it on Victoria enterprises. Fancy Surrey forbidding London to quench her thirst from the waters of her private river, and you will understand the feeling excited on the southern side of the Murray. A little earlier Sir Henry bethought him that the name of his colony was unsuitable and unsatisfactory. And no doubt it is. New South Wales is a ridiculous name for a country larger than the British Islands, and containing cities in which the whole population of the Principality might be housed. The need of a change had been debated for thirty years, and it was one very proper to be made, for no Australian, we may be assured, ever consented to call himself a New-South-Welshman. There was a good stock of suitable names available, but Sir Henry pushed them aside, and gravely proposed to his Parliament to change the name of the colony from New South Wales to Australia. The old penal settlement of Botany Bay, and the prosperous colony of which it is the capital, were to be AUSTRALIA, and the colonies planted by the free enterprise of free men were to be content with the names bestowed upon them from London in the colonial middle ages. A jocose legislator at Melbourne suggested that if the object was to distinguish their territory from Victoria, they might call it Convictoria. If the members for Yorkshire brought a Bill into the House of Commons to confer on that important county the name of England, leaving the remaining fragments of the island which had hitherto borne that title to be content with their local designations, it is not probable that the measure would become law; and Sir Henry's proposal naturally came to nothing. It was never a danger indeed, for the Bill would certainly have been vetoed by any Secretary of State for the Colonies since Lord Glenelg; but it was an insult, and it damaged the proposer's reputation for practical statesmanship and rendered him for the time being, and probably for all time, an impossible founder of an Australian dominion. If he lives a dozen years he may be a leading member of a Dominion Parliament, but he will not be the *Founder*; other and newer men will reap the harvest which he helped to sow long ago.

If the time has come to consider how an Australian confederacy may be initiated, it will be worth while to glance back at the impediments which the idea has encountered hitherto. Like Hercules it was attacked in its cradle, and has been a good deal buffeted by friends as well as enemies from that time forth.

William Wentworth was the first Australian statesman. His

father, Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth, an Irish gentleman in the public service at Sydney, sent him to England for education, and he returned from Cambridge with a good stock of ideas and a generous ambition. He founded a newspaper, organized the memorable Patriotic Association, and by his speeches in the Legislative Council inflamed the population, free and convict, with the desire for social improvement and political liberty. It was he who framed the Constitution for New South Wales which, with slight modifications, has been adopted in all the Australian colonies. In this instrument, Mr. Wentworth desired to insert a provision enabling the colonies to federate whenever they were ready and willing to do so; for from the beginning he desired, in his own words to create, "a new Britannia in another world." In 1849, the Privy Council, reporting on Australian affairs, recommended that one of the governors should be appointed Governor-General, and entrusted with the authority to convene a General Assembly of Australia in any part of her Majesty's Australian possessions which he might consider most convenient whenever the need arose, or he was invited to act by the Legislative Assemblies of two colonies. Wentworth repeatedly pressed the advantage of such a slumbering power on the Imperial Government. The Legislative Council of Victoria came to his aid, echoing the same advice. But the ignorant fear of colonists which then prevailed at Westminster was too strong for them. They got a dose of official slip-slop instead of the thing they asked for, and the simplest and easiest method of initiating concerted action for common purposes was snatched out of the hands of the colonists.*

But the moment they obtained organs through which to make themselves heard, the colonists took the matter into their own hands. The local parliaments assembled for the first time in 1856, and in January 1857 the Legislative Assembly of Victoria appointed a Select Committee to consider the expediency of establishing a Federal Union amongst the Australian colonies, and the best means of attaining that end. The members were selected from both political parties, and it must be admitted they were well selected. Out of twelve persons, then all with a single exception private members, three afterwards held the office of Prime Minister, and six filled the important posts of Treasurer, Attorney-General, Minister of Public Lands or Commissioner of Customs, and another became a Cabinet Minister in England.† The Committee, after prolonged considera-

* "I need scarcely say, that the question of introducing into the measures lately before Parliament clauses to establish a Federal Union of the Australian colonies for purposes of common interests has been very seriously weighed by her Majesty's Government; but they have been led to the conclusion that the present is not a proper opportunity for such enactment, although they will give the fullest consideration to propositions on the subject which may emanate in concurrence from the respective Legislatures."—*Lord John Russell's despatch.*

† The Select Committee consisted of the following persons:—Mr. Gavan Duffy,

tion, adopted a Report declaring that the interests and honour of the colonies would be promoted by the establishment of a system of mutual action and co-operation among them.

"Their interest suffers [says the Report], and must continue to suffer, while competing tariffs, naturalization laws, and land systems, rival schemes of immigration, and of ocean postage, a clumsy and inefficient method of communicating with each other and with the Home Government on public business, and a distant and expensive system of judicial appeal exist; and the honour and importance which constitute so essential an element of national prosperity, and the absence of which invites aggression from foreign enemies, cannot perhaps in this generation belong to any single colony of the Southern Group; but may, and we are persuaded would, be speedily attained by an Australian Federation representing the entire."

Some advantages of immediate Federation were suggested, which time has since shown to be real and substantial.

"Neighbouring States [it was said] of the second order inevitably become confederates or enemies. By becoming confederates so early in their career, the Australian colonies would, we believe, immensely economise their strength and resources. They would substitute a common national interest for local and conflicting interests, and waste no more time in barren rivalry. They would enhance the national credit, and attain much earlier the power of undertaking works of serious cost and importance. They would not only save time and money, but attain increased vigour and accuracy, by treating the larger questions of public policy at one time and place; and in an Assembly which, it may be presumed, would consist of the wisest and most experienced statesmen of the Colonial Legislatures, they would set up a safeguard against violence or disorder—holding it in check by the common sense and common force of the Federation. They would possess the power of more promptly calling new States into existence throughout their immense territory, as the spread of population required it, and of enabling each of the existing States to apply itself, without conflict or jealousy, to the special industry which its position and resources render most profitable."

On the method of attaining Federation, the Committee laid down a principle which would be worth the attention of Sir Henry Parkes to-day.

"No single colony [they said] ought to take exclusive possession of a subject of such national importance, or venture to dictate the programme of union to the rest. The delicate and important questions connected with the precise functions and authority of the Federal Assembly, which present themselves on the threshold of the inquiry, can be solved only by a Conference of Delegates from the respective colonies."

They accordingly recommended that such a Conference should be immediately invited to assemble, representing the Council and Assembly in each of the colonies, and to sit in a place to be determined by the Delegates themselves by preliminary correspondence.

This Report was adopted by the Assembly, and was afterwards communicated by message to the other House, who concurred in it.

Chairman; Mr. (afterwards Sir John) O'Shanassy, Mr. (now Right Hon. H. C. E.) Childers, Mr. Moore, Mr. (now Sir Archibald) Michie, Mr. Foster, Mr. Horne, Mr. Griffith, Dr. Evans, Mr. Harker, Mr. Syme, Mr. (now Sir James) McCulloch.

It was my duty as Chairman of the Committee to communicate with leading statesmen in the other colonies. It proved an easy task; most of them would have been ready to begin themselves a little later, but they were all prepared to accept and second the beginning which had been made. It simplified the task that the colonies to be consulted at that time were only New South Wales, South Australia, and Tasmania. Queensland did not then exist as a separate colony, and Western Australia was merely a penal settlement on the fringe of a vast unoccupied territory.

The proposal was immediately taken into consideration by the consulted colonies. In South Australia, both Houses reported in favour of adopting the suggestion of Victoria for a joint Conference, and appointed three Delegates, two of whom afterwards held the office of Prime Minister, to represent them there. Tasmania was nearly as prompt. That colony also selected three Delegates, representing the two branches of the Legislature.

A couple of months after the movement in the Victorian Parliament, but quite irrespective of it, Mr. Wentworth, who was then in London, presided over a meeting of Australians, and on their behalf presented a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies urging that a Permissive Act might be passed by the Imperial Parliament, enabling the colonies to confederate in the manner most convenient and agreeable to themselves. The Secretary of State replied that the colonies which now possessed responsible Ministries must take the initiative, and that he would be happy to co-operate with them in obtaining the sanction of Parliament for any measure they desired. Thus at home and in the colonies there was a close agreement on what ought to be done, and on the legitimate way of doing it.

But the assent of the mother colony was still wanting. The principle of Federation had warm adherents in New South Wales. Mr. Deas Thomson, formerly Colonial Secretary, and still Vice-Chairman of the Executive Council, who was among the foremost of them, procured the appointment of a Select Committee by the Legislative Council on the subject. The Report was a State Paper of great value. It urged the significant truth that the attempt ought to be made at once, as time would probably increase its difficulties, and aggravate local jealousies, as indeed it has done.

"It is impossible [the Report declared] to contemplate the rapidly increasing population of the Australian colonies, and the future development of the unbounded resources which they undoubtedly possess, in the great extent and diversified character of the country which they embrace, from the tropical regions of the northern districts to the more temperate climates of the south, and their consequent adaptation to the production, in a high degree of perfection, of almost every article suited to the wants and luxuries of society, without entertaining the most confident expectation that they are destined in the fulness of time to rank amongst the most important

communities founded by the British nation. It becomes the more necessary therefore in this early stage of their existence, that every means should be adopted to render legislation, on matters affecting their common interests, mutually advantageous and acceptable. And your Committee are of opinion that a measure of this kind cannot be longer postponed, without the danger of creating serious grounds of antagonism and jealousy, which would tend greatly to embarrass, if not entirely to prevent, its future settlement, upon a satisfactory basis."

And they were of opinion that the Conference of Delegates, suggested by Victoria, ought to be held with as little delay as possible.

So far all had gone well. The Upper House in all the colonies and the Legislative Assembly in all but one were ready to act. But the local jealousy which the Sydney statesman foresaw and feared was already an active agent in affairs. Mr. Charles Cowper, the Chief Secretary, who dreaded experiments and had no policy beyond holding fast to office, vehemently opposed the appointment of Delegates, and obtained a majority against the proposal. It is right to note that among those who contended that action should be taken at once was Henry Parkes, who believed that we could not too soon bring the Australian group into permanent relations. But party feeling and petty jealousies prevailed, and the scheme of a Conference at that time fell through, a majority of the Delegates being unhappily of opinion that we could not proceed without New South Wales.

After a lapse of three years the question was taken up anew in the Victoria Parliament, and a Select Committee was again appointed, including the Prime Minister, three gentlemen, who afterwards held the same office, and four others, who became Ministers in important departments.* The Committee recommended that negotiations with the other colonies should be renewed at the point where they were broken off, and they expressed a hope that the danger of war, which then prevailed, would overcome all local difficulties. South Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland expressed themselves willing to make the experiment, but New South Wales was still the difficulty. Dr. Lang, always a prominent figure in Australian politics, procured a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly on the subject, in which he had the assistance of eminent men—Mr. Parkes, Mr. Darvall, Mr. Hay, Mr. Jones, and others; but it may be presumed that the Cowper morass was still impassable, for they never brought up any Report.

For nearly ten years the question slept, but in August 1870 a Royal Commission, with larger powers than a Select Committee possesses, was appointed, under letters patent from the Crown, to

* The names of the Committee were: Mr. Gavan Duffy, Chairman; Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Michie, Mr. O'Shanassy, Mr. McCulloch, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Mollison, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Brooke, and Dr. Evans.

take up the question again. The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and two gentlemen who afterwards held the same office, three lawyers, who were in succession Attorney-General of the colony, two leading politicians, afterwards Prime Ministers, and two or three others of distinction or influence, composed the Commission. The time seemed singularly fit for concerted action, for Von Moltke was on his way to Paris, and the colonies had no military organization, no fortifications, and slight hope of assistance to defend their frontiers if England were drawn into the war.

The Commissioners promptly brought up a Report which, among other cognate subjects, discussed the existing relations between the mother country and the colonies. These relations were represented as being eminently insecure and intrinsically unfair, and therefore liable to give way on the first emergency. This was the language held by the Commissioners:—

“The British colonies from which Imperial troops have been wholly withdrawn present the unprecedented phenomenon of responsibility without either corresponding authority or adequate protection. They are as liable to all the hazards of war as the United Kingdom; but they can influence the commencement or continuance of war no more than they can control the movements of the solar system; and they have no certain assurance of that aid against an enemy upon which integral portions of the United Kingdom can confidently reckon. This is a relation so wanting in mutuality that it cannot safely be regarded as a lasting one, and it becomes necessary to consider how it may be so modified as to afford a greater security for permanence.”

Admitting this description to be substantially accurate at that time, and still, the remedy no doubt lies in Imperial Federation, but in 1870 Imperial Federation was a vague suggestion which nobody had thought out. The tendency of the time was not to draw closer together the colonies and the mother country, but to drive them apart. In London eminent statesmen held the mad theory that England ought to cut off all connection with the spring-heads which fed her from afar with health and strength in order to escape the trouble of keeping watch over them. This theory had not many friends in the colonies, but it acted on opinion in another way; it taught colonists to face the consequences by formulating methods of protecting themselves. The Report contained a proposal for which Imperial Federation is a wise substitute, but it belongs to the history of the question as teaching in a significant manner the consequence of leaving the difficulty to settle itself. When the statesmen who founded the Canadian Dominion were in London, one of them said to me on some difficulty arising, “If we cannot negotiate successfully in Westminster in summer, we will negotiate at Washington in autumn.” And Australians were beginning to contemplate a measure of independent statesmanship almost as decisive.

This was the proposal in the Report:—

"It has been proposed to establish a Council of the Empire, whose advice must be taken before war was declared. But this measure is so foreign to the genius and traditions of the British Constitution, and presupposes so large an abandonment of its functions by the House of Commons, that we dismiss it from consideration. There remains however, we think, more than one method by which the anomaly of the present system may be cured.

"It is a maxim of International Law that a Sovereign State cannot be involved in war without its own consent, and that where two or more States are subject to the same Crown, and allies in peace, they are not, therefore, necessarily associates in war if the one is not dependent on the other.

"The sovereignty of a State does not arise from its extent, or power, or population, or form of Government. More than a century ago, Vattel formulated the principle now universally accepted, that a small community may be a Sovereign State, no less than the most powerful kingdom or empire, and that all Sovereign States inherit the same rights and obligations.

"Two Sovereign States [says Vattel] may be subject to the same prince without any dependence on each other, and each may retain its rights as a free and Sovereign State. The King of Prussia is Sovereign Prince of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, without the principality being in any manner united to his other dominions; so that the people of Neuchâtel, in virtue of their franchises, may serve a foreign Power at war with the King of Prussia, provided that the war be not on account of that principality.

"Wheaton and other modern public jurists have illustrated the same principle by the case of Hanover and England, which, though they were allied by personal union under the same Crown, were not necessarily associates in war or responsible for each other. And the latest writers on International Law cite the more modern and analogous case of the Ionian Islands, a State garrisoned by British troops, and having as chief magistrate a Lord High Commissioner appointed by the Queen; and which was, notwithstanding, adjudged before the British Court of Admiralty (on a private question arising) to constitute a Sovereign State not associated with the United Kingdom in the Crimean war. The last chief magistrate but one of this Sovereign State was since promoted to the Governorship of the colony of New South Wales, and thence to the Governorship of the Dominion of Canada. The last Lord High Commissioner was transferred to the Governorship of the dependency of Jamaica.

"Without overlooking the distinction between colonies consisting of men of the same origin, as the population of the United Kingdom, and States inherited by the Crown, like Hanover, or obtained by treaty, like the Ionian Islands, it is suggested for consideration whether the rule of International Law under which they are declared neutrals in war would not become applicable to colonies enjoying self-government by a single addition to their present power.

"The colony of Victoria, for example, possesses a separate Parliament, Government, and distinguishing flag; a separate naval and military establishment. All the public appointments are made by the local Government. The only officer commissioned from England who exercises authority within its limits is the Queen's representative; and in the Ionian Islands, while they were admittedly a Sovereign State, the Queen's representative was appointed in the same manner. The single function of a Sovereign State, as understood in International Law, which the colony does not exercise or possess, is the power of contracting obligations with other States. The want of this power alone distinguishes her position from that of States undoubtedly Sovereign.

"If the Queen were authorized by the Imperial Parliament to concede to

the greater colonies the right to make treaties, it is contended that they would fulfil the conditions constituting a Sovereign State in as full and perfect a sense as any of the smaller States cited by public jurists to illustrate this rule of limited responsibility. And the notable concession to the interests of peace and humanity made in our own day by the great Powers with respect to privateers and to merchant shipping renders it probable that they would not, on any inadequate grounds, refuse to recognize such States as falling under the rule.

"It must not be forgotten that this is a subject in which the interests of the colonies and of the mother country are identical. British statesmen have long aimed not only to limit more and more the expenditure incurred for the defence of distant colonies, but to withdraw more and more from all ostensible responsibility for their defence; and they would probably see any honourable method of adjusting the present anomalous relations with no less satisfaction than we should.

"Nor would the recognition of the neutrality of the self-governed colonies deprive them of the power of aiding the mother country in any just and necessary war. On the contrary, it would enable them to aid her with more dignity and effect; as a Sovereign State could, of its own free will, and at whatever period it thought proper, elect to become a party to the war."

The Report also recommended that a Permissive Act should be obtained from the Imperial Parliament, authorizing the Queen to call into existence by proclamation a Federal Union of any two or more of the colonies as soon as Acts had been passed in their respective Legislatures, providing in identical terms for the powers and functions to be exercised by the General Legislature. The colonies would be thus left free to determine by negotiation among themselves how far, and how soon, they will avail themselves of the power thus conferred on them.

The Report was sent for consideration to leading statesmen in the neighbouring colonies. A dozen years had not ripened the question for action, but apparently had reared a plentiful crop of new objections. In the correspondence which, as Chairman of the Commission, I maintained, I found the desire for Federation less decisive, and that it was generally hampered with new conditions and qualifications. In New South Wales, Mr. Parkes was "unreservedly in favour of seeking a Permissive Act," but expressed no opinion on the other proposals of the Commission. Sir James Martin (afterwards Chief Justice) did not think "that any advantage whatever would be derived from a Federal Union;" and the letter of Mr. Forster, late Colonial Secretary, bristled with ingenious doubts on the same subject. Mr. Edward Buller (afterwards Attorney-General), and Mr. Charles Cowper, who had retired from active politics at this time to become Agent-General in London, assured me that there was universal apathy on the question in New South Wales, Von Moltke *non obstante*. In South Australia, Mr. Boucaut, late Attorney-General, approved of the Report in all respects, especially the neutralization of the colonies, and thought its recommendations ought to be acted on without delay; but Mr. Strangways, who had

held the same office, feared that Victoria, as the strongest and wealthiest of the group, designed to impose her will on the smaller colonies, and was not prepared to seek a Permissive Act or touch Federation till the Imperial Parliament had passed an Act recognizing the colonies as independent States.

"I think [he said] that the question of the neutrality of the colonies in time of war ought to be dealt with at once. I can see no reason why each of them should not be declared by Act of Parliament an independent Sovereign State for such purposes, but to remain subject to the jurisdiction of her Majesty, in manner, and on the points to be declared in such Acts."

Mr. Palmer, Prime Minister of Queensland, had no objection to a Permissive Act, provided it were not to be acted on immediately; for Federation, though permanently necessary, would, he conceived, be premature just then. Mr. Lilley, late Prime Minister, approved of seeking a Permissive Act, provided it was to be obtained by negotiation between the Colonial and Imperial Governments, "without the meddlesome interference of colonial society in England;" while Mr. Macalister, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, failed to discover what benefit Federation would bestow on Queensland at present. Tasmania was offended by some idle declamation on the probable annexation of that island by Victoria, and gave but a languid adhesion to the Report.

The press in the chief colonies took up the question of neutralization, and debated it vehemently. Some of the leading journals were passionate partisans of the scheme, and others treated it as illusory and impracticable. But the proposers were encouraged by finding that a similar sentiment existed in another quarter of the world. The New York Chamber of Commerce proposed that the Government of their country should concede to Canada advantages of the same nature sought for the Australian group.

"It may be intimated in an entirely kind spirit [says the Report of the Chamber] that if the confederation to the north of us could obtain from the Imperial Government a guarantee that it might preserve a strict neutrality on the breaking out of all future foreign wars in which it has no interest, it might count on perpetual peace and tranquillity and uninterrupted commercial relations with the United States."

But while the leading States of Europe were at war, while France was undergoing her long agony, it was manifestly no time to propose the question to foreign Governments, and it was silently postponed.*

* It is right to say that the Commission was not unanimous. Of the eleven Commissioners, two dissented from the proposed neutralization of the colonies: these were T. H. Fellows (afterwards Mr. Justice Fellows), and Edward Langton (afterwards Treasurer). The nine who signed the entire Report were—C. Gavan Duffy, Chairman; Francis Murphy (Sir Francis Murphy, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly); C. MacMahon (afterwards Sir Charles MacMahon, Speaker); John MacGregor (afterwards Minister of Mines); J. F. Sullivan (afterwards Commissioner of Customs); J. J. Casey (afterwards Minister of Justice); G. B. Kerferd (now Mr. Justice Kerferd); Graham Berry (afterwards Prime Minister, and now Agent-General in London); James Graham (a Member of the Legislative Council).

In passing in rapid review the history of Federation as a Parliamentary question, it would not be just to forget how much the press and persons unconnected with Parliament contributed to keep it alive. There were essays, lectures, leading articles and speeches on the subject from time to time, and the hope of ultimate Federation was never permitted to disappear altogether.

It was twelve years, however, before action was at length taken, and on a limited scale. In the summer of 1883 Australians learned that France meditated planting the New Hebrides and other Pacific islands, as she had already planted New Caledonia, with the most dangerous of her criminal population, and they knew that French convicts had the faculty of escaping from penal settlements and sheltering in the free British colonies. They heard at the same time that Germany, full of the pride of her great success in France, cherished the design of seizing New Guinea, the portal of the Pacific, a necessary part of the defence of the future Australian empire. General alarm and indignation was felt, and on the suggestion of Mr. Service, the Prime Minister of Victoria, a Conference of Colonial Delegates was held in Sydney, representing all the colonies enjoying responsible government. This convention called upon the Imperial Government to employ active remonstrance with Germany against a design which was not only injurious to the colonies, but in violation of specific treaty obligations, and they besought them to occupy New Guinea immediately, undertaking to provide for the necessary expense. And the imminent public danger induced them to recommend that application should be made at London for a Permissive Measure enabling the colonists to create a Colonial Council for joint action. Such a Bill was sent home, and with slight alterations at length passed the Imperial Parliament, and in the autumn of 1885 the Colonial Legislatures were invited to grant the necessary authority for bringing it into operation in Australia.

The Federal Council to be created was to consist of two delegates from each of the Australian colonies possessing responsible governments, and one delegate from each Crown colony. It was to meet at least once in two years, at such places as it should from time to time determine. It was to have legislative power with respect to fisheries, the prevention of the influx of criminals, the enforcement of the judgments of courts of law beyond the limits of the colony in which they originated and the like, and on such of the following questions as might be referred to it by two or more colonies:—

“General defences, quarantine, patents of invention and discovery, copy-right, bills of exchange and promissory notes, uniformity of weights and measures, recognition in other colonies of any marriage or divorce duly solemnized or decreed in any colony, naturalization and aliens, status of corporations and joint-stock companies in other colonies than that in which

they have been constituted, and any other matter of general Australasian interest, with respect to which the Legislatures of the several colonies can legislate within their own limits, and as to which it is deemed desirable that there should be a law of general application."

This was but a feeble copy of the Federation the colonists had sought, creating an Australian Dominion. And it was further limited by provisos that the Acts of the Council should only extend to the colonies by whose Legislature the subject-matter had been referred to it, and by another declaring that in case the provisions of any Act of the Council should be inconsistent with the law of any colony affected by it, the local law should prevail and the inconsistency have no operation.

The gain was not much, but at least it accustomed the colonies to act together, and was the basis upon which an adequate extension of powers might be founded. The new law was to have no force in any colony until the local Legislature passed an Act accepting it, and fixing a day upon which it would come into operation. But all the great colonies, save Victoria, refused to accept it. New Zealand, lying far outside of the Australian group, had a separate policy and separate interests, but when New South Wales and South Australia declined to join the Council became practically useless, and only met to comply with the law, which required a biennial meeting. South Australia has since joined, but the matter is not much mended, as the mother colony, which almost equals Victoria in population and exceeds it in territory and revenue, persistently refuses adhesion.

It is at this juncture that Sir Henry Parkes interposes. Sir Henry is a poet, who has visions of a great empire planted on the coasts of the Pacific, and he is a little too impatient of enterprises which he regards as petty and sterile. He looks upon the Australian Council and its diminutive results with the eye of a scorner, and if it be permissible to translate his eloquence into the vulgar tongue, says in effect to the other leaders of colonial opinion: "My unfortunate friends, you have made a sad mess of this business. Just drop all you have been doing for the last five years as so much waste work, and I will show you how to proceed in such an enterprise." The task is, perhaps, not beyond his powers, but though humility and magnanimity are as plentiful by the Yarra as by the Thames, we may safely assume that he will not be called in as umpire on colonial questions till after Mr. Chamberlain has been requested to arbitrate between the two wings of the Home Rule party, or Mr. Spurgeon to compose the controversy between Ritualists and Evangelicals.

But what ought to be done? the impatient reader will perhaps demand. There is but one umpire possible, and this one is only possible on condition of exhibiting a lively and intelligent interest in

the business, which has hitherto been wanting. There can be no Federation of the Empire, I may repeat, until the Australian and African groups are first federated among themselves, and there is not, I am persuaded, any solid hope of Australian Federation till its accomplishment is made an Imperial question.

Note what is at stake, and in what temper the hazards of the game are regarded from Westminster at present. Never since human history began was so noble a patrimony treated with such ignorant and perilous insensibility. While Bismarck is roaming the universe to discover some shreds and fragments of unappropriated territory on which to plant the Prussian flag, and while the French Republic is loading its population with inordinate taxes to pay for expeditions designed to snatch a barbarous and hostile population from China, what do our politicians at home do? There are six great States which possess more natural wealth, wider territory, a better climate, and richer mineral deposits than the six greatest kingdoms in Europe, where a new England, a new Italy, a new France, a new Spain, and a new Austria are in rapid process of growth, and are already occupied by a picked population, of which a larger proportion has taken personal part in great industrial enterprises, in founding cities, planting commerce, and developing the resources of Nature than any people on this side of the Pacific; and these prosperous States are ready and willing to unite for ever with the nation from which they sprang, on terms of fair partnership and association. And they are no insignificant handful of men, these Australian colonists; they are more numerous than the people of England were when they won Magna Charta, or the people of the United States were when the stars and stripes were first raised to the sky: resolute, impatient, independent men, not unworthy to follow such examples on adequate occasion. But what cordial hand is stretched out to clasp theirs in affectionate embrace? What joyful reception attends a proposal to confirm in perpetuity a boon such as no nation has received since Columbus bestowed on Spain the primacy of Europe? I will risk the reproach of Celtic exaggeration rather than refrain from affirming that Westminster has been illuminated, a *Te Deum* sung in St. Paul's, and statues and columns erected to commemorate events of less intrinsic importance to the United Kingdom than the easy victory of gathering under one government the colonies of the Pacific.

For to the mother country the victory would be an easy one, and if I, too, must appeal to the omnipotent taxpayer, it is a victory for which there will be nothing to pay. The local jealousies of the colonies are too vigilant and distrustful at present to be overcome except by some friendly interposition from without. They will not listen to each other just now, but they will listen to the mother country whenever she speaks through authentic organs. The Parlia-

ment and the Sovereign are still words to conjure with. There are doubtless many ways of employing their influence successfully; here, for example, is one which, if not the best, would at any rate answer the purpose proposed. If those who are entitled by official position to take the initiative, would after a conference with the leaders of the opposition—for the prosperity of the State is not the property of any party—induce the two Houses of Parliament to declare that the Federation of the Australian colonies is of high importance to the interests of the Empire, and invite the local Legislatures to consider it anew with a view to agreement, we should be on the road to a settlement. If the Queen were advised to appoint two Royal Commissioners to carry these resolutions to Australia, if men interested in and familiar with Australian affairs were chosen—Lord Rosebery and Lord Carnarvon are such men, for example—the wishes of the Sovereign and the Parliament would remove difficulties otherwise intractable. If this be not the right method, let a better method be adopted; but surely it is time that there should be an end to the base apathy which is permitting a great opportunity to slip away for ever.

If these Royal Commissioners visited the colonies successively, heard the objections of leading men, and reduced them to their minimum, and in the end held a Conference of Delegates from the Colonial Legislatures, at which they would represent the Crown, Federation, I am persuaded, would be obtained.

The Commissioners would have difficulties to encounter, doubtless, but it is the *métier* of statesmen to remove difficulties, and the delegates of the mother country ought to consider no labours too arduous to remove them, for the mother country is primarily responsible for the most serious of them. The vexed questions are mainly tariffs, national defences, and a Federal capital. As respects tariffs, there need be no wonder that so many colonists agree with Bismarck, Gambetta, and Mill in believing that native manufactures cannot be started by private enterprise alone, and that Government may properly come to its aid. There would be no difficulty in establishing inter-colonial free trade throughout the confederacy, but as regards external trade it may be assumed that it will be long subjected to protective duties. Either the entire confederacy will adopt them, which no longer looks impossible, or each colony must be left to take its own course. There is a group of commercial patriots in London who think that the colonial question will be settled effectually if only the colonists will consent to abandon Protection, and to be amerced for imperial defences in a Parliament where they are not represented. Sir Henry Parkes has encountered these gentlemen. "In commercial and monetary circles [he says] the question is, what profitable thing can be done with Australia, and never what advantage can arise to Australia by our drawing closer to the parent State. We are

seldom thought of by any class of the English at home as forming an integral part of the Empire ;” though it is easy and pleasant to adorn a political speech with that hackneyed quotation !

If Australians would only consent, like their own flocks, to undergo an annual fleecing ! But they have too bitter a memory of their first spontaneous and unprotected experiment in manufactures to do that. When Victorians attempted to turn their abundant raw material in native wool into serviceable tweed, the dishonest greed of Yorkshire manufacturers sent out a shoddy imitation of their fabric and ruined their enterprise by selling it in Melbourne as Australian manufacture. It is idle to invite a people with such an experience to lay down their arms of defence and trust to the magnanimity of free competition.

On the question of national defences they have had a warning as significant to beware of the parochial politics of Westminster. The British flag is floating throughout the Australian continent, but it is long since there was a British soldier to protect it. To effect a small annual saving the flag was left afloat, and the soldiers commissioned to guard it were withdrawn. Economy is, doubtless, one of the safeguards of a nation, and there is not a budget opened between the Tiber and the Thames which would admit of larger pruning than that of Downing Street ; but to leave a flag undefended which a foreign enemy may pluck down, and whose dishonour might be the seed of war, is scarcely a point at which a wise statesman would begin his retrenchments. There is a local force, indeed—Volunteers, with abundant courage and spirit, but commanded by traders and civil servants with imperfect military skill. The need of professional soldiers was so strongly felt in the colony that the Government of Victoria sent to the Colonial Office an offer to raise, clothe, feed, and pay a regiment, and to accept its officers and orders from the Horse Guards, on the sole condition that in case of war it should not be withdrawn from Australia, and this offer was deliberately rejected. The net result is that the army of the Empire has a regiment the less—a regiment, let the taxpayer note, which would not have cost it a penny—and in case of war the colonies are without one trained soldier. We may be assured, then, that when Australians consent to pay, as they are able and willing to do, for the defence of their cities against the disasters of war, they must be sure they shall obtain the defence they pay for.

With respect to a Federal capital, it has long been plain that it must be selected, as Washington and Ottawa were selected, to allay jealousy by its remoteness or insignificance. Wherever a Federal Parliament House and Government Offices are built, private enterprise will furnish the necessary supply of hotels, villas, club-houses, and the other equipment of a season city. If it be planted on the Murray, it will be equally convenient for Victoria, New South Wales,

and South Australia, and no conceivable place will be less inconvenient for the remoter colonies.

This is the road to Australian federation.

But the hope that this necessary service will be rendered to the colonies and the Empire, no one familiar with colonial history will be too ready to indulge. Most probably it will not be done. Nothing has ever been done for colonies from Downing Street but to awaken to their complaints when they become too vehement to be neglected. There have sometimes been eminent statesmen in the Colonial Office during the last half-century, and the permanent staff included men who had distinguished themselves greatly in fields that lay apart from current politics. But there never has been a fixed colonial policy, except to let ill enough alone; there never has been a thoughtful and fruitful initiative in colonial affairs. The great colonies are supposed to have been reared and nurtured by the mother country, but the facts are in constant contradiction to this theory. British colonies have been created by British emigrants, and by them alone. Great cities have arisen on soil where they were officially forbidden to intrude. Beneficent laws stand on their statute-book, which were more than once disallowed at St. James's. Colonists were warned that they must not presume to manufacture a horseshoe or a hobnail without permission from Downing Street. Some of the most notable spokesmen of liberty in England scoffed at the idea of having self-government in the colonies. Victorians were forbidden at the outset to dig the gold which has since made England prosperous, and to till the land which sends cattle, wheat, and wine to her ports. They were flooded with convicts till they resolved to send back the worst villains to England. In their last political emergency they asked advice as from a parent, and a noble pedant in the Colonial Office told them to go home and settle their own business in their own way. The same gracious answer will, perhaps, be accorded to those who desire assistance at present, but if this be the *ultima ratio* of the Colonial Office, it is difficult to comprehend for what purpose such an institution is supposed to exist.

Better feelings, it is said, prevail of late, since the Imperial Federation League have awakened England to her great responsibilities. It may be so in some degree, but it is doubtful at this hour whether those who represent the opinion of the mother country will consolidate the strength of the Empire by prompt and friendly action, or let things drift till neglect and indifference have, in the fulness of time, created another America in the Pacific, jealous, suspicious, and hostile, courting the Cosaque and cursing the Britisher.

Alpes-Maritimes.

C. GAVAN DUFFY.

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT.

IT is not of my own accord that I write these few words on the great and good Bishop—the great scholar, the great theologian—whom death has taken from us at the comparatively early age of sixty-two. Although I have known and loved him for more than thirty-five years, there are many far better qualified than I am to pay their tribute of affection and gratitude to his honoured memory. All that I can write may be, and will be, inadequate; and it is only owing to the accidental inability of others, at short notice, to speak of his work and character, that I have consented to express the feelings respecting him which he, at any rate, would not have despised. He was my private tutor at college. He presented me with all his books in succession as they were printed. I heard from him not unfrequently. He did me the honour to ask for such small help as I could render to good causes in which he felt an interest, more often than I was able to obey his call. I dedicated to him the best of the poor books which I have written, and when I sent him anything of mine it always evoked kind words, and sometimes kind suggestions. I tried to offer him “the shadow of a wreath of honour,” which he did not need from me when he was living; I trust that I may at least be pardoned if I here offer to him, now that he is dead, the shadow of that wreath of grateful acknowledgment which he needs still less. I do not pretend to be able to reach high enough to place it on the forehead of his statue; but

“Ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis
Ponitur hic imos ante corona pedes.”

No doubt his biography will be written by some competent and sympathetic hand; but, as in the case of his great and like-minded predecessor, Bishop Joseph Butler, he needs a biography less than

most men. The facts of his inner life were revealed to few, perhaps fully to none. His letters were usually brief and business-like, and touched but rarely on his deepest feelings. He never "wore his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at." It will not be possible in his case

"For knave or clown
To hold their orgies at his tomb."

His best biography, his truest monument, is the great simple, unselfish life which the world saw, and the thought and toil accumulated in his books. Beyond such personal incidents as may serve to deepen the influence of his example by illustrating the beautiful consistency and single-mindedness of aim which reigned throughout his life, there is nothing about him to reveal, as there is nothing to conceal. How often have we read biographies of men intimately known to us, in which the chief fact of their history, and some one essential element of their character, has been intentionally or unconsciously omitted? And sometimes this has been the very fact which did most to make or mar their lives, or the one element of character which chiefly influenced their career. No mistake of that kind can happen in the case of the late Bishop of Durham. His career was uneventful in external incidents; the circle of his relations and intimates was small; his aims were definite; his character transparent from marge to marge. He lived a life fortunate and happy beyond what falls to the common lot; a life untroubled by a single tragic circumstance, if we except the prolonged trial of the illness by which he was at last prostrated. But through that long career of unbroken prosperity, in which he rose from the position of a middle-class boy to the enjoyment of a great revenue and the honours of a princely bishopric, he remained always the same strong, sincere, simple man, uninflated by his immense success as he would have been undaunted if it had pleased God to try him with failure. When he had experienced his own eminent capacity for the promotion which had come to him unsought, his friends noted in him what one of them described as a "solemn gladness." But no one ever saw in him the disguised self-satisfaction, the ostentatious condescension, the arrogant mock-humility, the airs of gracious patronage to old equals, which are but too common in smaller natures whom accident, or merit, or the wirepullers of party have elevated to some high position. The friends of his youth, however unfortunate their lot, however humble their circumstances, however unpopular their names, remained his friends. He did not forget them, or ignore them, or show them the cold shoulder, or oppress them with his magnificence, or make them wince under the exhibition of his social superiority. The kindness which he showed as a young graduate to his juniors was maintained when he was a leading Bishop towards all worthy presbyters or curates. The generosity which led him to give a large

sum when he was a Cambridge professor to the reredos of St. Mary made him spend his income with exemplary munificence, and to buy and endow the Church of St. Ignatius at Sunderland when he became Bishop of Durham.

It is this unity of his life which is one of its most beautiful characteristics. The prayer of Lightfoot must have ever been that of Wordsworth :—

“ My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky ;
So was it when my life began ;
So is it now I am a man ;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die.
The child is Father of the Man ;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.”

And that prayer was granted. There have been men whose youth was “ full of idle noise,” was in sharp contrast with their manhood ; but no period of life was Bishop Lightfoot unworthy of himself. It can never be said of him “ *Dissimiles hic vir et ille puer.*” In this earnestness and wholesomeness of his life he resembled the great poet whose death was so nearly simultaneous with his own, to whom he had sought an introduction in my house, and whom he greatly admired. He would have said with Mr. Browning :—

“ Have you found your life distasteful ?
My life did and does smack sweet :
Was your youth of pleasure wasteful ?
Mine I saved, and hold complete.
Do your joys with age diminish ?
When mine fail me I'll complain
Must in death your daylight finish ?
My sun sets to rise again.”

There are two lines, characteristic of the poet's view of life and duty, which I think that Bishop Lightfoot would have regarded as expressive also of his own aim and opinion ; namely,

“ Take one step onward, and secure that step ;”
and

“ Truth is the strong thing ; let man's life be true.”

It must not, however, be supposed that there were no elements of gaiety and humour in his character. Those who knew him, and who met him in the unreserve of his lighter hours—those who, even in his old years, have seen him among his “ boys ” at Auckland Castle—how playful he could be. If any one fancies that Lightfoot never was a boy, he is much mistaken. If his character was of a serious cast, it, by no means, lacked a capacity for fun. Among other anecdotes of his schooldays some of his old comrades still remember how often he saw his much-loved master, Prince Lee, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, saw him standing on the master's desk, and called out to him,

quick, energetic way: *κατάβα, κατάβα, κατάβα, κατάβα!*—*Καταβήσομαι*, answered Lightfoot, with a broad smile on his face; imperturbably finishing the Aristophanic line.* Dr. Prince Lee has, I think, not found a biographer, but the eminence and warm allegiance of his pupils—among whom we may name, almost as contemporaries, the late Bishop, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Westcott—are among the many proofs of his exceptional power. The greatness of his pupils, as they would be the first to admit, was due in no small measure to the stimulative character of his teaching. His remark, “Ah! B—— *μη φοβοῦ μόνον πίστευε*,”† still rings in the memory of one of them. His recommendation of Barrow as a model did much to mould the style of another. The one word, *Σαλπίζει*,‡ which he chose to be carved upon his tomb, has had a potent influence over the imagination of a third. Prince Lee, though very unequal, sometimes spoke with great eloquence; and I remember a sentence of his,§ the spirit of which he must have breathed into the studies of his most promising pupils. It was this: “You must not only listen, but read. You must not only read, but think. Knowledge without common-sense is folly; without method it is waste; without charity it is fanaticism; without religion it is death.”

I first made the acquaintance of Dr. Lightfoot when I was an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he was a young Fellow of that foundation. Before I knew him personally I had often heard of him as the Senior Classic who was supposed to have sent up papers without a single mistake; and I remember how, night after night, the steady lamp might be seen burning in the window of his room, and youths would point to it and say, “There is the great Lightfoot steadily at work.” It was in one of the Long Vacations, when only the scholars and more studious undergraduates were allowed to stay up, that I became his private pupil. Those Long Vacations were truly delightful times, to which many look back as to green islands

“Across the barren wastes of wandering foam.”

I can still recall walks to our afternoon bathe—in the old bathing-shed in the green fields by the River Cam—with him and with others who still live; and in one of those walks I remember the vivid “chaff” which he expended on one of his old schoolfellows, which showed me how much sense of the ludicrous and what powers of sarcasm lay under his quiet exterior and usually shy talk. But the sarcasm was never venomous. It was intended to heal, not to wound. It was

“Gentle satire kin to charity.”

I am not writing an indiscriminate eulogy, and I cannot say that Dr. Lightfoot was at that time specially eminent as a private tutor.

* Ar. Vesp. 979.

† Mark v. 36.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 52,

§ In a speech at the opening of the Bury Athenæum.

It may be that he did not wholly like the drudgery; it may be that he had an unpromising pupil; it may be that his massive scholarship was not best displayed in the Greek and Latin composition which then occupied a disproportionate share of attention. He was always painstaking and conscientious, and he was kindness itself. Other pupils probably gained more from his tuition than I am honestly able to say that I did; but my deepest gratitude to him was due to all that I learned from him in later years, not then. I once offended him—I trust that it was the only time that I did so—by telling him when I got my Fellowship that he might have saved me many gloomy misgivings as an Undergraduate, if the Cambridge system had dealt a little more freely in words of encouragement. I said this, not by way of any personal complaint, but only from the deeply seated conviction on which I have always acted as a principle in education, and which to my knowledge has produced good fruits in the minds of some, that there are youths of diffident temperament, always inclined to undervalue themselves, to whom the total dearth of hopefulness about their own efforts, which their elders and betters might so easily inspire, produced the effects sometimes of mental paralysis, sometimes almost of death.

The secrets of Bishop Lightfoot's great career were the perseverance and the resolution which in the long run achieve greater results than careless genius, and are not liable to the same aberrations. This was remarked in him even as a schoolboy. "What is Joe working at now?" asked one of his school-fellows. "Is he learning German?" "Oh, no," was the reply; "he has done with German, and has gone on to Anglo-Saxon." In his earlier years he was not regarded so much as a man of brilliant originality and exceptional endowments as a man of untiring industry and indomitable purpose, devoted to the training of great and solid capacities. Thus he—as has often been noticed of another dear friend of past days, Bishop Cotton, of Calcutta—was a man who continually grew in power and ability, adapting himself to every office to which he was called. A favourite line of his old schoolmaster used to be Homer's

*"αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων."**

Dr. Lightfoot fully absorbed the first part of the exhortation in the sense of "always doing his utmost, and always being his best;" but I do not think that he ever allowed himself to covet the pre-eminence over others at which Hippolochus enjoined his son Glaucus to aim. For that ambition he would rather have substituted the line of Hesiod, which was so often on the lips of Socrates:—

καὶ δὴ δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἰὲρ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.†

* Hom. Il. vi. 206.

† Hes Op. 334.

He put forth his best endeavours not only in matters of religion, but in the routine of daily life. Thus, when he became a Professor at Cambridge, his greatness was immediately established. The immense range of his acquisitions, the earnest efforts to do his work as well as lay in his power, were at once recognized by the Under-graduates. The frequent failure of Professors to win an audience is a matter of common complaint, and men as learned in their own domain as Dr. Lightfoot have not succeeded. But there was something electric in his quick sympathy with the young, in his masculine independence, in his strong practical good sense, in his matchless lucidity of exposition; and these gifts caused his lecture-room to be thronged by eager listeners. The late Master of Trinity was not given to enthusiasm, but once he did wax enthusiastic, as he described to me the passage between the Senate House and Caius College "black with the fluttering gowns of students" hurrying to imbibe, in the Professor's classroom, a knowledge of the New Testament such as was not open to their less happy predecessors, and such as would last many of them all their lives as a fountain of valuable exegesis in many a parish and many a pulpit.

And, speaking of the pulpit, I will say that Dr. Lightfoot's preaching furnished another illustration of the determination which carried him to excellence in every branch of work which he undertook. When he began to preach he created no striking impression. He had received from Nature none of those gifts of person, and voice, and grace of manner which stand so many orators in good stead. His delivery at that time has been described as dull and monotonous, and he was perhaps conscious of the disadvantages against which he had to struggle. But he completely overcame them. As a *speaker*, indeed, he never attained, as a rule, to what would be called effective oratory, though those who knew what he was, and how impossible it was for him to say anything which was not worthy the best attention, would rather have listened to him than to almost any man. But as a preacher he achieved a greatness which will not be fully recognized until those three volumes of varied sermons are printed which are ready, or nearly ready, for the press. When they see the light, I believe that the general admiration of them will justify an opinion which I have very often expressed, that for massive splendour and majesty of style he was unsurpassed, and that, if matter be infinitely more important than manner, he should have been ranked as one of the first—if not *the* first—preacher in the Church of England. His sermons were often uttered with a suppressed fire which gave them the most powerful effect, and though the meaning of the word "rhetoric" seems to be lost, and that word is now generally used to point a sneer, I will say—using the word in the true and honourable sense—that they were conceived in the finest spirit of rhetoric. Perhaps the

first of his sermons which showed to what heights he could attain was that which he preached, after the death of Dr. Whewell, in Trinity College Chapel, in which he described so touchingly how, in the first flush of his utter grief and loneliness, after the death of his wife, the great Master of Trinity "appeared in the chapel to join his prayers with ours, not shrinking from us as from strangers, nor fearing to commit to our sympathies the saddest of all sad sights, an old man's bereavement and a strong man's tears." I should be glad to quote passages from his admirable sermon on "The Father of Missionaries," and from that on "The Vision of God," preached at his enthronement; or from that on Ezekiel's vision, preached at the opening of the Croydon Church Congress. I have no space for such extracts, and, indeed, I never heard him preach a sermon which was not admirable and weighty. But I may refer to that fine picture of a self-dedicated life, which he sketched at the consecration of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishopric of Truro—the picture of one who "lays down at the footstool of God his successes and his failures, his hopes and his fears, his knowledge and his ignorance, his weakness and his strength, his misgivings and his confidences—all that he is, and all that he might be—content to take up thence just that which God shall give him."

So, again, it was with his work as a Bishop. The old proverb, ἀρχὴν ἄνδρα δείκνυσσι was true in his case. All his ruling and administrative capacity at once came out. He has left his diocese one of the best organized and one of the most united in England. The secret of this success lies in his own words on the day of his enthronement:—"I have but one idea for the administration of the diocese, that we should all strive to work together; that, as we contemplate the awful amount of sin around us, we should one and all resolve to do our best, by God's help, to lessen this gigantic mass of evil, and should be careful not to give or take unnecessary offence at what is done by those who are labouring earnestly and faithfully in the same cause." Under his rule the diocese was divided; the diocesan work flourished; he preached in nearly every church in his diocese. Churches were built; home and foreign missions were promoted. Social efforts of all kinds were set on foot. The dense crowds of pitmen who watched in silence the funeral procession as it passed through Tudhoe and Spenny-moor showed how deeply the heart of the people had been touched by the work of the shy scholar who had been transformed into their Prince-Bishop.

This is not the place to attempt any estimate or characterization of the great work which it has been given him to do, although, if it had been possible, I would gladly have touched on the subject. But I may mention one feature which shone conspicuously in every branch of

* On St. Mark's Day, 1887.

labour which he undertook. It was the exemplary *thoroughness* which showed the ripest fruit of the best form of Cambridge training. Instances crowd upon the memory, but I will content myself with one or two. Fifteen years ago he was asked to read a paper on Missions at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Thousands of such papers have been written which have been forgotten a few weeks at the latest after they were read. But Dr. Lightfoot discharged the duty in such a way that his paper has a permanent value, and is a most important contribution to the literature of missions. It finally swept aside the modern assertion that missions have lost all their ancient efficacy. It showed, with a masterly knowledge which few possess, and which fewer still would have had the patience to concentrate, that the progress of Christianity through the ages has been quite as rapid *in proportion* as it was in the first four centuries. It thus dissipated a sense of discouragement which weighed heavily on many minds, and it gave a fresh impulse to missionary zeal. Take, as another instance, his essays in the editions of St. Paul's Epistles on the meaning of *prætorium*, or of *πλῆρωμα*, or on *ἐπιούσιος*, or the dissertations on the Christian ministry, on St. Paul and Seneca, and on the "Brethren of the Lord." Those essays are absolutely exhaustive of the existing materials for forming a judgment. They are specimens of a research which refused to be wearied. Once again, take his edition of the "Epistles of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp." Determined to get to the bottom of every question, and to examine the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles in every possible light, he added Armenian and Coptic to his already vast stores of erudition, with the sole object of examining what could be discovered about the epistles in those languages. Often in steamboat, or railroad carriage, he would be found with an Armenian or Coptic grammar in his hand. And yet, so absolutely unostentatious was this newly acquired learning that a reader might easily go through his book without so much as once noticing the fact. For it is as true of him as of any man that ever lived that he wore

"the weight
Of all that learning, lightly as a flower."

He avoided controversy as much as possible, but when he was called upon to perform the functions of a critic, he discharged his duty with rare perfection. One of the first writings which brought him prominently into notice was his criticism in the *Journal of Philology*, of two works by men of genius—the edition of the Epistle to the Corinthians, by Dean Stanley, and of the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians, by the Master of Balliol. Exact scholarship was not of course the *forte* of the beloved and gifted Dean; and minute grammatical and critical precision was not the immediate object of Professor Jowett. Both works were composed from an exegetical stand-

point different from that of Dr. Lightfoot, though he was the first to recognize the high and permanent importance of both. We know very well how the criticisms of such works would have been written by the shallow and pretentious cleverness of some small-minded anonymous critic in the ordinary religious, semi-religious, and pseudo-religious journals. Long experience has made us familiar with the tone of superiority which such writers always assume; with their studied depreciations, their unfairness, their determination to ignore every merit, to exaggerate every defect, and not to attempt to understand the real object of the writer whom it is their one aim to injure, to wound, and to write down. Dr. Lightfoot was endowed with a nature, and had attained to a goodness, which could not descend to those abysses of the ignoble. Very far different, and indeed a model of outspoken yet modest, manly, and respectful criticism, was his review. No author could be otherwise than grateful for such corrections. As a matter of fact, Dr. Lightfoot received the cordial thanks both of the Dean and the Professor, who, in later editions, gladly corrected the errors or oversights to which he had called attention. So, too, there was a controversy between Dr. Lightfoot and the present Bishop of Salisbury, on the subject of the famous views of the former upon the Christian ministry; but it was conducted by both bishops with mutual and loving courtesy, and not one word was said by either to pain the feelings, or even to ruffle the susceptibilities of the other. Some may say that in his other chief controversy—that with the author of “Supernatural Religion”—Dr. Lightfoot showed some acerbity. The impression is a mistaken one, as those who read the papers will see. The author of “Supernatural Religion,” in his recent reply, makes no such complaint. On the special points of controversy, with which Dr. Lightfoot alone wished to deal, the unknown author had laid himself open to many refutations, and as the issue of the contest was one supremely important in itself, and of consummate interest to the bishop, he did not hesitate to drive his lance home between the joints of his opponent’s harness. But if he extenuated nothing, he certainly set down naught in malice. Of insulting language, and of acrimonious personality there is none. There are no venomous sneers, no corroding epigrams, so that in this region again the bishop set a shining and greatly-needed example. *O si sic omnes!*

His attitude as an ecclesiastic is akin to his attitude as a critic. He was a man of large and tolerant mind, who apprehended too seriously the importance of the deeper and more vital questions on which the issues of this age depend, to care much, if he cared at all, about petty squabbles. He had learnt from St. John that the real Anti-Christ is the spirit of faction. It was therefore impossible for him to take any share in the manœuvres or intrigues of partisans. We cannot even conceive of him as condescending to whisper innuendoes against

opponents or rivals; or as suffering himself to be actuated by prejudices which induce a colour blindness to all merits of those from whom we differ. Such things were utterly alien to his temperament, and belonged to a region immeasurably below his habitual aspirations. He left such methods to falser aims and meaner spirits.

“Through the heather an’ howe gaed the creepin’ thing,
But abune was the waft of an angel’s wing.”

When he became a Bishop, there were many who feared that the scholar would be sacrificed to the Church officer, or that episcopal duties would be overbalanced by theological pre-occupations. It was not so. His varied erudition had not been purchased at the cost of practical wisdom. By unswerving diligence, by early rising, by steady use of the fragments of time, he was still able to contribute to the higher branches of scholarly and historic research, while yet he was an active and most useful Prelate. His charity, his tolerance, his magnanimity, tending to the annihilation of all that is petty and Pharisaic, gave to his diocese a singular sense of brotherliness as well as an energy of devoted service. He found time to train gratuitously, in Auckland Castle, a succession of youths, who, having enjoyed the advantage of seeing the daily spectacle of his example, are now, to the number of seventy, working as clergymen in the Church of England. Into two great movements he flung himself with clear-sighted energy. He could not live in the midst of a district inhabited by multitudes of pitmen and miners without observing the ravages of those two great enemies of mankind—intemperance and impurity. He became by choice and conviction a total abstainer and a prominent advocate of temperance legislation. He spoke on this subject with perfect firmness, yet without bigotry, and he wisely said (as every sensible abstainer would say) that, if at any time he could be convinced that his health absolutely required the use of wine, he should then unhesitatingly resume its use, believing the preservation of health to be a primary duty when no *superior* duty demands its sacrifice. Of the White Cross Society he was the president, and, if I mistake not, the principal founder. When he spoke on the platform he showed the power of handling a difficult subject with absolute precision, yet with the most refined delicacy; and we cannot doubt that by his words and his example he has greatly contributed to establish among young men a holier and more chivalrous view of the relations which should prevail between the sexes in a Christian society. He was himself, by deliberate choice, a celibate; probably, among other reasons, because he felt with St. Paul that as matrimony is a most blessed aid in discharging many of life’s highest duties, so there are particular vocations to which it may be a hindrance. He may have thought that it would be a hindrance to the vocation to which God had called him.

But he did not fall into the anti-Christian and Manichæan heresy which treated marriage as a necessary evil, or regarded it as an obstacle to priesthood, or placed celibacy above it in intrinsic meritoriousness. On the contrary, more than thirty years ago, in the controversy which arose about the tenure of fellowships, he laid down the true principle that neither matrimony nor celibacy possesses any inherent superiority over the other condition, but that each is best as God indicates His will respecting it to individual men.*

It is impossible to consider the life of Bishop Lightfoot without observing its singular felicity in this respect—that he was one of the few who all his life long seems to have escaped from the stings of malice and detraction. Many public men of the present day, as in all ages, have lived for years amid incessant attacks of which they themselves are often unable to account for the bitterness. In not a few it happens, and has happened, to spend their lives in “the oppression of a perpetual hissing.” Take the case of four of the most prominent divines of latter days, Dr. Pusey, Canon Kingsley, Professor Maurice, and Dean Stanley. Their personal experience would have led them to ratify the verdict of the Laureate—

“Each man walks with his head in a cloud of poisonous flies.”

During many years Dr. Pusey passed through hurricanes of abuse. Canon Kingsley, as he tells us in one of his letters, was at more than one period of his career “cursed like a dog” in the public prints, and the chief religious newspaper of the day said of his strong and tender story, “Yeast,” that “he taught immorality and insinuated atheism.” For long years in succession an article abusing Maurice was the invariable *sauce piquante* which was required in the first number of every evangelical periodical, and reams of insult and slander against him lie rotting in old files of the *Record*. I have seen a paragraph in a High Church paper saying that if (as was probable) a statue was ever raised to the Devil, Dean Stanley would certainly be the fittest person to unveil it; and on his deathbed, as he lay dying, I saw the last number of a very superior Church review speaking with the bitterest contempt of his Christian Institutes—a review which, happily, he was too ill to read, so that he was uninjured by its virulence. Dr. Lightfoot entirely escaped all such literary and theological assaults. The only word of abuse I ever read against him was written opposite to his name in the visitors’-book at the top of Snowdon nearly forty years ago—written probably by some reckless Undergraduate whom he had tried to save from energetic attempts to throw himself away. “When a man’s ways please the Lord,” says the Book of Proverbs, “he maketh even his enemies to be at

* His words are as follows (on “The Celibacy Question,” Oct. 25, 1857) —“When God has not only permitted but sanctioned both states of life alike, is it not unreasonable to hold that *all* the advantages are on the side of the one to the exclusion of the other?”

peace with him." But I do not think that Dr. Lightfoot ever had any enemies. To what was this due? Partly to the sense of his great learning, partly to his uncontroversial way of presenting even controversial truth. He certainly did not suppress his views. His conclusions about the origin and true functions of the ministry are not those which seem to be getting almost universally prevalent among the English clergy. Many of them would not be pleased with his distinct declaration that in the epistles of Ignatius there is to be found no tinge of sacerdotalism. His views on revision—in which his influence told with great power—ran counter to those of Dean Burgon and his numberless adherents. His comments on Col. ii. 20-23, which he explained in a sense directly opposed to the exaltation of asceticism, is only one of many comments in which his opinions were not those of the Ritualists. And yet he somehow escaped antagonism. It is a blessed lot for those by whom it is won legitimately and without compromise. But if any one be led by envy of such spontaneously granted happiness to win it by unhallowed means, by "steering between the Scylla and Charybdis of yes and no," or acquiring a reputation for safety and moderation by "never stating a proposition without carefully protecting himself from seeming to exclude the contradictory," he is not following the great Bishop's example. And whatever be the rare exceptions, Christ's rule holds all but universally true: "Blessed are ye when all men shall hate you, and persecute you, and speak all manner of evil against you falsely for My name's sake;" and "woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you." The rule is normal; but every now and then the Master makes blessed exceptions for those whom He loves.

I have tried, then, to say what little, at the moment, seemed worth saying about the great career, about the noble character, about some of the manifold labours and achievements of a man in whom posterity will probably recognize by far the greatest ecclesiastic of the present day. But his chief eminence and his highest claim upon our gratitude lies in this—that he left us all a stainless example. He sought no honours; though, when they came to him unsought, he accepted them with humility and thankfulness. He was wealthy without ostentation and without avarice. He was a presbyter who rose superior to the temptations of worldliness and ambition. In no man whom I have ever known was there less of egotism or self-seeking, and in this too he resembled the great contemporary poet over whom the grave has so recently closed. Called upon to face death at an age comparatively premature, when years of fruitful work might have lain before him, and when it seemed open to him to win a secure and lasting memorial in the minds of all men, by completing his editions of St. Paul's Epistles, and gratifying his longing to write a history of the fourth century, he rose at the call of God, and left his unfinished work and his accumulated

materials, not only without a murmur, but without so much as a sigh of regret or a single backward glance. How can I end more fitly than in his own noble words?—

“While I was suffering from overwork, and before I understood the true nature of my complaint, it was the strain, both in London and at home, in connection with the Pan-Anglican gatherings, that broke me down hopelessly. I did not regret it then, and I do not regret it now. I should not have wished to recall the past even if my illness had been fatal. For what, after all, is the individual life in the history of the Church? Men may come and men may go; individual lives float down like straws on the surface of the waters till they are lost in the ocean of eternity. But the broad, mighty, rolling stream of the Church itself—the cleansing, purifying, fertilizing tide of the river of God—flows on for ever and ever.”

F. W. FARRAR.

OXFORD PROFESSORS AND OXFORD TUTORS.

REPLY OF THE EXAMINERS IN THE SCHOOL OF MODERN HISTORY.

I.

AS charges have been made by Professor Thorold Rogers, in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for December 1889, against the conduct of the examinations at Oxford by resident teachers in the University, we, the undersigned, being non-residents, who have acted as examiners in the school of Modern History during the last five years, wish to express our opinions on the following points as far as that school is concerned.

1. Though there may be a danger of confining the examinations too closely within the limits of the teaching given, there would be a still greater danger to the maintenance of a high standard of knowledge from the exclusive appointment of examiners unfamiliar with the work of the university, and therefore liable to vary the standard according to their own ideas or their own reading.

2. Attention has always been paid, in the choice of examiners, to the desirability of securing either non-residents or those who were not directly concerned in teaching for examination, and further, during the last four years, only two of the examiners out of four have been appointed from the resident teachers of history.

3. All papers set in examination are fully discussed by all the examiners in common, and care is taken that they shall test knowledge of the subjects as a whole apart from any particular theories or modes of teaching.

4. It is an invariable rule that no examiner asks questions in *viva voce* examination, either of his own pupils or members of his own college. Further, no examiner either votes or expresses his opinion

about the position in the class list to be given to his pupils or members of his college.

5. We have never seen the smallest sign of personal favour, or college feeling, or partisanship of particular opinions on the part of our colleagues who have been resident teachers. The only considerations which weighed with them were signs of industry, mental vigour, and merit, so far as it showed itself in the work done in the examination.

SAMUEL R. GARDINER,
Sometime Professor of Modern History at
King's College, London ;

E. S. BEESLY,
Professor of Ancient and Modern History
at University College, London ,

W. HUNT, M.A. ;

M. CREIGHTON,
Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History
at Cambridge ;

T. F. TOUT,
Professor of History at St. David's College,
Lampeter ;

Non-resident
Examiners
in the School of
Modern History
since
May 1882.

II.

In the December number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, Professor Thorold Rogers brings charges against the system of teaching and examining pursued at Oxford, more especially in the two Schools of Literæ Humaniores and Modern History.

These charges may be thus briefly summarized almost in the Professor's own words.

The College Tutors and Lecturers, for the purpose of protecting their own ignorance, boycott the Professor's lectures by dissuading their pupils from attending them ; and then, having a working majority in the schools which they represent, audit their own accounts by examining those they have taught. Under these circumstances the tendencies of the present system are towards a shallow and barren routine, the vicious circle in which the lecturer examines and permanently tickets the pupil. Such a system of examination, in which the examiner has a pecuniary interest in the success of his pupil, is not, and cannot be, free from suspicion. The system, in short, is discreditable, and, as the Professor implies, a public scandal.

Although here in Oxford, where we are well accustomed to Mr. Rogers' inaccurate statements, his sweeping, ill-founded, and often ill-natured criticisms, these formidable charges only raise a smile, it is otherwise, no doubt, with many of his readers. In the public interest, therefore, we ask leave to answer these charges, so far as the School of Modern History is concerned, by a plain statement of facts.

The body for nominating examiners consists of six members. Three of these are elected by the Board of Faculty in Modern History, the other three are the Vice-Chancellor and two Proctors for the time being. The Board of Faculty is composed of 22 members. Of these only 10 represent the college teachers, being selected by all authorized lecturers on the subject, and very often not all of these are college tutors or lecturers; thus, at present, the head of a College is a member of the Board, and last year the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum also served. Ten are Professors or University Readers, who are ex-officio members of the Board. Two are co-opted members, one Professor S. R. Gardiner, the other the Deputy of the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

Thus the proportion of resident teachers is at present only 9 to 13 (last year it was 8 to 14): moreover, the chairman, who has a casting vote, has, to the best of our belief, invariably been a Professor since the foundation of the Board.

It is difficult therefore to see how the three electors chosen by the Board can represent the exclusive interest of the college teachers so far as those interests are at variance with those of the Professors.

But, even supposing this were so, it is self-evident that the Vice-Chancellor and two Proctors, who form the remainder of the Body for nominating examiners, and who are in no way necessarily or officially connected with any one school, can easily prevent any improper nomination, especially when it is remembered that the Vice-Chancellor has a casting vote.

But that, as a matter of fact, the examiners thus appointed, since the date of the last Commission, have not represented the resident teachers alone can be conclusively demonstrated. Out of a total number of 14 examiners who have been appointed since that date, five only have been college tutors or lecturers; of the other nine, five have been non-resident (four of these being Professors at other Universities or Colleges, and one, a gentleman in no way connected with teaching in the University); one was Bishop Stubbs, late Regius Professor of Modern History; one the deputy of the present Regius Professor; one a reader of the University; one the head of a College, who is neither tutor nor lecturer of his College. Thus the proportion of those representing the interests of the college teachers on the Examining Board has been only as 5 to 9.

In the face of these facts, it surpasses the wit of man to see how the examinations can have been manipulated in the interest of the resident teachers in the manner suggested by Mr. Rogers.

Surely it is to be deplored that Mr. Rogers did not take the trouble to acquaint himself with these facts, of which he professes an intimate knowledge, before bringing charges against a body of gentlemen.

That the Professor's lectures are not so numerously attended as

could be wished, the return of 1886 shows; that this may be to a limited extent the result of the definiteness of the curriculum set before the student we do not deny; that this limitation of the subjects of study, absolutely essential though it be, more especially in such a wide subject as Modern History, has its evils we frankly admit; but that the scantiness of attendance is due to the boycotting of the Professor's lectures by the college tutors, for the purpose of protecting their own ignorance, as Mr. Rogers implies, we emphatically deny. For the rest we are content to leave our readers to judge of the value of our critic's statement on this head, from the inaccuracy of such of his assertions as can be brought to the test of facts.

A. H. JOHNSON,	} College Tutors or Lecturers who have examined since May 1882.
Sometime Fellow of All Souls';	
E. ARMSTRONG,	
Fellow of Queen's;	
A. L. SMITH,	
Fellow of Balliol;	
R. LODGE,	
Fellow of Brasenose;	

[** The signatures to the *first* of these Replies are those of all the Non-Resident Examiners. The *second* Reply is signed by all the College Tutors or Lecturers who have examined since the date of the last Commission—with the exception of one gentleman now absent in India.—ED. C.R.]

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH MONARCHY.

MORE than a generation has passed since the Prince Consort declared in a speech upon a public occasion that Constitutional Government was under a heavy trial. The popular imagination converted the phrase into a very different one, which the popular memory has retained. The husband and most intimate and influential counsellor of the Queen was thought to have declared that representative institutions were on their trial. To be on one's trial may sometimes be a very heavy trial, especially when there is no great confidence in the verdict and sentence which may follow. To be under a heavy trial is the condition from time to time of all men and of all things human. The Prince Consort's words were used in the crisis and agony of the Crimean war, and he dwelt with emphasis on the difficulties which are inseparable from our Parliamentary system, and from that last result of civilization, a free newspaper in a free country. During a period of war and of negotiation secrecy is essential, and it is all but impossible. The Prince said nothing which had not been urged with emphasis by the Duke of Wellington nearly half a century before. Wellington in the Peninsular war had to carry on a Parliamentary as well as a military campaign. Napoleon, he said, could run great risks for the chance of decisive successes. No one in France could censure or recall him. But Wellington could not afford to lose a single battle, and that was why he never lost one. He could only fight when he was certain to win. His successes were cavilled at and minimized by perhaps the most unpatriotic Opposition that ever played the part of a doleful chorus to a great drama which had a kingdom for a stage. His strategy and tactics were adversely criticized by politicians who had not even the bookish theories of Othello's arithmetical lieutenant. As Chatham boasted that he had

conquered America in Germany, so the rump of a faction hoped to conquer Downing Street in Spain. The consequence was that Wellington had to keep almost as close an eye upon the movements of Parliamentary parties at home as on the movements of Napoleon and his generals in the field. He had to know not only the divisions of a battle, but divisions in the House of Commons. Defeat meant recall. To these considerations, quite as much as to any peculiarity of his own genius and character, was due the exaggerated caution with which critics, competent from the military point of view, but not understanding the political conditions of the problem he had to solve, sometimes reproach him. .

The purpose of the Prince Consort's speech, though he did not, so far as I know, refer to the precedent of Wellington's campaigns, was to point this old moral. It is no derogation from the authority of Parliaments, or from the legitimate influence of the free newspaper in the free country, to show forbearance towards and confidence in men engaged on their behalf in an enterprise of pith and moment. If you have a giant's strength you are not bound at every moment to be showing that you are gigantically strong. The House of Commons can at any moment make and unmake Ministries. The obligation on it is the stronger to select only the right moment for making and unmaking them. Standing aloof from parties and representing the stable and permanent element in the Constitution which is not affected by general elections, Parliamentary divisions, and votes of want of confidence, the Prince Consort in 1855 was probably the only man in England who could deliver with authority words which it was necessary should be spoken, but which nevertheless it required no slight courage to speak. The nation had been taught in a phrase, which perhaps contains as much truth as any one can reasonably expect to find in half a dozen words, but which certainly does not contain the whole doctrine of Constitutional Monarchy in England, that the Queen reigns but does not govern. A Speaker of the House of Commons once said that he had only eyes to see, and ears to hear, and a tongue to speak, what the House of Commons bade him see and hear and say. Similarly, the Queen, it is thought, can only think and speak as the Ministry of the day bids her think and speak. The Prince Consort, however, as he did not reign, was supposed to be ambitious of governing; and his intervention in public affairs by speech or action was childishly resented.

In the five-and-thirty years which have passed since the Prince Consort spoke, a considerable change has come over public feeling; not the House of Commons, but the Monarchy is on its trial, and the Monarchy is on its trial before the House of Commons. In the debates of last Session on the Royal Grants, Mr. Gladstone alone, of that party which deems that it has a monopoly of a near and long

future, spoke with any recognition of the part played by the Monarchy in the political life of England; and Mr. Gladstone, to whom, in the natural course of things, not many years of the long future of Liberal ascendancy can be granted, carried with him into the Ministerial lobby only a handful of personal adherents. Polite phrases were used by Mr. Labouchere's supporters on the front Opposition bench, which, however, amounted to little more than veiled good wishes for a peaceful Euthanasia. The Monarchy is dying. Long live the Monarch. *Te moriturum salutamus.*

It is possible that that Liberal party of the future which is dreamed of, may not come to birth at all, or that the parturient Radical mountain may bring forth only a mouse. The course which will be taken by the newly enfranchised electors, who, if they are of one mind and choose to exercise the power they have, are the masters of England, is at present only a matter of speculation, of hope and fear. What an ancient writer says of war is as true of Democracy, that it seldom adheres to the rules laid down for it, but strikes out a path for itself when the time comes. But though one thing only is certain, that the future will be unlike what any one expects, though events will take their own course, and will decline to be driven and pulled aside by whips and wire-pullers, instruments surely too ignoble for Providence or even a self-respecting Destiny to employ, it does not do to be indifferent to the turn which attempts are made to give them. Still less is it safe to neglect more general tendencies, which are real and operative, though they may be counteracted by others working in a different direction. Lord Melbourne lays down the doctrine that it is not safe to despise a book because its author is a ridiculous fellow; Lord Melbourne's precept was necessary for his own guidance, for he was a great reader, and to him all authors were ridiculous fellows. Parodying his remark, we may say that it is not safe to neglect a revolution even though it occurs in Brazil. According to the version which first reached Europe, an Emperor who had done nothing wrong, a plant-collecting and beetle-hunting Emperor, an Emperor fond of dabbling in the smells and explosions which to some people make up experimental chemistry, a reforming and Constitution-observing Emperor to boot, was suddenly told to "move on and get out of this," put on board a ship, and sent across the seas. When, on Napoleon's proclamation that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Portugal, the Royal Family proceeded to the port of Lisbon, they were accompanied by a weeping crowd. The people of Rio Janeiro parted from their Emperor with less demonstration of emotion than they would have shown to a popular actress or music-hall entertainer. He was left off like a suit of clothes which was worn out or had become unfashionable. Brazil was tired of being an Empire, and wanted to be a Republic. As the Elders of Israel suddenly discovered that they must have a king like the nations

around them, so the generals and politicians of Brazil have discovered that they must have a President like the nations around them.

This sudden dying out of the monarchical sentiment, its extinction by atrophy, is the wonder of the thing. Other monarchs have been deposed because they oppressed their subjects, or resisted their will, or were centres of strife. But the Empire had kept Brazil together. The Portuguese are not a race superior to the Spanish, yet, alone of the Americans of Latin blood, their state during seventy years was free from civil war or social disorder. The Emperor was ready to do everything he was asked to do, even to going away when he was asked to go away. The fact is, I imagine, that by one of those secret transformations of feeling which go on for a long time without emerging into distinct consciousness, even in the minds of those subject to them, and then declare themselves suddenly and with a strange simultaneousness, the idea of monarchy had become in Brazil slightly ridiculous, the Emperor had become an incongruity, and out of relations with his place and time. And though epigrams do not kill, a general sense of the absurdity of an institution may be fatal to it without expressing itself in a single epigram. The feeling may be unreasonable, the institution may have a rational basis, but, in a conflict between feeling and fact, the fact will get the worst of it.

There are traces here and there in England of the sentiment which, politically speaking, killed the Emperor of Brazil. In the debate on the Royal Grants, a member who is popular, if popularity is to be judged of by escorting and shouting crowds, suggested that it would be desirable to terminate the engagement of the Royal Family at the death of the Queen, to declare that the throne was vacant, and that there was no intention of filling it up. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, who is sometimes witty and always jocose, has improved on the idea. Enraptured with the cashiering of an Emperor in Brazil, which he apparently looks on as Fox looked on the taking of the Bastille, as much the greatest event that ever happened in this world, he proposes that a shorter shrift shall be given to monarchy than Mr. Conybeare was willing to allow it. He is for, in future, engaging kings and emperors on the terms of a month's warning or a month's wages. He thinks it a grand idea "that since the fall of the Brazilian Empire the new world, from the frozen north to the sunny south, is without a king or emperor, one hereditary grand duke or hereditary humbug of any kind." Emperors and monarchs are put up by people who have not the sense to see the uselessness of them, and children will some day ask, "What was a king, mamma?" and will be told that kings lived in the dark ages, but had disappeared. Even Mr. Gladstone, while suspending judgment on the merit of the revolution, and eulogizing the character of Dom Pedro, expresses satisfaction at the example which has been given of revolution made easy, and holds up the Brazilian

short way with monarchs for approval, in comparison with the long and bloody strife of former times. Formerly anti-monarchical sentiment expressed itself in the fervent Jacobin aspiration that the last king might be strangled in the bowels of the last priest. Now it takes the mild form of a month's wages or a month's warning.

Not merely baronetcies and Cumberland estates, but human nature itself, we may remind Sir Wilfrid Lawson in passing, are hereditary institutions. Mental qualities, habits, and capacities are transmitted; and men whose fathers have for generations followed the same pursuits are likely to be more proficient in them than those who enter from different spheres. Allowance must of course be made for exceptional cases of incapacity on the one side and capacity on the other, for the growth of new ability and the decline of old. According to the modern theory, certain qualities become imbedded in the organization and are transmitted along with it. In each man, so to speak, all his ancestors reside, and what is individual and special to him is the smallest part of the total life he bears about with him. In this sense Heine's lines are not true—

"Es bleiben todt die Todten,
Und nur der Lebendiger lebt."

On the contrary, the dead are more alive than the living. Moreover, the circumstances amid which the heir to a kingdom grows up give him at least the opportunity of being acquainted with conceptions of government and policy. The talk about him may often, and must sometimes, be of these things, as the talk of graziers is of bullocks and fairs, and of grocers of sugar, and possibly of sand. Franklin used to say that an hereditary legislator was as great an absurdity as an hereditary mathematician; anybody who will look in Mr. Douglas Galton's book on hereditary genius will find that hereditary mathematicians are not absolutely unknown in history. In truth, the speculations and researches of Darwin and his predecessors and followers deprive the Franklin-Lawson doctrine of the axiomatic truthfulness which was once attributed to it, and if they do not reverse it, yet very gravely qualify it.

But a view may be true without being popular, and if monarchical government ceases to appeal to the imagination and to justify itself to the common-sense of men, converts will not be made out of Darwin and Galton.

For a long time we have heard of the decline of the monarchical sentiment. Mr. Lecky, whose "*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*" is more alive with thought than any contemporary work of the same class, making it a storehouse of political reflection on which students and politicians may draw, traces this decline back to the early years of the eighteenth century. The number of disputed titles to the various European thrones, in his view, contributed much

to weaken reverence for kings. Its decline forms, he says, one of the most remarkable political characteristics of the eighteenth century. The thrones of England and Spain, of Tuscany and Parma, the electoral crown of Poland and the succession to the throne of the young and, as it was thought, moribund king of France, were all disputed. Mr. Lecky assumes as a cause what is not a true cause. A disputed title to an estate does not involve or tend to produce a weakened sense of the sanctity of property. Just as little does a disputed title to a kingdom involve or tend to produce a decline of monarchical sentiment. Rather it assumes monarchy as an institution fixed and unassailable, though there may be uncertainty as to the individual monarch. The question, "Under which king?" implies that there is no question of anybody but a king. Respect for the office is not necessarily impaired because there is doubt as to the person.

If this had been otherwise—if the stability of monarchy had depended on the stability of the thrones of individual kings—it could scarcely have existed in England. It would certainly have disappeared long before the Commonwealth. The conflict between the House of Hanover and the House of Stuart was not the first, but the last, of a long series of struggles between kings in possession and pretenders to the throne. The history of England, so far as it is a history of the kings of England, is an almost continuous record of wars of succession, in the open field or by secret conspiracy, from the Norman Conquest to the Rebellion of 1745. The conflict between William I. and Harold, between the sons of the Conqueror, between Stephen and Maud, between Henry II. and his children, between Richard and John, and John and Arthur, between Richard II. and Bolingbroke, between Henry IV. and the partisans of the Earl of March, the Wars of the Roses, setting on the throne three kings of the House of York in sequence to three kings of the House of Lancaster, the victory of the adopted representative of John of Gaunt's line over the last of the reigning descendants of Lionel Duke of Clarence—the Lambert Simnel, Perkin Warbeck, and Richard Wilford conspiracies of Henry VII.'s reign, involving the unhappy Earl of Warwick, son of the ill-fated Clarence, in a common doom with two of these counterfeit princes; the real or imaginary conspiracies and the death on the scaffold of nobles of royal lineage and royal ambition, De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk and Strafford, Duke of Buckingham, and Margaret Countess of Salisbury, under Henry VIII.; the brief mock-queendom of Lady Jane Grey, and the dangers which beset the life of the Princess Elizabeth under Queen Mary; the Norfolk and Babington conspiracies under Elizabeth; the pretensions of Philip of Spain, who claimed the throne not merely as his wife's heir, but as the descendant of John of Gaunt, the Spanish Armada being quite as much a dynastic as a religious

enterprise ; the more formidable pretensions of Mary Stuart—all these things show that insecurity of title, and the fact, or constantly apprehended danger, of wars of succession, run through English history, from the Battle of Hastings to the accession of the first of the Stuart kings, from the eleventh century to the seventeenth. •

The intervals of undisturbed possession and peace were comparatively rare and short. The doctrine of hereditary right was very loosely held ; it inferred merely a preferential title, and was subject to the most fantastic evasions. The younger sons of William I. succeeded, in disregard of the claims of their elder brother. Henry I., indeed, affected to base his claims to the throne on the fact that, though not the eldest son of the Duke of Normandy, he was the eldest son of the king of England, being alone born after William I.'s accession. John's title was in derogation of the claim of the son of his elder brother. Henry VIII., with the authorization of his Parliament, made a testamentary disposition of the Crown, entailing it, as if it had been a landed estate, after his son, upon his two daughters, both of whom could not be legitimate. Edward VI. attempted by his " plan " to set aside this settlement in favour of Lady Jane Grey, on the ground of the bastardy of both his sisters. Under Elizabeth, an Act of Parliament made guilty of treason any one who should declare any particular person, other than the natural issue of the Queen's body, to be entitled to the throne. The hereditary title, on the Queen's death without children, was in the House of Suffolk, the descendants of Henry VIII.'s elder daughter, and, on grounds of policy, they were set aside for the Stuart family. An hereditary title to the throne is firmly established now, by Act of Parliament, in the descendants of the Electress Sophia ; but the principle in its strongest form dates from the eighteenth century, in which it is strangely said to have been impaired. There seems to be little ground for contending that in England the monarch was ever held to rule by divine right, at least by any other divine right than that which sees the benediction of Heaven in actual possession : *beati possidentes*. It was not much heard of till the accession of James I., and was used by him to supplement a notorious defect of hereditary title, which he was unwilling to strengthen by an acknowledgment that he owed his throne to election by the nation. The fact is that James I. was King of England by a kind of adoption, not altogether dissimilar to that which prevailed under the Roman Empire, and with the working of which M. Renan is so well pleased that he would like to see it introduced into the public law of modern Europe. The extreme doctrine of divine right which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Richard II. is an anachronism. It belongs not to the fourteenth century, but in germ perhaps to the closing years of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth, to the Tudors and Stuarts ; and not to the Plantagenets. In the words :

—“Not all the water in the wide rough sea,
Can wash the balm from an anointed king ;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord——”

it is noticeable that it is not the hereditary title, but election by the Lord, the consecrating balm and not primogeniture and rule of birth, on which an inalienable right is based. So in Hamlet, the usurper and murderer, Claudius avows himself safe in the shelter of that divinity which doth so hedge a king that treason can but peep to what it will. A subject and courtier of Elizabeth and of James I. could not identify divine right with hereditary title, in which they were lacking. Elizabeth, indeed, during the Essex rebellion, is said to have detected incentives to sedition in the story of Bolingbroke's adventure, and to have exclaimed, “Know ye not that I am Richard II.?” But if we are to suppose that Shakespeare was writing as a politician and not as a poet, it must be kept in mind that his politics, if they were not, as is sometimes contended, those of the House of Lancaster, were certainly in succession those of the Houses of Tudor and Stuart, whose title was through the House of Lancaster. Till near the close of the fourteenth century of our history, the doctrine that the king never dies, expressed in the formula of the French monarchy, “The king is dead ; long live the king,” did not prevail. The reign of the new monarch was supposed to begin, not on the day of what is now called his accession, but on the day of his coronation ; the interval between the two was often a lawless anarchy, and the king's peace died with him. The inconvenience which this state of things produced when any considerable interval elapsed between the death of the king and his coronation made it necessary to adopt the system which recognizes no interregnum. But the older usage shows that the divine right of the king, so far as it existed, was in the office, and not in the person ; that it was conferred, not by hereditary title, but by popular election and divine sanction, by the acclamations of the people, whose voice was, in his case at least, recognized as the voice of God, by coronation and the consecrating balm. It was the anointed king, the deputy elected of the Lord, who ruled, and not the inheritor by rule of birth, though the two qualifications usually cohered in the same person.

If, therefore, the monarchical sentiment in England is impaired, its enfeeblement cannot be attributed to the decay of ideas which never had any hold of the national mind. The superstition of divine right and of an absolutely indefeasible hereditary title was never a popular superstition. It was a kingly belief in the mind of James I., a bookish theory with Sir Robert Filmer and Sir George Mackenzie, surviving from the Stuart period to that of the House of Hanover in “Old Shippen,” and in the eccentric and learned John Reeves. It was a royal dream, a clerical dogma, a university thesis, an antiquarian

crotchet, a legal pedantry, a branch of political speculation ; but it was never the belief of the English nation. It sprang first, as I have before said, out of James I.'s desire to find another than a popular title to his throne, and was strengthened by reaction from the Parliamentary triumph over Charles I., from the Protectorate, from the Exclusion Bill, and from the Declaration of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. The theories of De Maistre and Bonald had the same counter-revolutionary origin in France. In England the doctrine has seldom been more than militant, an affair of the closet and pulpit, of the university cloister or the lawyer's chamber, at most of the political pamphleteer and the Opposition leader. The royalist superstition has disappeared, but not necessarily with it the monarchical sentiment.

Some change has, however, come over it even within the present generation, or during a yet shorter period, as any one may convince himself who will turn over the pages of the late Mr. Bagehot's book on "The English Constitution." When that little volume appeared, now about twenty years ago, it was received by many persons as a sort of revelation of the real nature of the institutions under which we live. Other writers had been detained in the outskirts of the temple ; he had penetrated to its inmost shrine, and drawn thence the life of the building. They had been engaged in the forms ; he had reached the substance. They had entangled themselves in the mechanism ; he had laid bare the very pulse of the machine. "The secret of Mr. Bagehot" was this : that the English monarchy, in the character which it had assumed during the present reign, was a disguise for hiding the real elective character of the English Constitution. The House of Commons was, of course, openly elected by the constituencies. Ministers were nominally appointed by the Crown, but they were really chosen by Parliament. The statesman who possessed in a higher degree than any other the confidence of the party which had a majority in the House of Commons was practically elected by that party to the Premiership—that is, to the real, though temporary, chieftainship of the State—as certainly though not so formally as the President of the Federal Council in Switzerland (who is not, as he is commonly called, President of the Swiss Republic) is chosen for his yearly term by the Federal Assembly. The elected head of the State, the Prime Minister, chooses his colleagues, who are roughly designated for him by the position they have attained in the House of Commons. The Queen's business in the matter, allowing a certain margin for those personal accommodations, that reciprocal give and take, without which neither life in general, nor that particular branch of life called government, can be carried on, was simply that of graceful acquiescence.

In the main this may be a true account of the matter, though it had not even, when Mr. Bagehot wrote, quite the novelty

which he and his critics fancied. Lord Macaulay and many lesser writers had said it all before. What Mr. Bagehot did was to re-state what were then, and had long been, the commonplaces of constitutional doctrine with a freshness and keenness of style and a copiousness of piquant illustration which gave them the aspect of discoveries, almost of revelations. His art was akin to that of the careful housewife in Burns' poem, whose skill gar'd the old clothes look almost as good as new. Rather he dressed the old truth in new clothes, and the tailor got the credit of having made the man. But the truth was not to be disclosed beyond the sacred but limited circle of the initiated who read Mr. Bagehot's essays as they originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, or in the volume in which they were afterwards collected. According to Mr. Bagehot, the poorest and most ignorant classes in his time really believed that the Queen governed. The separation of principal power from principal station is a refinement, he says, beyond their power of conception. "They fancy they are governed by an hereditary Queen, a Queen by the grace of God, when they are really governed by a Cabinet and a Parliament, men like themselves, chosen by themselves." I doubt whether, even in the politically distant period at which and of which Mr. Bagehot wrote, this description was true. The poorest and most ignorant classes, strictly speaking, probably never troubled themselves as to how they were governed at all. Their speculations and imagination did not travel beyond their experience, which was restricted to the policeman at the street-corner and the magistrate at petty or quarter sessions. The needy knife-grinder represents their state of mind. Mr. Bagehot constructed for himself a stage peasant or artisan whose naïveté he brings into subtle contrast with his own keen analysis.

If we advance beyond the poorest and most ignorant classes, the conception of royalty which prevails is, we fear, too generally that of the pot-house oracle, who denounces it as a useless and costly extravagance, the greatest of all our spending departments—a department in which there is great pay for no toil, and in which the sweat of the working-man's brow is by a mischievous chemistry converted into fine clothes and sumptuous fare for them that dwell in kings' houses. Whether this view prevailed in Mr. Bagehot's time or not, there are many signs that it is prevalent now. Like the rustic in Virgil, who foolishly deemed that the city which is called Rome resembled his own little village, the field or the town labourer is persuaded that the Government of the United Kingdom is simply an enlargement of the municipal or county government of which he has direct experience. To him the monarchy seems a mere appendage to this Government, which could be detached from it without harm, and even with advantage—an inconvenient fifth wheel to the coach, a flapping and fanning drapery getting itself

entangled with the machinery and impeding it, and which it would be desirable to cut away. Within the memory of men still living it was customary to speak of the King's or Queen's Government. Now the phrase is never heard except as a decorous Parliamentary formality. "Mr. Gladstone's Government" and "Lord Salisbury's Government" have superseded both in work and thought "the Queen's Government." But if Mr. Gladstone or Lord Salisbury is governor, what is the Queen? If they are the real heads of the State, what is she? These words are not intended to describe the true theory of Constitutional Government in England, but the popular impression of it which School Boards, an almost periodically extended franchise, local self-government in town and country, and neo-Radical speeches have created. In it there is little place left for the monarchical idea.

Mr. Bagehot, whose doctrine has the fault inherent in all doctrines that are based on the necessity of disguise and false pretences in government, was not content with representing monarchy as a splendidly embroidered veil or screen behind which the prosaic realities of Parliamentary and Cabinet Government worked. It was in his view scarcely less essential that such political functions as the monarch still discharges should be hidden. He seems to have thought that it would be dangerous if the fact that the royal robes clothed a living person, and not a mere doll or puppet, became too widely known. "The House of Commons," he wrote, "has inquired into most things; but it has never had a Committee on the Queen. There is no authoritative Blue-Book to say what she does." On the other hand, the Queen in her dignified capacity was of necessity conspicuous. Her appearance on great State occasions, her function as a part of the pageantry of State, were spectacular. She was a part of the outward show of life, the largest contributor to that ornamental side of government without which it becomes dull and bare and uninteresting. Since Mr. Bagehot wrote, all this has been changed. What was private has been made public, what was public has been withdrawn into privacy. The first of a series of Blue-Books on the Queen was published in 1875, just six years after Mr. Bagehot's essay on "The English Constitution." They were not called by that name, they were called "The Life of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, by Theodore Martin." Mr. Bagehot said that our own generation would never know, though a future generation might, how great and useful had been the part played by the Queen and the Prince Consort—perhaps it would have been more correct to say, by the Prince Consort, in the name and with the authority of the Queen—in the government of England. He thought it undesirable that the disclosure should be made.

"Secrecy," he said, "is essential to the utility of the English monarchy as it now is. Above all things, our Royalty is to be revered, and if you

begin to poke about it, you cannot reverence it. When there is a Select Committee on the Queen, the charm of Royalty will be gone. Its mystery is its life; you cannot let daylight upon magic. We must not bring the Queen into the combat of politics, or she will cease to be revered by all combatants. She will become one combatant among many."

All that Mr. Bagehot thought ought not to be done has been done deliberately, and with the Queen's own sanction and authority, in the five volumes of "*The Life of the Prince Consort.*" The "august and unknown powers" of the Constitution have been exposed to the same close scrutiny as "the known and serviceable powers." At the same time the spectacular part of the monarchy has been retrenched, and almost entirely abolished.

What is the effect of this double change on the public sentiment? There is naturally some grumbling at a spectacle which is paid for, but not exhibited, at a theatre, the doors of which are almost always closed. As regards the direct action of the Crown in public affairs, the cognizance of it vouchsafed to her subjects by the Queen has been nearly simultaneous with the growth of the idea that the directly representative element in the Constitution ought not simply to be predominant, and in the long run decisive, but exclusive, and at every stage in the conduct of affairs the sole power.

The House of Commons obeys the imperative mandate of the constituents. The Ministry is the creature and instrument of the House of Commons. The right of any power not thus directly commissioned by popular suffrage to take part in affairs is rudely questioned, and seems to be submitted to only by way of contemptuous tolerance for a survival, not destined to be of long continuance, from an older state of things. The attitude practically enforced by the Queen and the Prince Consort upon the Ministry during the American Civil War may have been wiser than that which Lord Palmerston, and Lord Russell, and Mr. Gladstone, if left to themselves, would have taken; the Court may have been right with the masses, when the Cabinet, or its most influential members, were wrong with the classes. On the other hand, the feeling of the Court towards the Italian movement for unity and independence may have been less generous and sagacious than that of Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell. But the point now raised is whether the Queen had the right to be in the right against a Minister possessing a majority in the House of Commons—whether it is within the province of a constitutional monarch not to share the error of the Minister of the day, and to impose caution upon him in foresight of the wiser opinion which the people will entertain to-morrow. Of course there is the perhaps even chance—let us, for argument sake, say the greater probability—that when they differ the Minister will be right and the Monarch wrong. Even so, divergence of opinion, though the divergent opinion may be erroneous, may be an advantage as

ensuring deliberation, and the attentive weighing of all sides of a question, before action is taken. . Nevertheless, to a public incapable of entertaining more than one idea at a time, this is a hard saying. The admission that the principle of representative government is in modern societies of European race an essential principle, is converted into the very different doctrine, that no power ought to exist in the State which is not derived from direct popular election. A more sagacious political philosophy and practical statesmanship have been put into language of admirable clearness by Mr. J. S. Mill. Censuring the politicians of a certain French school, from which the new English Radicalism seems to have drawn its inspiration, who are for deducing everything from a single principle of government, and eschewing everything which does not logically follow from that principle, Mr. Mill says :

"Inasmuch, however, as no government produces all possible beneficial effects, but all are attended with more or fewer inconveniences ; and since these cannot be combated by the very causes which produce them, it would be often a much stronger recommendation of some practical arrangement, that it does not follow from the general principle of the government than that it does. Under a government of legitimacy, the presumption is far rather in favour of institutions of popular origin ; and in a democracy, in favour of arrangements tending to check the impetus of popular will. The line of argumentation, so commonly mistaken in France for political philosophy, tends to the practical conclusion that we should exert our utmost efforts to aggravate, instead of alleviating, whatever are the characteristic imperfections of the system of institutions which we prefer, or under which we happen to live."—*System of Logic*, vol. ii. p. 521, third edition.

It is the fate of Mr. Mill to be praised by the politicians who affect to be his disciples, and to be neglected by them. He himself is almost a unique example of a man who in quitting the closet for Parliamentary life remained true in the House of Commons to the doctrines which he had thought out in his study. With others a change of pursuits seems not to be complete until it issues in apostasy. If Mr. Mill's doctrine be sound, and in theory it will scarcely be questioned, it follows that the inevitable defects which inhere in the representative system of government require to be checked and counteracted by arrangements based upon other principles. The practical difficulty in the way is of course this, that the predominant power in a country is always ambitious to be the sole power ; and that, when forces do not exist strong enough to impose checks upon it, it is seldom in the mood to impose restraints upon itself. A power strong enough to give effective assertion to its own just rights is usually strong enough to assert more than its just rights. Democracy is as little tolerant of rivals near its throne as despotism. The period at which a just balance is established between the old and the new powers, the powers which have long been in possession and the

powers entering on possession, is usually, as time is counted in history, but a moment—that is to say, a generation or half a century. In England we had this balance from 1832 to 1868, or let us say to 1885. Now things are tending to the ascendancy of a single power in the State, the House of Commons, and to that of a single class in the community, the working classes.

That, in the present state of England and most European countries, practically the whole adult nation must be included in the representation, with or without distinction of sex, and with such conditions of durable residence as it may be expedient to enforce for the exclusion of the mere waifs and strays of society—the vagabondage, in the literal sense of the term, of the country—what in Switzerland are called the homeless classes (*heimathlos*), can no longer be disputed. The theory is in the ideas of the time, and, moreover, it is an established and irreversible fact. That within this system representation should be in proportion to numbers—that is to say, that groups numerically equal should return an equal number of members—an arrangement which prevails in Germany, France, Switzerland, and the United States, but to which only a very imperfect approach has as yet been made in England—follows logically from the democratic principle now established; and even here, where facts follow logic with but a lame and halting foot, will no doubt presently be realized. This one man one vote doctrine implies that every vote and every man shall count for as much as every other, and carries with it the principle of equal representation among constituencies numerically equal, and of the equal power of each vote within those constituencies—that is, of proportional representation as advocated by Mr. Hare, Mr. Mill, and, among men now engaged in public life, by Mr. Courtney. Whether logic and equity in this matter are destined to prevail over habit and prejudice he would be foolhardy who should predict. The principle has been discredited by the phrase, “representation of minorities,” which untruly describes it, and at present expresses the means, not the end, which is the proportionate representation of the majority. Now, as frequently happens both in England and the United States, a large majority in the constituencies may return a small majority to Parliament, or a minority of voters may return a majority of representatives. This is, of course, in direct contradiction to the democratic principle that the majority must rule; but this is not the worst. Our system makes it possible that the great bulk of the nation may, on particular questions, one after the other be overruled by infinitesimal fragments of it. The two great political parties may be nearly balanced, as they almost always are. In this case, a handful of fanatics or theorists, by selling its support to the candidates who will pledge themselves to its particular crotchet, may, under the present conditions of English political life and morality, succeed in securing the return of a majority of members pledged to their

political crotchet. This has been the tactics of the opponents of the Contagious Diseases Act, it is the tactics of Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his local optionists, of Mr. Champion and the Eight Hours Bill agitators, of the antagonists of compulsory vaccination, and I know not what besides. It is thus quite conceivable that a minority of, say, three hundred thousand voters might succeed in carrying a project opposed to the opinions and feelings of three millions.

In former times, the House of Lords might be trusted to throw out a measure which came before them under these conditions. But, under the tyranny of the democratic idea, wrongly interpreted, the House of Commons is disposed to resent the vindication by the House of Lords of the real opinions of the majority in the Commons as against their false professions of opinion; and the doctrine that no institution has a *locus standi* in politics which is not based on direct elective representation, is diffusing the same sentiment in the country. On great questions which divide parties an appeal may be made from the House of Commons to the country by a general election. But in the case supposed, both parties are tarred by the same brush, and at any rate the Ministry in power derives its majority from the clique against whom it would, in the case supposed, appeal. Moreover, a general election would simply bring the same instrumentalities for the falsification of opinion into play once more.

The Royal veto is even more completely out of the question than the rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords. But why may not the country at large have the opportunity of imposing its veto upon a measure which represents not its own convictions, but the successful electioneering tactics of busy and unscrupulous organizations, and the cowardice and want of principle of political candidates and leaders? Supposing an Anti-Vaccination Bill or an Eight Hours Bill to become law in the circumstances which have been supposed—and it could scarcely become so in any other—why should not an appeal be made, on the principle of the Swiss *Referendum*, to the general sense of the country? The Sovereign of the country, standing aloof from political parties, would naturally be the person in whom, when there was reason to suppose that the voice of the nation had been falsified in the Parliamentary representation, this right of appealing to the nation at large would be vested. Instead of the merely formal assent, "*La Reine le veut*," or the obsolete form of veto, "*La Reine s'avisera*," we should have at the initiative of the Crown the decision, "*Le peuple le veut*," or "*Le peuple s'avisera*." The trouble and inconvenience of frequent and vexatious appeals to the country on individual projects of legislation would prevent needless recourse to the *Referendum*. But under our present Parliamentary system, I do not see what other means exist for relieving the country from the domination of coteries and factions, which are able to turn the scale between the two parties

in favour of projects which both parties and the country disapprove, and from the danger of snap votes on questions vitally affecting the Constitution and the future of England in a Parliament returned on a great variety of issues other than that assumed to be decided at the general election.

To take a critical and proximate instance: if an ostensibly Home Rule majority should be returned two or three years hence to the House of Commons, it will consist largely of persons whose constituents care little or nothing about Home Rule, but who think that a Home Rule majority and Ministry will be a Welsh or Scotch disestablishment majority or Ministry, a local option and licensed victuallers' disestablishment Ministry, an Eight Hours' Bill Ministry, a land nationalization Ministry, an anti-vaccination Ministry, a Ministry not of all the talents, but of all the fads and all the crotchets. On a matter such as this, there should be a means of taking the sense of the people of England, simply and directly and without the intrusion of such side issues as deflect the votes at a general election even though the appeal be nominally made only on a single point. The coarse bribe offered in the phrase "Home Rule will help these things, and these things will help Home Rule," expresses the lowest degradation of general politics, and implies a system of more corrupting purchase and sale than was ever practised by Newcastle or Walpole. Even on the *Referendum* demagogic incentives would be freely plied, and endeavours would be made to induce men to vote on the simple question of the Union or of separation with an eye to other questions. Electioneering tricks, however, would be practised under greater disadvantages than at present, and there would be an appreciable increase of probability that the nominal issue would also be the real issue on which the vote would be taken.

The monarchical system is not essential to the *Referendum*, since it exists in Switzerland, both in its individual cantons and over the confederation as a whole, and, I believe, in some of the States of the American Union. But monarchy offers the conditions on which it could best be exercised. The President of a Republic necessarily represents the party in power, and he would not appeal to the country against what is his own policy. The same remark applies to the Prime Minister under a system of Cabinet Government such as ours. No doubt it might be arranged that the *Referendum* should be adopted, if a certain proportion of the electors of the country, or if either, or both, of the two Houses called for it in petitions or memorials; and this scheme might be useful as an alternative in default of the spontaneous action of the Sovereign. But the easiest and promptest method would be by the direct action of the King or Queen. This would to some extent take the operation out of the hands of the wire-pullers and managers of factions, the producers of machine-made opinion.

Those who believe that the monarchy in England is worth main-

taining, hold that it is, as compared with the immense cost of Presidential elections in the United States and of the administrative mechanism of France, a cheap form of government; that it is, what is yet more important, a pure form of government, the choice lying between hereditary sovereignty, or an elective and temporary monarchy by purchase, called Presidency; that it familiarizes the public mind with the idea of other public interests than those of rival parties and factions; that it gives dignity and splendour to the forms of government; that it aids the conception of an England which is more than the soil on which some forty millions are struggling, succeeding and failing—an England lying between a glorious past and a hopeful future, of which the men of to-day are simply the living link; that it ensures the presence in immediate contact with affairs of one who has, at least, had an opportunity of following them continuously through a generation, it may be half a century, while Ministers have come and gone and have but fragmentary and interrupted acquaintance with them; of one to whom questions of State, domestic and foreign, are, or ought to be, what the price of stocks are to City men, and the price of fat oxen to farmers.

These considerations, simple and elementary as they are, are yet truths of reflection rather than of simple inspection. The prevalent idea—that no one has a right to exercise any functions who has not been chosen to them by the vote of a majority, can only be qualified and corrected by the conclusive proof that the functions which are thus exceptionally tolerated are real functions, and that they are obviously exercised for the benefit of the country. The maxim of payment by results will be applied to the monarchy, except as regards the numbers of the younger and remoter members of the Royal family, of whom the supply may exceed the demand, with the economic and political consequences involved in it. The old jealousy of a king who should attempt to govern as well as reign still subsists, but it is accompanied by a contempt for a king who reigns without governing, and a disposition even to question the title of a new king so to reign. As a matter of fact, English kings and queens, even under our Parliamentary system, and not exclusive of the first two Georges, governed a great deal more than is commonly supposed, and the disclosures made in the *Memoirs of Stockmar*, and in the *Life of the Prince Consort*, the active part played by the Queen and her husband in public affairs were received in some quarters with misgiving. This jealousy, however, is not likely to be excited when the governing power of the king is seen to be the instrument of giving more effect to the direct voice of the people in their own affairs, in correction of its possibly factious misinterpretation in the House of Commons, and of substituting in certain cases the popular assent or veto for the Royal assent or veto in projects of legislation.

The Parliamentary history of England during more than two centuries has been so splendid and useful, it forms so brilliant an

epoch in history, that there is difficulty in believing that it requires readjustment to altered social conditions. Its supremacy tends to become independence of the nation, its omnipotence an all-meddlingness; instead of representing the will of the nation, there is danger, a danger which the reduction of the septennial to a quinquennial or triennial term would increase, that it may represent, turn and turn about, the accidental predominance, possibly of a factious minority, or even of a balance-turning clique. These evils have declared themselves elsewhere. In England it is held that the annual meeting of Parliament is essential to freedom, and it is secured by the fact that the taxes are taken only for a year, and by the annual passing, now a little altered in form, of the Mutiny Act. In many of the States of the American Union it is expressly provided that the Legislature shall meet only every second year, and then for but short periods, in order to limit its opportunities of law-making for the sake of law-making. In other States the *Referendum* exists, and the subjects which lie within the scope of the Legislature are strictly defined. As regards the Congress at Washington, its functions are limited under the Constitution by the legislative rights of the several States, and by the interpretative power of the Supreme Court, as well as by the executive authority. As a Parliament, in one sense the House of Representatives and the Senate have almost ceased to exist, the real work of legislation being done by small and manageable committees, whose decisions are usually accepted without revision or discussion.

In France, though the Parliamentarians triumphed at the last general election, so far as the majority returned was concerned, the Revisionists of different orders ran them close in the popular vote.

In Germany, the Parliaments of the Empire and of Prussia, and of the several States, are very limited as compared with the functions of the Legislature in England. Here the supremacy of Parliament is in danger of becoming the supremacy of a caucus and a dictator, overriding the general sense of the nation, to which there ought to be some mode of authoritative appeal.

The principle of the *Referendum*, or appeal to the people, at the initiative of the Crown, on particular issues, seems the best mode of counteracting this danger. A constitutional reform of this kind would be at once the crowning of the democracy, and the democratizing of the Crown. If we are to have a king of England in future, he must be, like one of his Stuart ancestry in Scotland, the King of the Commons, by which I do not mean of the House of Commons. He can no longer afford to be simply the head of the classes, the chief of society in its conventional sense, the culminating point of the aristocracy. He must belong to the whole people, to the masses, as well as to the classes. Frederick William IV. was not a very wise ruler; but he said a wise thing when he declared, on his accession, that as Crown Prince he had been the first of the nobles, but as king he was the first of the citizens, of Prussia.

The great evil of the monarchy is the social flunkeyism of which it is the centre, the abject snobbism which it produces, the base servility which radiate from it in circles ever widening. If this evil were inseparable from it, it would go far to balance its political advantages. Numbers of persons read with increasing contempt and amusement the announcements of the *Court Circular* that the Queen or the Prince of Wales has ridden or walked out, "accompanied" by this, that, or the other small German princeling, and "attended" by some great English noble or exalted English lady. The apparatus of Lords-in-Waiting and Women of the Bedchamber does not stir veneration. The American feeling, often pushed to limits which go beyond the requirements of a legitimate self-respect against personal or menial service, is affecting English sentiment. Great dukes do not now contend which of them shall air and which of them shall put on the shirt of the king, which shall hold the basin in which he washes his hands, which shall pour water on them, and which shall hold the towel—for one reason because we have no king. But it is pretty certain that when the expenses of the Court have to be revised, the payment of a nobleman and gentleman for discharging menial functions about the Sovereign, or for pretending to discharge them and not doing so, will be sharply overhauled. It is probable that by that time a feeling may have grown up which will make English gentlemen hesitate or refuse to accept relations other than those of English gentlemen towards the Sovereign, who in this relation is nothing more than the first of English gentlemen. Under the early Roman Emperors, the humblest Roman citizen would have felt himself dishonoured at the idea of his filling a place about the person and in the household of Cæsar—in fact, the idea could not have occurred. These posts were therefore left, often with disastrous political and social results, to slaves and freedmen. According to Burke, the natural taste of kings and princes for low company, due perhaps to the impulse to throw off completely the restraint of ceremony, made it expedient to give household places to great nobles. Whatever the advantage of this system, which in its time may have had its uses, the public feeling now revolts against the spectacle of menial Dukes and Duchesses, Lord High Footman, to borrow a phrase from Mr. Gilbert's last opera, and Lady Chambermaids or Kitchen-maids. English Royalty must not merely be seen in the discharge of public functions which cannot so well be performed by any other institution. It must also be seen to be the monarchy of the whole people and not of the upper classes only, and must disentangle itself from those conditions which reduce English nobles and ladies to the rank of menials, acting in an ignoble farce of Low Life Above Stairs.

FRANK H. HILL.

MR. BARING-GOULD'S NOVELS.

SYMPATHY is the ink in which all fiction should be written; indeed, we shall find, on examination, that the humour, which some say is the novelist's greatest gift, and the power of character-drawing by which others hold, are streams from this same source. There is often sympathy without humour, as so many writers with a purpose prove, but humour without sympathy is misnamed, and differs from real humour as Dickens's sportfulness from a sarcastic writer's sneers. Dickens is the greatest of the humorists, because, with a sense of the ridiculous, he had a heart that was a well of sympathy and reflected the poetry of the meanest objects. Instead of sitting in the scorner's chair, the humorist is the true lover of his species, and hence the tears that so frequently tremble on his laughter. Give humour and pathos the chance, and they run into one like two drops of water; keep them apart, and they die of want of each other. If it were not false to call Thackeray merely a satirist, this would weaken our argument by denying his humour, but what we often speak of as Thackeray's satire flows direct from sympathy, coloured, but not poisoned, by the channel in which he chose to run it. Thackeray weeps over the follies he chastises as one sad at heart that they should be, but your satirist discovers them with a whoop of satisfaction.

Without sympathy character-drawing, except in black and white, is equally impossible, and for the reason that sympathy is the only candle to the human heart. Wanting it, the novelist may, at his most ingenious, concoct a Wilkie Collins mystery which is laid aside with a headache when solved, or he may raise the hair with a stage villain. But life is not a mechanical puzzle, nor are its black sheep made out of a suit of clothes and a capacity for evil. The "realist" may

photograph a drunken peasant beating his wife, but that photograph is not the peasant, it is not the thousandth part of what goes to the making of one humble man. Better not put that drunkard on paper if you cannot see him with some of the attributes he got from God, if you can turn contemptuously from him without a tear for the boy he once was and the man he then thought to be. The spiritless drab whom you have photographed at his feet plighted her troth to him long ago in a country lane, or at a mean hearth which had a halo round it that day. Beware lest even now, now that they have come to this, you should exhibit the thing in your camera as that man and woman. See them again many times, and you will find that the soul is not dead, that the light which was in their eyes at the altar gleams there fitfully still, and, as your heart beats to theirs, it will fill, not with scorn but with sorrow that a man and woman whom God has not deserted can fall so low. But if you have not sympathy you will see none of these things.

Of our eight or ten living novelists who are popular by merit, few have greater ability than Mr. Baring-Gould. His characters are bold and forcible figures, his wit is as ready as his figures of speech are apt. He has a powerful imagination, and is quaintly fanciful. When he describes a storm, one can see his trees breaking in the gale. So enormous and accurate is his general information that there is no trade or profession with which he does not seem to be familiar. So far as scientific knowledge is concerned, he is obviously better equipped than any contemporary writer of fiction. Yet one rises from his books with a feeling of repulsion, or at least with the glad conviction that his ignoble views of life are as untrue as the characters who illustrate them. Here is a melancholy case of a novelist, not only clever but sincere, undone by want of sympathy.

Mr. Baring-Gould's cynicism is such as most men, with a tithe of his capacity, are anxious to turn their backs on at five-and-twenty. "We begin life as believers," he says, "and end it as sceptics. As children we look up to every one; as old men we look down on all." "Successes are for the fools and knaves. The fools are endowed by Providence with luck to counterbalance their folly, and the wise are burdened with conscience, which prevents them profiting by their wisdom." "When we attend the funeral of a dear relative, do we not partake of the breakfast? . . . The widow upstairs has her eyes red with tears, but is quite sensible whether there is sugar enough with the mint-sauce with the lamb; and afterwards, in the hush of the evening, when the masons have closed up the tomb about her darling, and the mourners are gone, she will speak to the cook in a broken voice full of suppressed tears, and bid her mind another time and stir the sugar in the sauce-dish before sending it in, and chop the mint a little finer. So also the widower who, with manly self-

restraint, has bottled up his tears and talked of the weather, thrusts the crust of his cold veal-pie impatiently to the margin of his plate, because the paste is not flaky, and curses his destiny because now he has no one to keep his cook up to the mark." With such sentiments are all this author's books tarnished. It is said that there is a great market for "smart" writing of this kind, and one occasionally hears of authors complaining that they have to write down to it to make a living—though there are surely other ways of breaking stones. But we have both Mr. Baring-Gould's own word for it, and evidence in his stories, that he writes as he feels. In a chapter in "Richard Cable," addressed to the public, he says that he is an earnest worker who would rather "tear himself to pieces" than write without a lofty ideal, and in "The Gaverocks" there is an incident that unintentionally proves what one is forced to call the sincerity of his heartlessness. The story only contains one character that is not repulsive or silly—a girl called Loveday, who is intended to be very good and affectionate. Yet, a few days after she hears of the tragic death, as she supposes, of her husband, Loveday joins a jaunt to a lively country fair, and it never seems to strike the author that such callousness would be painful in even a less amiable person. It has been argued that fiction is nowadays taking the clergyman's place, but may that never be if the new pulpit is to tell us that the world is as despicable, its face such a sham, and its heart so rotten as Mr. Baring-Gould makes them.

If Mr. Baring-Gould's characters were not caricatures he would prove his philosophy. In most of his men, who are not offered for laughter, the brute element has such a mastery as to keep the other elements out of sight. Perhaps the poor do not suffer more at his hands than the wealthy, but his misrepresentations of them are calculated to do most harm, and such treatment of a class that must suffer dumbly is to some readers hard to bear. Though many writers of the present time have discussed the poor of our great cities with warm sympathy, few of those who have cast their views into the form of fiction have added much to our knowledge of the humblest classes. The poor have little for which to thank the novelist who thinks them so miserable that their state is best painted with a smudge of black. The aim is admirable, but the result is distortion. Even in a White-chapel court life is not all blows and blasphemy. It is many-coloured. It has its sons and daughters who do sublime things for their mothers' sake, its tender husbands, and its glee. Dickens knew better than to be always writing of the poor on black-edged notepaper.

But it is not excess of sympathy nor want of art that makes Mr. Baring-Gould's pictures of the poor untrue. He seems to despise them. The man who lives by digging ditches, the woman who has to do her own washing, are to him so little removed from the beasts of the field that to draw a distinction were only tedious. He notes their failings, and

then shuts his eyes. The refuse brought up by the dredging apparatus is his sample of the river. In "The Pennycomequicks" a poor man loses his wife, child, and possessions in a flood, and has himself only a few moments to live. He is clinging to the roof of a hut, when the corpse of his wife sweeps past, and this is how Mr. Baring-Gould thinks the heartrending incident would strike a peasant: "The man looked after it and moaned. 'It all comes o' them fomentations,' he said. 'Sho'd bad pains about her somewhere or other, and owd Nan sed sho'd rub in a penn'orth o' whisky. I was agin it, I was agin it—my mind misgave me, and now sho's taken and I'm left, 'os I had nowt to do wi't. I shudn't mind so bad if I'd sold my bullock. I had an offer, but like a fool I didn't close. Now I'm boun' to lose everything. 'Tis vexing.'" This recalls the doctor's story in "Eve" of "a man who sent for a doctor because his wife was ill, and was forced to smother her under pillows to cut short the attendance and bring the bill within the compass of his means." In "Mehalah," "on either side of the east window [of a village church] hung one table of the commandments, but a village humorist had erased all the 'nots' in the Decalogue; and it cannot be denied that the parishioners conscientiously did their best to fulfil the letter of the law thus altered." The poor are not only immoral, but without taste, tact, or feeling. Richard Cable is a widower with a large family of young children.* Though he is a poor man, a great heiress of the district marries him, and they are to live on her estate. Richard's old friends welcome them from their honeymoon thus: One claps the lady on the shoulder, a second offers her a pail of shrimps, and a third—the only one who is even "half-drunk"—invites her to "shake a flapper." In "The Gaverocks" the squire's son is found by some of the poor of the neighbourhood shot through the brain, and they present the corpse to the squire in this way: "Here, your honour, here be two pocket-books and a purse us have took out of his coat-pockets, lest they should fall and be lost. I reckon they be chuck full of money. And us be dry and would like a drop of cider." When we see Loveday in this book leaving the district, and her poor neighbours showing their appreciation of her past kindnesses by bringing her little gifts, we think, here is our author sympathetic at last. But the rheumatic old woman who brings a bottle of ketchup, the simple little servant-girl whose present is eggs, and all the others, are not showing heart. Mr. Baring-Gould, who thinks he understands the poor, knows that only selfish motives actuate them.

Mr. Baring-Gould's powers as a story-teller are in spite of want of sympathy, to which can be traced other failings than those mentioned.

* The author's pretty pictures of the family and Richard's fond rhapsodies over them are rather spoilt, as efforts at pathos, by neither Mr Baring-Gould nor the father being apparently quite certain whether there were seven children or six.

He has a trick of upsetting the reader's gravity by sudden jumps from the serious or "emotional" to the broadly comic. On the stage, where sudden and varied effects are wanted, this is perhaps a virtue; at all events, "exit the hero, enter the comic man"—that is to say, "exit serious interest, enter a jest"—is a favourite stage direction. But, though a comedy scene may immediately follow a pathetic one on the stage with excellent effect, both situations are ruined if the comic man walks on a moment before his time. This is what is constantly happening in our author's novels. One has seen a magic lantern maliciously worked so that as the picture we have been admiring is withdrawn from the slide it is turned upside down, when our admiration becomes ridicule. It is so with Mr. Baring-Gould, whose humour often burlesques his best work. Fuller sympathy with his characters would check this unfortunate mannerism.

Though he has an obvious sense of the ludicrous, Mr. Baring-Gould's comic situations are usually vulgar and farcical, as is to be expected of a writer whose humour is so seldom kindly. On the stage, where few incidents arouse such merriment as the low comedian falling into a custard pudding, his fun, if not so long drawn out, would probably answer its purpose, but the readers who enjoy his wit must often find his humour tiresome. This is especially the case in some of his later novels, such as "The Pennycomequicks," but he might with advantage condense the farce of all his stories. A fair sample of it may be recalled in "Richard Cable," where a whole chapter is devoted to a lady's discovery that her full-grown nephew has been in the presence of her female companion with a hole in his stocking. Over her shrieks that the hole is the size of a threepenny bit, and that he is consequently "in a condition of partial undress," we are expected to laugh through a chapter.

Our author, who complains that the novels of to-day are too short, holding out for seven volumes to one story, has been criticised, he says, for making his characters talk too smartly. His answer is, that to be simply the literal reporter of their conversations would be to make himself unreadable, and he gives sarcastically a specimen page of what the critics seem to want. In this he reports all the nothings said at a breakfast-table. But no critics could be so absurd as to mean what he says they mean. They know that selection and condensation are great part of the novelist's art, and doubtless the complaint was that he made people talk contrary to their character. To take an extreme case—one not found in these novels—no typical villager should quote Herodotus. It is undoubtedly true that the rank and file of Mr. Baring-Gould's characters are too clever to be natural. As has been already said, he is himself remarkably apt with illustrations drawn from an apparently inexhaustible fund of scientific and historical knowledge. When he speaks in his own person he uses

this advantage hundreds of times with admirable effect, but frequently he cannot resist the temptation of making illiterate or frivolous persons as witty and well-informed as himself. It is as if he handed them his bag of knowledge, and invited them to pick out a dozen prizes each. These they introduce into their conversation with the air of persons who own the bag, which compels the reader to form a new estimate of them. Whether they be rich or poor, at ease or in peril, they tend to start off with "your action reminds me of the ways of the jelly-fish, which," &c. Were we to encounter them in private life they would choke us with a string of metaphors drawn from natural history. In the theatre, where dialogue must be "telling," such clever talk would, within limits, be commendable; but even there it rubs out or paints over in a new colour the qualities that make the man. From a bottle labelled castor oil we do not look for sherry. Mr. Baring-Gould, of course, is not the only novelist who transgresses in this way—and doubtless there are many who would be the better of the overflow of his cleverness—but consideration will show us that the more an author is in sympathy with his characters the less chance is there of his yielding to this temptation. We have really returned to the proposition we set off with, that character-drawing is an offshoot from sympathy.

But though our author has all the defects that want of sympathy implies, there remains a writer whose novels have built him up a reputation. No freak of fashion is responsible for his rise. He owes his position entirely to ability, and we have yet to see among what writers he should be classed. It has been remarked more than once in this paper that his weaknesses as a novelist proper would be less noticeable, or even might pass for virtues, on the stage. He is, indeed, essentially a melodramatic writer, though too much of a satirist to weight his stories with the bombastic sentiment that usually struts through melodrama. The melodrama of the stage provides cheap sentiment to warm the spectator's hands, but readers, however carried away by delight, do not lay down their book to cheer, and consequently rhodomontade can be omitted from the melodramatic novel. Melodrama gives us a painting in which everything is as in real life, except the figures. They are purposely magnified to give them greater prominence, and undeveloped minds are naturally more struck by the giant than they would be by what they consider ordinary persons, though he is really nothing more than one of themselves reflected large upon a screen. His deeds are made to correspond with his size, as are the motives for them, and thus the reasons of his action are transparent to an audience that could not so easily follow the motives of the same figure reduced to life-size. If we made ourselves acquainted with the comments passed on stage melodramas by their patrons we would doubtless discover that these

pieces are popular because they are thought so true to life. The passions portrayed are human passions exaggerated, and so only the better brought home to the spectator whom subtlety of character-drawing on a minute scale would bewilder. Subtlety of a kind is not, of course, impossible in melodrama, in which startling contrasts are obtained by making a character not one walking passion, but several which struggle for the mastery. If they are not, however, larger than life-size they are out of keeping with the figure, and can no more be shown moving him than a toy engine can pull a cart of hay. Comedy has obviously no place in melodrama, which has for its comic aspect farce, and farce is comedy exaggerated. In the play of real life the comedian laughs with his own mouth; but in melodrama he wears the grotesque face of pantomime.

The novel of melodrama follows the same rules as the theatrical melodrama, and Mr. Baring-Gould conforms to them all. Through a world that he offers as the world we know his characters stalk, as it were, ten feet high. Any one of his books—except, to an extent, “*Mehalah*”—illustrates this. We may take “*The Gaverocks*” as typical. It is an extremely clever story, full of boldly drawn characters, of whom not one is absolutely true to life. Much the most striking figure is the old squire. A century or less ago there were rural magnates whose manliness was founded on brutality, who ruled their households as an Iroquois brave may have controlled his squaws; who were not cruel so long as no one contradicted them, and who cursed and drank almost from the cradle to the grave in what they considered the fine old English fashion. Squire Western is the best glimpse we get of such a being. Old Gaverock belongs to this class, but all his points are magnified. His brutality, his shrewdness, his colossal faith in himself, his farcical humour, are the stuff these squires were largely made of, but not in such proportions. His sons are also painted with the generous brush of the melodramatic writer. The younger is merely the stage villain that certain theatres keep on the premises, and the other is a good-natured yokel with means. With a little less stolidity he would be such a man as is still to be met with at country houses. Further removed from life than Gerans is the doctor, a surly and evil fellow, as detestable and unnatural as his professional brother in “*Eve*.” Loveday is the persecuted heroine of melodrama, and Gerans and Rose could stand for the comic lovers. The two characters who provide most of the fun are an impossible lout and an amiable simpleton, Paul, whose goodness only makes virtue ridiculous. An effective stage play could certainly be written round such strongly marked characters, all for showing at their best in the limelight, and there is also a fine dramatic scene, on which one curtain could fall—that in which Loveday is suddenly brought face to face with her husband, supposed dead, but now married to

another woman. Even Mr. Baring-Gould's method of writing is theatrical, as in "Eve," where Jasper preserves his secret in true melodramatic manner, and at last drops it into Barbara's ear inch by inch to increase the effect, though in real life his love for her, not to speak of his perilous situation, would make him blurt it out. Barbara believes the constables are hurrying to take him, while he wastes time over his confession to her, and so theatrical is the whole scene that we seem to see the constables waiting at the wings. Jordan's confession that he murdered his wife is in the same manner, and on the stage it, too, could be made impressive.

As an escape from the hum-dreadful-drum of conventional life, melodrama gives hard-worked men such a sensation as ladies seek when they fly to ices. Taken for what it is, it exhilarates, but there is no reason why the melodramatic writer should not be sympathetic. Deep and subtle insight into the human heart, which means sympathy, is not asked of him. If he had them, he would not be content to write melodrama. But kindness in the rough he should certainly have, or his work will leave an unpleasant taste in the reader's mouth. That Mr. Baring-Gould's melodramas are cleverer than those of any of his contemporaries is undeniable, but they would be better art if they were more genial.

Mr. Baring-Gould has a contempt for criticism, though it may be more honest, if not truer, than he thinks it. In "The Pennycome-quicks," old Jeremiah, when drowning, as he believes, thinks of anchovy toast, and, as his farewell to the world, quotes six lines from "Il Penseroso," "which he had learned at school and had not repeated since." This may be complained of, the author says, by the critic, "who generally hits on those particulars in a story which are facts to declare them to be impossibilities and those characters to be unnatural which are transcripts from nature." But the critic "has had no experience such as that described, or he would know that what is described above is in accordance with nature." Thus the poor critic, who may really be anxious to do his best, is warned off the course. But, though he has not had sufficient experience of death by drowning to know whether this is not a theatrical exaggeration of what is understood to be a fact, he can cry out as he goes that honestly to think our characters are transcripts from nature and really to make them so are different things. The greatest novelists have only been absolutely true to life now and again, and would probably have agreed that always to succeed in reproducing on paper the men and women they have intimately known is as difficult as to pluck the moon and walk away with it under their arms.

A last word may be reserved for "Mehalah," which is Mr. Baring-Gould's big book. The subsidiary characters are melodramatic, but Elijah Rebow makes the story romance. Romance gives human

beings at their most picturesque, but it does not caricature them. They must fit into the picture without destroying the perspective. Probably few of us have known an Elijah, but he is offered as an exception, not as an ordinary specimen, of mankind, and as such must be allowed at once. The author's want of sympathy prevents "Mehalah's" rising to the highest art, for, though we shudder at the end, there the effect of the story stops. It illustrates the futility of battling with fate, but the theme is not allowable to writers with the modern notion of a Supreme Power. Glory's death is not justifiable, because it is altogether undeserved. Tragedy can show a good character suffering wofully for very human sins, but not where there is no sin to punish, for in tragedy justice is an essential element. Thus, though the work of art can never be written with a "purpose," its moral stares us in the face as we lay down the book. This it is which justifies the boast that the highest art is the highest morality. In "Mehalah" it is not retribution that overtakes Glory, and so the story falls short of tragedy. But "Mehalah" is still one of the most powerful romances of recent years.

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THE CRITICAL STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

THE aim of the present article is to state, in untechnical language, the grounds upon which the criticism of the Old Testament rests, to explain wherein their cogency consists, and to illustrate some of the principal conclusions that have been reached by critics. The grounds, stated generally, consist in the observation of phenomena, which, viewed collectively, constitute a cumulative argument incompatible with the unity of authorship of the books in which they are observed. The phenomena which are perhaps the most obvious are literary ones. In the first place, the narrative is not always perfectly continuous, or perfectly uniform; there are breaks interrupting the connection of thought; or what is apparently the same occurrence is narrated twice. Further, particular sections of a given book are observed to resemble one another in style and phraseology, while differing from the surrounding or intervening sections; the resemblances, moreover, being not isolated or superficial, but numerous and strongly marked. Differences of phraseology also very often coincide remarkably with differences of representation or point of view; and the combination of differences is not confined to a single passage, but recurs at intervals through the whole of a book or series of books; as, for instance, through the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, or the two Books of Kings.

It is on the observation of such differences that the criticism of the Old Testament ultimately rests; and all theories framed by critics respecting the structure of the different books are endeavours to co-ordinate and account for the phenomena, of the nature indicated, which the books present.

* The present article is based upon a paper read in the course of the past year at Oxford, at the invitation of one whose recent death has deprived theological science in England of one of its most competent and accomplished exponents, the Rev. Aubrey L. Moore, tutor of Magdalen and Keble Colleges, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, and at the time of his death Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Is the inference a just one? Is it legitimate to argue that from such differences we may infer diversity of authorship? We possess an instance in the Old Testament which satisfies us that it is so; and which, at the same time, shows us what the method of a Hebrew historian was. The instance is the Book of Chronicles. One of the chief sources used by the compiler of the Chronicles is in our hands—viz., the narrative contained in the Books of Samuel and Kings. From these books he makes a series of excerpts, which he inserts into matter based upon other sources, and expressed in his own phraseology. We see the two styles and modes of representation side by side, that of Samuel and Kings, and that of the Chronicles. We *know* that the Book of Chronicles is of composite authorship; we *observe* that the work of the different authors is marked by differences of style and representation. It is a reasonable inference that when elsewhere we observe analogous differences of style and representation, we may presume difference of authorship. We learn, moreover, from the Book of Chronicles the method of a Hebrew historian. It was not like that of a modern author, to *re-write* the narrative in his own words, but that of a compiler, to make *excerpts* from the sources at his disposal, and to incorporate them, with or without alteration, as the case might be, in his work. Thus the Chronicler sometimes excerpts passages from his sources with hardly any alteration. At other times he changes a word rather remarkably; or expands a narrative, taken substantially from one of his sources, by introducing many fresh particulars; sometimes he merely appends or inserts a short comment; elsewhere he adds entirely new incidents. And of course he does not scruple to omit what is not required for his purpose—in fact, he treats his authorities with considerable freedom. The methods of historiography postulated by criticism are shown by the example of the Chronicles to be a *vera causa* in Hebrew literature. Another point of some importance is also made clear by a study of the same two books. We learn from them, namely, that Hebrew historians used some freedom in attributing speeches to historical characters; for in this book there are speeches attributed to David and other worthies of Israelitish history, which can be nothing but the composition of the Chronicler himself; both the syntax and the vocabulary being such as mark the latest period in the history of the language, and being often quite without precedent in pre-exilic literature; the thought also often, not to say usually, displaying likewise the characteristics of the same age.*

The observation of differences such as those mentioned above has satisfied all critics that the historical books of the Old Testament—except the shortest, such as Ruth and Esther—are of composite structure. The simplest are perhaps Judges and Kings, which consist

* See 1 Chron. xxix; 2 Chron. xiii 5-12, xv. 2-7; xx. 5-12, &c.; and contrast, for instance, the speeches in 2 Chron. x., which are excerpted nearly verbatim from 1 Kings xii.

essentially of older narratives, fitted into a framework provided by the compiler. The compiler in these cases is strongly influenced by the spirit and principles of Deuteronomy; his additions are in style markedly different from the sources incorporated by him, and are usually discoverable without difficulty. The structure of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua is more complicated. The facts presented by these books authorize the conclusion that they have been formed by the combination of distinct *layers* of narrative, each marked by characteristic features of its own. That which stands out most conspicuously from the rest is now often termed the *Priests' Code*, and represented, for convenience, by the abbreviation *P*. This begins with Gen. i. 1-ii. 3, and contains an outline of the patriarchal history following: * but the writer's interest evidently centres in the sacrificial and ceremonial system of the Israelites; and to the description of this his work is chiefly devoted.† The principal parts of the Book of Joshua which belong to this source are (in the main) the account of the distribution of the land among the tribes in Josh. xiii-xxi. The criteria distinguishing *P* from the other sources are so marked and numerous that there is practically no disagreement between critics as to its limits. The use of the term *God* in preference to *Jehovah* until Ex. vi. 3 (whence the term *Elohistic narrative*, formerly given to this source), though the most palpable to the English reader, is but one criterion among many which recur systematically in combination with each other.

What remains in the first four books of the Pentateuch and in Joshua, after the separation of *P*, presents, however, still marks of not being completely homogeneous. Some sections show a preference for the term *God* (though the absence of the concomitant criteria, which regularly appear beside this term in the cases just referred to, forbids these sections being assigned to the same source, *P*), others prefer the term *Jehovah*; the narrative, moreover, is not always perfectly continuous, or written *uno tenore*; so that here also it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the narrative is really formed by the combination of two sources, now usually denoted by the two letters *J* and *E*. It must, however, be understood that the criteria distinguishing *J* and *E* from each other are decidedly less marked than those distinguishing *P* from *JE* treated as a whole, and that there are passages in which, though the narrative seems indeed to be composite, it cannot be distributed with certainty between *J* and *E*, and critics differ in their

* Some of the principal passages are, Gen. v 1-28, 30-32; vi 9-22; ix. 1-17; xi. 10-27, xvii.; xxiii.; xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9, xxxv 9-13; Ex. vi. 2-vii. 13.

† Ex. xxv.-xxxi., xxxv.-xl.; Leviticus; Num. i-x. 28, xv, xviii, xix, xxvi.-xxxi., xxxiii.-xxxvi.; and certain parts of other chapters in this book. The group of chapters, Lev. xvii.-xxvi., holds a peculiar position in the *Priests' Code*; for it consists of a substratum of older laws, with certain very marked characteristics (from one of which it has received the name of the "Law of Holiness"), which have been combined with elements belonging to, or conceived in the spirit of, the *Priests' Code*, properly so called. But it is unnecessary to enter more particularly into the character of this section here.

analysis accordingly. The view taken of *JE* is that there were *two* similar narratives embracing the Patriarchal and Mosaic periods, and that a compiler took extracts from each, fusing them together, and so producing the whole which we denote by *JE*. But the distinction between ~~*J*~~ and *E* is less important than that between *JE* as a whole and *P*; and they may be treated for many purposes as a single work.

From the point of view predominant in *P* and *JE* respectively, we may term *P* the *priestly* narrative, and *JE* the *prophetical* narrative. The difference of style between *P* and *JE* is strongly marked. Every attentive reader must have observed the contrast between the narrative of creation in Gen. i. 1-ii. 3, and that in Gen. ii. 4-25; and the same contrast repeats itself to the end of the Hexateuch. The priestly narrative is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material; great attention is paid in it to chronological, genealogical, and other statistical data; it is minute and circumstantial, even in its aim to attain precision not avoiding repetitions; it abounds in stereotyped phrases and formulæ. The prophetical narrative is free and flowing; it details scenes and conversations with great force and vividness; the style is much more varied, and its representations of the Deity (especially those of *J*) are far more anthropomorphic than those of *P*. Contrast, for instance, Gen. iii.-iv. with Gen. v.; or Gen. xxiii. with Gen. xxiv. *JE* also contains legislative matter, but very unlike that contained in *P*—viz., Ex. xx.-xxiii. with the repetition of parts of xxiii. in xxxiv. 17-26. The laws in *P* are almost entirely connected with sacrificial or ceremonial observances; those in *JE* consist of the Decalogue, a collection of *civil* ordinances, and *elementary* regulations respecting religious observances (Ex. xx. 23-26; xxiii. 10-19; xxxiv. 17-26), very different from the elaborate, minutely differentiated system set forth in *P*.

Deuteronomy, except short passages towards the end, is based upon *JE*. The two retrospects (i. 6-iii.; ix. 9-x. 11) are based on the narrative of *JE*—phrases and sentences being frequently adopted *verbatim*: the legislative parts are essentially an expansion (with commentary) of the legislative parts of *JE*, but contain in addition a considerable number of new enactments not found in *JE*. The characteristic feature in Deuteronomy is its parenetic treatment of the laws, and the stress which it lays upon the moral and spiritual motives which should prompt the Israelite to the observance of them. What, however, is peculiarly remarkable in Deuteronomy is the nature of its relation to the Priests' Code, both the narrative and the legislative portions of the latter being, to a surprising extent, ignored in it, and sometimes even contradicted.* At least

* There are parallels in Deuteronomy with the group of laws excerpted in Lev. xvii.-xxvi., but with the Priests' Code proper, so far as it touches the same ground, it is generally in disagreement.

one conclusion follows from a systematic comparison of Deuteronomy with the preceding books of the Pentateuch, which curiously confirms the results reached by the literary analysis—viz., that at whatever date Deuteronomy was written, *P* and *JE* had not yet been combined together, and *JE*, apart from *P*, supplied the basis upon which the discourses of Deuteronomy were constructed.

The Book of Joshua is similar in structure to Genesis—Numbers, except that here the narrative which corresponds to *JE*, before being combined with *P*, must have passed through the hands of an editor imbued strongly with the spirit of Deuteronomy, who enlarged it, sometimes considerably, by the addition of passages expressing the principles of that book, and conceived in its style. From a historical point of view, it is characteristic of these additions, that they generalize Joshua's successes, and represent the conquest of Palestine, effected under his leadership, as far more complete than the earlier accounts authorize us to suppose was the case.

Such, stated in its broadest outlines and its simplest form, is the critical theory of the structure of the Hexateuch. It only remains to add that the different sources of which it is composed must be supposed to have been combined gradually, not all at once. Some critics, indeed, consider that there are indications that all the stages were not so simple as has been here represented; but whether that be so or not, the principle of the theory remains unaltered. That principle, stated briefly, is *the gradual formation of the Hexateuch out of pre-existing sources*, these sources being still (in the main) clearly distinguishable in virtue of the differences of style and representation by which they are marked.

The distinction of sources is an easier matter than the determination of their dates. True, the more attentively the Pentateuch is examined, and its different parts are compared, the more difficult it becomes to see how the current view of its being written by Moses can be sustained. It contains indications of a later age, which have been often pointed to, and never satisfactorily met. Its literary structure also, taking the simplest view of it, would seem to imply modes of composition which could hardly have been employed as early as the times of Moses. And an impartial consideration of the *legislative differences* between Deuteronomy and the preceding books, makes it, moreover, impossible not to feel that they are of a nature that cannot be reconciled with the opinion that both are the work of Moses, or even of the Mosaic age. These differences do not relate to superficial features merely: they are inherent in the texture of the several codes concerned, and relate to points of central significance. The three codes of the Pentateuch—that of Exodus, Deuteronomy, and the Priests' Code—when compared with sufficient attention, reveal phenomena which create, it cannot be disguised, a very decided

impression that they took shape at different periods of history, and represent phases, by no means contemporaneous, of Hebrew legislation. Even the differences between Exodus and Deuteronomy are very imperfectly explained by the supposition that the latter introduces changes made in view of the approaching transition to settled life: for the code in Exodus is also conceived in view of settled life; it presupposes, or, in any case, is designed for, the regulation of a society, the members of which occupy houses and hold property in land. The divergences with Leviticus and Numbers are still more remarkable: Deuteronomy, for instance, presupposes customs and institutions respecting the tribe of Levi entirely at variance with those presented in the two preceding books. Making every allowance for the popular and general scope of Deuteronomy, one cannot but feel that were the legislator in both cases the same, his *résumé* would be one of which the original would be at once recognized in those books. But this is just what is not the case, language being frequently used implying that some of the fundamental institutions of *I'* are unknown to the writer.

Thus far the argument has been but negative. The parts of the Pentateuch do not *all* date from the age of Moses. When we ask positively to what age the several sources belong, decisive criteria fail us, and in some cases divergent opinions are capable of being held. *J* and *E* are usually assigned by critics to the ninth or eighth century B.C.; but it would be rash to maintain categorically that they could not be earlier. The question depends partly upon the view taken of the growth of literary composition among the Hebrews, partly on other considerations, for which perfectly conclusive standards of comparison are not forthcoming. In style *J* and *E* (especially *J*) belong to the golden period of Hebrew literature. They resemble the best parts of Judges and Samuel, and the earlier narratives in the Kings; but whether they are actually earlier or later than these the language and style do not enable us to say. There is at least no *archaic* flavour perceptible in the style of *JE*. Deuteronomy is placed, almost unanimously, in the reign of either Manasseh or Josiah, though Delitzsch and Riehm think that there are grounds which favour a slightly earlier date—viz., the reign of Hezekiah. The Priests' Code is held by critics of the school of Graf and Wellhausen to be *post*-Deuteronomic, and to have been committed to writing during the period extending from the beginning of the exile to the time of Nehemiah. Dillmann, the chief opponent of Wellhausen, assigns the main body of the Priests' Code to about B.C. 800, but allows that additions, though chiefly formal and unimportant ones, were introduced afterwards, even as late as Ezra's time.

Let us proceed now to consider briefly some points connected with the history. Here the facts force upon us conclusions at variance, it

must be admitted, with the views currently held^a respecting the nature of some of the narratives contained in the Old Testament. They force us, in fact, to admit that the historical books of the Old Testament, in some cases, include elements which are not, in the sense in which the term is commonly understood, historical. As before, the analogy of the Chronicles may prove a useful one. A careful comparison of the Chronicles with the parallel texts of Samuel and Kings can leave no reasonable doubt that, though the differences may have been sometimes exaggerated, the additions made by the compiler of Chronicles give a representation of the pre-exilic period, differing from that of Samuel and Kings in a manner that cannot be adequately explained by the supposition that they are reports of the same events taken from different points of view. A narrative in which this is very apparent is that of the transference of the ark by David to Jerusalem in 2 Sam. vi. Any one who will be at the pains of marking in his text of Chronicles (1 Ch. xiii.-xvi.) the *additions* to the narrative of 2 Sam., and will consider their character and import, will perceive the truth of what has been said. The later writer has modified the older record, so as to bring it into agreement with the usage of his own day; or, in other words, has transferred to his picture of the earlier period elements belonging to his own age, and his representation is coloured accordingly. It is not too much to say that the Chronicler's picture of the earlier history of Judah is coloured similarly throughout.

Analogous phenomena, however, show themselves in the earlier historical books. Let us take one or two instances afforded by the Pentateuch, which seem to show that the actual historical facts have been submitted to some modifying or transforming influence before they were committed to writing in the form in which we have them. We all remember the scene (Gen. xxvii.) in which Isaac in extreme old age blesses his sons; we picture him as lying on his death-bed. Do we, however, all realize that, according to the chronology of the Book of Genesis, he must have been thus lying on his death-bed for *eighty years*?* Yet we can only diminish this period by extending proportionately the interval between Esau's marrying his Hittite wives (Gen. xxvi. 34), and Rebekah's suggestion to Isaac to send Jacob away, lest he should follow his brother's example (xxvii. 46), which from the nature of the case will not admit of any but a slight extension. Keil, however, does so extend it, reducing the period of Isaac's final illness to forty-three years, and is conscious of no incongruity in supposing that Rebekah, *thirty-seven years* after Esau has taken his Hittite wives, should express her fear that Jacob, then aged seventy-seven, will do the same! This particular difficulty arises from the combination of the narrative of *JE* with the chronology of *P*. There are other incongruities of a similar character, on which, however,

* Compare the ages of Isaac and his sons, Gen. xxv. 26; xxvi. 34; xxxv. 28.

it would be tedious to dwell. Let us pass to a more important difference. We all know the representation of the "tent of meeting" in the Book of Numbers, how its position was assigned in the midst of the camp, how regulations were laid down for its being moved in separate portions by the three Levitical families, how on the march Judah and certain tribes preceded, the ark came in the centre, and the procession was closed by other tribes following in the rear. This is the representation of the Priests' Code. But in *JE* there is a totally different representation. In *JE* the "tent of meeting" is outside the camp, it has apparently but one attendant, Joshua, and it journeys in front of the host. Nor does this representation rest upon an isolated or doubtful passage; it recurs. In Ex. xxxiii. 7-11, we read, "Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent of meeting. . . . And when Moses *went out* unto the Tent, all the people rose up, &c. . . . And he turned again into the camp: but his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, departed not out of the Tent." The tenses used show that not a single act, but a practice, is here described. Now if we turn to Num. xi. 24-30, we shall find that Moses goes to the tent of meeting with seventy elders—"But there remained two men in the camp . . . : and they were of them that were written, but had not *gone out* unto the Tent And there ran a young man, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy *in the camp* And Moses *put him into the camp*." Here there is the same representation. And in ch. xii., after Miriam and Aaron have complained of Moses, "the Lord said unto Moses, *Come out* ye three unto the tent of meeting. And they three *went out*. And that the ark journeyed *before* the camp is stated in Num. x. 33. There are *two* representations in the Pentateuch of the tent of meeting, one that of a simple structure outside the camp, the other that of an ornate structure in its centre; and in reading the former account it is difficult not to be reminded of the picture in 1 Samuel i.-iii. of the apparently simple surroundings of the sanctuary at Shiloh, and of the manner in which the ark is cared for in the times of Samuel and David generally.

"It is evident," writes Delitzsch,* "that these two representations belong to two different narrators." But can they be reconciled? Delitzsch, though he discusses certain other points connected with the two representations, does not show, or even attempt to show, that this is possible. Dillmann is obliged to own that *P* describes the sanctuary and its service not as they were in Moses' day, but in a form which had been gradually developed in Canaan from a simpler Mosaic basis, and at the time of the narrator was already reputed ancient: from this point of view and in agreement with the ideal perfection with which the work and age of Moses were invested in his eyes, he may

* "Zeitschrift für Kirchl. Wissenschaft und Kirchl. Leben," 1880, p. 59 cf. *ib.* 1892, p. 229 (where a double tradition is recognized), and "Die Genesis" (1887), p. 26

have depicted particular traits in a more ideal and systematic form than that in which tradition actually presented them. It would not be difficult to adduce other instances of similar historical incongruities which the Old Testament presents, and which resolve themselves sometimes into divergent representations of the same occurrence, sometimes, it must, as it seems, be confessed, into actual improbabilities. What is particularly to be observed, however, is that the difficulties which the ordinary view of the Old Testament narratives involves, are entirely irrespective of the miraculous character of the events recorded. The differences would be precisely the same, were the occurrences to which they attach of the most ordinary every-day character—the double representation of the tent of meeting, the double narrative of the spies (Num. xiii.–xiv.), the two accounts of Saul's appointment as king, or of David's introduction to him, the divergent representation of the position and revenues of the tribe of Levi in Deuteronomy and the Priests' Code, the *treble* view of the high place at Gibeon in the Kings and Chronicles.* And they are mostly also of such a character that it does not seem possible to account for them by the supposition of our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of the time. The very fulness and circumstantiality of the divergent narratives renders such an explanation improbable. But if these divergent representations exist, the narratives which include them cannot be, in the ordinary sense of the term, historical; they must either (as in the case of Deut. and P) reflect the usage of different ages, or they must exhibit to us *traditions* which in the process of oral transmission have been modified in shape, and perhaps in some cases artificially systematized or idealized, and which, being committed to writing at different times, and by different men, have reached us in correspondingly different forms.

Attempts have, of course, been often made to meet the arguments of critics; but the facts are too numerous to be disposed of by the methods which their opponents are able to employ. The ablest of these opponents is Dr. W. H. Green, of Princeton, U.S., who seeks to invalidate the analysis altogether, and in pursuit of this object sets against one another, with some cleverness, the divergent conclusions which critics have in some cases arrived at, and endeavours strenuously to explain away the marks of composition which the narrative of the Pentateuch presents. But when he has finished, all that one feels him to have proved is that a particular critic has failed, or that the criteria are in certain cases ambiguous; the conviction that the narrative is composite remains as before. The analysis in its main

* The original author of 1 Kings iii. 4–15, narrates Solomon's sacrifice at the high place with manifest approval to the Deuteronomic compiler of the Book of Kings (*ib.* v. 2, 3), it is a flaw in Solomon's obedience, though excused by the fact that the temple was not yet built. the Chronicler justifies the king by explaining, 2 Chron. i. 3–6, in a passage *inserted* between the two halves of 1 Kings iii. 4 (which is here excerpted, the words "for that was the great high place" being at the same time omitted), that the Tabernacle was there!

features cannot be controverted ; if it had rested, as Dr. Green supposes, solely upon illusion, there would not have been a succession of acute Continental critics—who are ready enough to dispute and overthrow one another's conclusions if able to do so—virtually following in the same lines, and merely correcting, or modifying in details, the conclusions of their predecessors.

It may be worth while to allude briefly to a few of the arguments most commonly advanced on the conservative side, and to offer some indication of the grounds upon which they must be held to fall short of the mark. The commonest is perhaps this, that critics all differ : a theory reigns for a time and is then overthrown ; their method is in consequence a refutation of itself. This argument greatly exaggerates the points of difference between critics, and does not properly distinguish them from the points in which critics agree, and which are important points (as, for instance, the distinction between *P* and *JE*). There is an evident fallacy in arguing that because the conclusions are uncertain where the criteria are ambiguous, they are likewise uncertain where the criteria are clear ! There is an area within which critics agree, and a margin beyond where there is room for difference of opinion. And where there are rival theories, the proper course is to examine the grounds on which they rest ; this will generally show either that one has a more substantial basis than the other, or that the case is one in which the data are insufficient for deciding between them, and we can only say that we do not know which is correct. Again, a doubtful detail is often represented as if it invalidated the entire theory with which it is connected ; but this argument overlooks the fact that the detail may be unessential or capable of modification. It is objected that critics presuppose the cutting up of verses into parts, which they assign to different authors, in a manner which is incredible ; but this is what the *Chronicle* actually does, as the example in the note on p. 223 will have shown. It is said that “ Egyptianisms appear in Hebrew at about the time of the Exodus ;” but (what is unaccountably forgotten) so they do *at other times as well* (for instance, in the Book of Isaiah), being in fact (so far as they deserve the name*) naturalized in the language, so that their occurrence in a given passage is no evidence of the date at which it was written.

Another objection very commonly heard is, that if Deuteronomy be not the work of Moses, it is a forgery, and its author seeks to pass off his own inventions under the colour of a great name. In estimating this objection there are two or three points of some importance which ought to be kept in mind. In the first place, though it may seem a paradox to say so, Deuteronomy *does not claim to be written by Moses*. As Delitzsch has observed, it is the work of an author who mentions Moses in the third person, and so introduces

* For the number of Egyptian words in Hebrew has been greatly exaggerated, especially by Canon Cook in the “*Speaker's Commentary*.”

him as a speaker. This is the case throughout i. 1-5; iv. 41-v. 1, xxvii.; xxix.-xxxi. The true "author" of Deuteronomy is thus the writer who *introduces Moses in the third person*: the discourses placed in his mouth fall consequently into the same category as the speeches in the historical books, of which (as was remarked above) some are largely, others entirely, the composition of the compilers, and are placed by them in the mouths of historical characters. This freedom in ascribing speeches to historical personages is characteristic, more or less, of ancient historians in general, and it certainly was followed by the Hebrew historians. The proof lies in the great similarity in style which these speeches sometimes exhibit to parts of the narrative which are evidently the work of the compiler himself. An author, therefore, in placing imaginary discourses in Moses' mouth was doing nothing inconsistent with the literary practices of his time. Very possibly, also, as Delitzsch supposes, there was a tradition of a final discourse delivered by Moses in the plains of Moab; and it is far from improbable that *JE* itself contained some notice of it, of which the discourses of Deuteronomy are an expansion. Thirdly, the laws in Deuteronomy are certainly not the author's inventions, nor is such a supposition an element in the critical hypothesis respecting it. Many are repeated from Exodus xv-xxiii.; others are shown by intrinsic grounds to be ancient; in some, no doubt, an intention formerly indistinctly expressed, is more sharply formulated: but on the whole the laws in Deuteronomy are clearly derived *from current usage*; the object of the legislator is to insist upon their importance, and to supply motives for their observance: it is the *parenthetic setting* which is new, not the laws. Deuteronomy, upon the critical view, may be described as the prophetic re-formulation, and adaptation to new needs, of an older legislation. It derives its authority, not from an illegitimate use on the part of its author of Moses' name, but from the *Code of Laws* upon which it rests, the provisions of which, while in some cases they imply (as it seems) the extension and application to new cases of older principles, are in the great majority of instances the direct reproduction of more ancient enactments. The objection to the critical view of Deuteronomy, based upon the assumption that if it be correct the book must be a literary fraud, appears thus to be one which cannot be sustained.

A similar objection, which is not unfrequently urged with reference to the Priests' Code will be considered immediately. The strength of the critical position lies in the *cumulative argument* by which it is supported. It is upon a *combination* of resemblances and differences that the literary analysis of the sources depends; divergences of phraseology do not stand alone, they are attended by differences of treatment or representation. The differences between the codes again are not isolated: they *recur*; and they are parallel, in a large degree, with corresponding differences of ceremonial usage, as attested by the

historical books. The cumulative character of the argument is not usually perceived by advocates of the traditional view. The explanations which they offer of the facts pointed to by critics in support of their conclusions, contain too often an element which is artificial or otherwise unsatisfying, and when this element is constantly repeated it gains weight rapidly, and in the end proves fatal to the theory of which it forms a part.

With certain provisos, the theory advocated by Wellhausen, or at least a theory approximating to that, would seem to be the one which harmonizes most completely with the facts of the Old Testament. The essential feature in this theory is that it places the *completed* system of the Priests' Code after Deuteronomy, and in fact after Ezekiel. We find in the Pentateuch three systems of law, that of *JE* (contained chiefly in Ex. xx.-xxiii.), that embedded in Deuteronomy, and that of the Priests' Code—the first, especially in matters relating to ceremonial usage, containing primitive, rudimentary regulations; the other two exhibiting a *progressive* elaboration, and specialization of details. Any one who will compare the regulations respecting the three Feasts in Ex. xxiii. 14-17 with those in Deut. xvi. and Num. xxviii.-xxix., will be sensible himself of the contrast between them. And with these differences between the three codes there correspond remarkably similar differences in practice. The freedom of sacrifice, the relative unconventionality of ceremonies connected with it, the simplicity of the feasts and religious observances as witnessed to by Judges, Samuel, and the early parts of Kings, are in harmony with the principles expressed in *JE*. The standpoint of the period following Josiah's reform (which is reflected in those parts of the Book of Kings which are the work of the compiler) agrees with the principles inculcated in Deuteronomy. The point of view of the Priests' Code is beginning to make itself perceptible in Ezekiel; it is looked back upon as completed, and generally recognized, in the Chronicles (compiled about B.C. 300). There is an independent consideration which tends to confirm this conclusion. The tone and representation of *JE*, and the theological truths which find expression in it, are of a more primitive order than those which are expressed in *P*: the Priests' Code shows marks of a more advanced stage both of mental habit generally and of theological reflection in particular. The stage of history, ceremonial, and theological thought, to which the most characteristic parts of *P* belong, lies *between Deuteronomy and the Chronicles*.

It is possible that to some the arguments advanced in the last paragraph may be thought to be met by the consideration that Moses, writing under Divine inspiration, would not be confined by the laws which govern ordinary human development, and that the maturity of the thoughts expressed in the Priests' Code (admitting it to exist) is no valid argument against the opinion that he was its author. In the

abstract, this is no doubt true; but it must be remembered that revelation is, as a fact, progressive; and we cannot determine upon antecedent considerations how much or how little it may have pleased God to reveal to a particular agent of His will. In order to determine this question, we are thrown back upon the evidence of history. *If* the entire Pentateuch were written in the style of Gen. i.; *if* its representations were uniformly consistent; *if* the other historical books and the prophets everywhere agreed with it, and presupposed its existence—in other words, if the contents of the Old Testament were other than they are—there would be no difficulty in supposing that the stage represented by the Priests' Code had been reached in Moses' time, and that he was its author. But we can only deal with the Old Testament as it is; and the conclusions indicated above rest not upon any *à priori* limitation of the method of God's revelation, but upon the *observed fact* that the Old Testament itself contains data, which appear to conflict with that supposition.

It is a mistake, however (though one not unfrequently made), to suppose that those who follow Wellhausen imagine that everything in the Priests' Code is the *creation* of the exilic period. Such an idea would be contradicted by obvious facts. Neither Wellhausen nor Kuenen† questions that Moses was the ultimate founder of the national and religious life of Israel; what they question, and what indeed there are sufficient grounds for questioning, is, that he was the author of the Israelitish institutions precisely as they are set forth in the existing Pentateuch. The right to pronounce *Tôrāh*—*i.e.*, to give decisions on cases submitted to them—to determine whether or not a man was "unclean," whether or not he had the leprosy, whether or not he was liable to render a particular sacrifice—belonged from an early date to the priests, and in civil matters it is the function that Moses himself is represented as discharging in Ex. xviii. To determine, however, points like these would require at the outset certain fixed principles, the application of which to particular cases would give rise to precedents and fresh definitions. A body of *Tôrāh*, or different *Tôrōth*, on various subjects, would thus be gradually formed; and an excerpt from such a *Tôrāh* on clean and unclean food, nearly identical with what is found in the Priests' Code in Lev. xi., appears in Deut. xiv.; Deuteronomy alludes besides (xxiv. 8) to the priests possessing the right of judgment upon cases of leprosy. Ezekiel also, in many parts of his prophecies, presupposes laws or institutions entirely analogous to many which are found in the Priests' Code.‡ All this is not questioned by Wellhausen and his followers; what is questioned by them is whether the earlier prophets, and whether even Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, presuppose the *completed* Priests' Code, whether

* "History of Israel," pp. 432, 438.

† "Theol. Tijdschrift," 1883, p. 199.

‡ Especially in the substantium of laws preserved in Lev. xvii-xxv. (p. 3), many of which are parallel to those in Deuteronomy, and, in substance, are certainly pre-Deuteronomic. The writer hopes to deal with this subject more fully elsewhere.

in truth they do not presuppose the *non-existence* of parts of it. It is certainly doubtful whether this is not the case. But, even if that be admitted, it is clear that the chief sacrificial and ceremonial institutions of the Priests' Code had existed in Israel, under simpler forms, from a remote period! what is held is that they were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code* that they belong to the exilic or post-exilic period. In principle the critical view of the Priests' Code is entirely analogous to the critical view of Deuteronomy. In its main stock, it consists not of the fabrications of priests, sprung upon the nation as a thing unheard of before, but of a codification of *pre-existing Temple usage*.* Hebrew legislation took shape gradually; and *JE*, Deuteronomy, and the Priests' Code represent three successive phases of it. The great difficulty connected with *P* arises out of the nature of the historical matter associated with it: there are passages in which it would almost seem as if the past had been invested with ideal attributes, and depicted with an ideal completeness which could not have appertained to it in reality. As regards the laws, future investigation, aided by a comparison of the usages of other Semitic nations, such as has been instructively exemplified by Prof. W. R. Smith, in his recent volume, "The Religion of the Semites," may perhaps succeed in determining more accurately than has hitherto been done, the nucleus which is old. The laws, even in their developed shape, may be supposed to have been attributed to Moses, because Hebrew legislation was regarded, and in a sense regarded truly, as derived ultimately from him.

As has been said, Wellhausen's chief opponent in Germany is Dillmann. Viewed from the traditional standpoint, however, the difference between the two critics resolves itself into one of degree rather than of kind. For Dillmann accepts, as a matter of course, the analysis of sources, and assigns *JE* and Deuteronomy to the same general periods of history as Wellhausen; but he holds that the main stock of the Priests' Code is earlier than Deuteronomy, and places it at about B.C. 800. The fact of so many institutions of the Priests' Code being ignored in the earlier prophets and Deuteronomy. Dillmann explains by the supposition that the Priests' Code was an *ideal* representation of the aims and claims of the Jerusalem priesthood, a document possessing only a private character and circulated only among the priests, the principles of which they had no power to enforce, and which remained consequently a dead letter till circumstances favoured its general acceptance by the nation. To the prophets, and to the prophetic author of Deuteronomy (who rather

* See Wellhausen, "Hist.," pp. 366, 404; and Stade (a pronounced adherent of Wellhausen's) "Gesch. des V. Israels," ii 66, who refers in particular to Lev. i-vii. xi-xv. xvii-xxvi., Num. v, vi., ix, xv, xix, as consisting for the most part of laws, in which *unwritten* pre-exilic usage appears reduced to a written shape. This element in Wellhausen's theory neutralizes an objection, which is not uncommonly urged against it, and which, if it could be sustained, would be most cogent—viz, the incredibility of the Jews accepting as Mosaic a law "manufactured" *en bloc* during the exile.

gives his sanction to usages that actually existed), a document of such a nature might well be either unknown, or known only imperfectly. It must, however, be allowed that there is something artificial in this explanation, especially when it comes to be applied to details. It may also be pertinently asked whether it is probable that a system such as that of *P* would be propounded at a time when (as is admitted) there was no hope of its realization; and whether it is not more natural to treat it as a product of the age with whose tendencies it is in harmony, and whose spirit it breathes, than of an age which shows no acquaintance with it, and whose most representative men evince very different religious sympathies. It is possible, however, that both Dillmann and Wellhausen only insist too strongly and unreservedly upon two opposite aspects of the same truth—viz., that the Priests' Code is of mixed character, and that older and younger elements have been blended in it. Even though Wellhausen's general position be accepted, there are cases in which both the principles and the precepts of the Priests' Code must have been *inchoate* long before the period of the exile, though they were not, perhaps, so fully matured as Dillmann's theory would postulate.*

It appears, then, from what has been said, that so soon as we study the Old Testament with care and minuteness we find ourselves confronted with a problem, or group of problems, partly literary, partly historical, which the traditional views respecting the origin and structure of its different parts do not solve, and the nature and dimensions of which are very imperfectly apprehended by those who seek to uphold those views. Hence, as it seems, the conclusion is inevitable that the views alluded to must submit to be modified. The grounds upon which this conclusion rests, and the direction in which such modification appears to be necessary, have been indicated, at least in outline, in the preceding pages. Accepting, as a matter of course, the view that the Old Testament is a record of God's revelation of Himself to man, it would seem that both the writings embodying it, and also the stages through which it passed, and the modes in which its recipients were influenced by it, have not been altogether such as we had supposed. The difficulty does not consist in the *doctrines* which the Old Testament enunciates, but in the *historical setting* in which they are placed before us; and it behoves us to consider whether we have in all cases interpreted this setting rightly, whether we have not approached it with preconceived theories of what the channel of revelation *must* be, rather than with the humbler aim of discovering, by a calm inductive study of the records themselves, what it *has* been. It would seem that our current views of inspiration need some modification and revision. Revelation is made uniformly through the

* Delitzsch's position in *principle* approaches that of Wellhausen, though he contends for a larger, and also for a more ancient, traditional element in *P* than Wellhausen himself would probably concede. Comp. "Die Genesis" (1887), p. 26 *sq.*

human organ ; and we should, perhaps, keep in view more fully than we always do, the faculties and constitution and historical conditions attaching to and limiting this organ. The informing Spirit does not, as a rule, confer *new* powers upon the men whom it employs as its agents : it quickens, exalts, adapts the powers which they already possess. The Jews were a nation like other nations of antiquity ; it is, therefore, probable from analogy that they passed through similar phases of mental growth and similar stages of culture ; their narratives of events in the distant past may thus, it is reasonable to suppose, have included elements akin to those found in the parallel narratives of other nations. The differences will lie chiefly in the ethical and spiritual colouring which these narratives possess, and the truths of which they have been made the vehicle. And these differences, though this is not the place to dwell upon them, are evidently very marked. Then, again, the Jews themselves have shown that they are a race gifted in a rare degree with the power of imagination. The predictions of the prophets, which, it might have been argued antecedently, would be direct, clear, and comprehensible to all, very often contain a large ideal element, wholly unrecognizable in the fulfilment, which perplexes the interpreter and embarrasses the apologist. If this idealizing genius is a characteristic of the nation, must we not be prepared to admit that it may have been operative, partly in the formation and moulding of traditions themselves, partly even in their registration ? As regards the latter point, it has been remarked above that the Chronicler has certainly given an idealized picture of the pre-exilic history ; and if one canonical writer has done this, the possibility must be conceded that another may have done so as well. The distinctive character of the Old Testament narrative lies partly, of course, in the history itself, the chief actors in which, in spite of faults and imperfections, are illumined by a clearer light and actuated by purer and higher principles than their heathen contemporaries, but partly also in the point of view from which the history is treated, and the way in which it is made to convey ethical and religious lessons, and shown to reveal the hand of God educating the race. And so even where the narrative is not the work of an eye-witness, but records traditions which only gradually assumed the shape in which we now know them, or where it is coloured by the associations of the age in which its author lived, it is still penetrated by the same spirit, and is made subservient to the same aims. What seems to be needed at the present time is a more comprehensive theory of inspiration and a wider view of the faculties that have co-operated in the production of the Bible, which will include the facts which critics have observed, and a few of which have been noticed in the present paper. At present these facts are an outstanding difficulty which the current theories do not explain or allow for. What is required

is a theory to which the facts will form no exception and no difficulty. The apologetic use of the Old Testament is another subject which needs to be adjusted to modern points of view and accommodated to modern conclusions. Many arguments which were consistent with the state of knowledge fifty years ago are now antiquated; some must be abandoned altogether, while others require to be modified in form and re-stated. Apologists are still too apt to damage seriously their own cause by adhering to untenable positions and refusing to admit facts which are patent to every one except themselves.

In looking at these questions from a practical point of view, it is of fundamental importance to disengage the religious from the critical and historical problems. Critical investigations concern really not the *fact* of revelation, but its mode, or form, or course; upon Christian faith and practice they have *no bearing whatever*. Moses (as we have seen that critics admit) was indeed the prime originator of Israel's national life and peculiar individuality: but the law, as we have it, was not his work; it assumed the form in which we know it by a series of stages. Certain truths were not possessed by the prophets or psalmists so soon as we had supposed. Certain prophecies are transferred to a different age from that to which tradition has assigned them. The history is sometimes coloured by the associations of the age in which it was written. The doctrinal and moral truths which the Old Testament enshrines are not affected by changes such as these; it is only that they are enunciated by different persons and in a different age—an age which, as it is now seen, was prepared to receive them. The fact that there was a unique spiritual force operative in ancient Israel, moulding the character and directing the aims of a long succession of its leading men, and impressing thereby a distinctive *ethos* upon the nation as a whole, is not touched by critical investigations. What critical investigations do is to teach (as it would seem) more truly the course and method by which it operated. The formularies of our Church, the Creeds and Articles, bind its members, indeed, to a system of doctrine; they leave them free to adopt whatever view of the authorship of the Old Testament books, or of the course of the Old Testament history, is most consonant with the facts supplied by the Old Testament itself.*

S. R. DRIVER.

* A paragraph on the bearing of statements in the New Testament upon the critical treatment of the Old Testament has been omitted, as it appeared to be superfluous after Mr. Gore's discussion of the same subject in "*Lux Mundi*," p. 357 *sq.* (Compare also a thoughtful letter in the *Guardian*, December 24, 1889, signed "A. R.") The writer will only remark that, as it appears to him, it is a method of very doubtful expediency to oppose the New Testament to the results of critical inquiry, and that those who have wisdom and an eye to the future will rather seek to show, if possible, that the writers of the New Testament, and especially our Lord, were not concerned with these questions, and pass no judgment upon them.

DEFOE'S WIFE.

WE have abundant materials to enable us to form a judgment of Defoe's public life, though the conclusions arrived at by different writers vary to an extraordinary extent; but of his private life and domestic relations very little is known. In the case of Swift or Steele we have a body of private correspondence which enables us to see the very heart of the writer, and in the case of Pope there are innumerable letters written to or by friends which, though allowance has to be made for the fact that many were composed with a view to publication and others were fabricated, enable us to form a clear idea of the poet. But when we turn to Defoe the aid furnished by private letters fails us almost entirely. The object of this paper is to set forth some new facts which have an important bearing upon one or more of the unsettled problems of Defoe's life.

The biographers tell us that Defoe was twice married, the name of the first wife being Mary and that of the second Susannah; "their family names have not reached us." This statement is based upon the only two facts bearing on the subject which have been known; first, that "Sophia, daughter to Daniel De Foe, by Mary his wife," was baptized at Hackney on December 24, 1701; and secondly, that Defoe's widow, Susannah, is mentioned in the letters of administration granted to a creditrix of Defoe's in 1733. I shall, however, be able to show that, by some means or other, the name "Susannah" must have been inserted in this document by mistake, and that there is not the slightest reason to think that Defoe married twice. Among other things, the facts here given show the groundlessness of the suggestion made by Mr. Walter Wilson, and supported by Mr. Lee, upon the evidence of an obscure allusion in Dunton's *Life and Errors*, that Defoe, like Dunton, married a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Annesley, the minister at whose chapel Defoe's parents worshipped.

Defoe's father, James Foe, son of a Daniel Foe who was a yeoman farming his own estate at Elton, in Northamptonshire, was a butcher in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. We have his signature to a document in October, 1705, and in the *Review* for September 23, 1708, Defoe alludes to him as his "late father." His will, moreover, is in existence in the Probate Court of Canterbury, and, as probate was granted to Daniel Defoe on February 25, 1706-7, it is probable that James Foe died early in 1707. "James Foe, of London, merchant," by his will, executed on March 20, 1705, directed that all just debts were to be paid, and that his body was to be buried at the discretion of his executor, but at a charge not exceeding £20. He left to his granddaughter, Elizabeth Roberts, £20, to be paid three months after his decease; to Mr. John Marsh £20, to be paid within six months; and to his cousin, John Richards, such money as Richards owed him before the 1st of November, 1704, provided that a fair and true account was given of a parcel of goods committed to Richards to sell on or about the 6th of the same month, and that he paid the balance. His grandson, Benjamin Foe, was to have the testator's gold watch, "now in the possession of his mother;" and the silver watch "now in his possession" was left to his grandson, Francis Bartham. A granddaughter, Anne Davis, was to have a bed, furniture, and drawers "now in the possession of her sister, Elizabeth Roberts," to be delivered on her marriage or coming of age. £100 was to be paid to his grandson, Daniel Foe, at the age of twenty-one. The remaining part of the estate was given to this Daniel Foe's five sisters, to be divided among them by their father, Daniel Foe, the testator's son and sole executor; but in case this son or his wife "shall by any accident be at any time so distressed as to stand in need of any part of the legacy hereby given unto their children for the subsistence, education, or clothing of their said children"—the words "for the subsistence," &c., were interlined before signing the will—then Defoe or his wife might make use of it for those purposes, and it should be allowed by the children as so much money paid to them on account of the legacies.

From this will we learn, among other things, that Defoe had a sister, who married a Mr. Bartham, and two nieces, who may or may not have been children of the same sister. We learn, too, that Defoe's eldest son was not of age in 1705. Probably he was still young, for Defoe himself was born only in 1661. In early life Defoe was a hose-factor in Freeman's Yard, in Cornhill, and when he was, perhaps, about twenty-six he married. Entries in the registers of St. Michael's, Cornhill, hitherto unnoticed, show that on September 7, 1688, Mary Foe, daughter of Daniel Foe and Mary his wife, was buried in the lower vault—now hermetically sealed—in the south aisle of that church. Probably this was Defoe's first child, an infant, named after his wife. In the following February a John Foe, son of John Foe—

left for the wife's name—was buried in the same vault; January 1685-6, Jané Fenn, servant to Mr. Foe, had been buried in the churchyard. We already knew that at the close of 1685 — he had two sons, Daniel and Benjamin, and five daughters, one of whom, however, Martha, a child, died soon afterwards, in 1707, at Hackney. Sophia, who was in all probability Defoe's youngest child, was, as we have seen, baptized in 1701. We may here notice two allusions to these children. When Defoe was released from Newgate in the summer of 1704, the Queen, as he tells us in his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, "was pleased particularly to inquire into his circumstances and family, and by Lord Treasurer Godolphin to send a considerable supply to his wife and family." In the same pamphlet, published in 1715, Defoe refers indignantly to a recent slander, that he never paid for the education of any of his children. "I have six children, I have educated them as well as my circumstances will permit, and so, as I hope, shall recommend them to better usage than their father meets with in the world. I am not indebted one shilling in the world for any part of their education, or for anything else belonging to bringing them up."

But we have yet heard nothing of Defoe's wife except her Christian name, and I consider myself very fortunate, after finding particulars of Steele's first wife, whose name was previously unknown, to be able to perform the same service in the case of Defoe. On the 22nd of October, 1714, Samuel Tuffley, of Hackney, gentleman, made his will, and this document furnishes the key to the story. Samuel Tuffley directed that his body was to be decently but privately interred at the discretion of his dear sister, but as near as might be in the same manner as his dear mother was lately at her request interred by him, and as near as might be to the same place. He gave and bequeathed to Daniel Defoe, husband of his dear and only sister, and to his two nephews, Benjamin and Daniel, and to his four nieces, Maria, Hannah, Henrietta, and Sophia, all of them children of his dear sister, one guinea each to buy a ring. £10 was left to Susan, wife of Jonathan Marshall. All the residue of the estate, lands, tenements, goods, &c, except as hereafter excepted, was left to Tuffley's known and good friends, Mr. John Pettit, the elder, and Mr. John Pettit, junior, of London, woollen drapers, and to Mr. Henry Langley, of Queenhithe, salter, in trust for and to the only use of his dear sister, Mary Defoe, now wife of Daniel Defoe, of Newington, County Middlesex, and for and to her disposing and appointment absolutely and independently of her husband, or of any claim or demand which he or any one claiming by, from, or under him by right of marriage or otherwise might have or made to the same; the intent being that Mary Defoe, after the testator's decease, notwithstanding her marriage, might fully receive and enjoy the effects of

the estate as universal heir, with full power to sell, dispose, and transfer as far as the trust above mentioned would possibly admit. The trustees were to account to her or to her assigns for all the profits of the estate and to none other, and to pay her or her assigns every six months, or oftener if she required, all the profits; and a receipt under her hand was to be a sufficient discharge to the trustees, without requiring a receipt under her husband's hand. The trustees, or two of them, were at any time, at her request, given under her hand and seal, to sell or make over for such considerations as she agreed to, any part or all of the estate. And if she affixed her hand and seal to any deed of sale with the trustee, it should be a good and sufficient sale although her husband were then living, and the purchase-money was to be paid to the trustees in trust for her. If any of the trustees declined to act, full power was given to the remaining trustee or trustees. If Daniel Defoe died, then, and immediately after his death, this trust was to expire, and Mary to enter upon all the estate in her own right and name. And as her children might suggest that the trust was made in order to preserve the estate for them, Tuffley expressly declared that his will was that the estate should be preserved for the sole use of his sister, to be used and disposed of to such persons as she thought fit; and if she thought fit to bestow any part on the children, his will was that she should give the greatest share "to such of them as behave with the greatest tenderness, duty and affection, both to their father and to herself, declaring that if any of the said children shall behave undutifully, disobediently, or disrespectfully, either to their said father or mother, and continue obstinately to do so without humbling themselves to their parents and obtaining their pardon," he requested that "to such not one shilling of my estate shall be given, my desire being as much as in me lies that the said children should be kept in an entire dependance upon their said father as well as their mother, declaring that it is not from distrust of or disrespect to their said father that this my will is made in this manner." The trust was not to descend to the heirs of the trustees; and Mary might name any two more persons over and above the trustees appointed, and if two of the trustees died, the two persons named by her should act as trustees. She was to make a will or disposition of all the estate within two months after Tuffley's decease. All deeds, &c., relating to the estate were to remain in the hands of the sole executor, Mr. Pettit, senior, for the use of the trustees; each of whom was to have £10 to buy mourning. Susannah Marshall and Dorothy Grove signed this will as witnesses, and Jonathan Marshall affixed his mark.

Samuel Tuffley, "late of St. John's, Hackney," appears to have died in 1725, for on the 23rd of August in that year probate was granted to Mary, wife of Daniel Defoe, Pettit, the executor, having died before the testator. In the bond (and for this and other information I am

indebted to Mr. J. Challenor Smith) the sureties are Daniel De Foe, the elder, of Newington, gentleman; Daniel De Foe, junior, of St. Michael's, Cornhill, merchant; and Aaron Lambe, of St. Mary's, Islington, scriyener. The penal sum was £3000, and this would be considerably in excess of, perhaps double, the value of the personal estate. What real estate there was will be seen hereafter. We may note in passing that the Mr. Henry Langley, salter, one of the trustees appointed by Tuffley, was probably the husband, or related to the husband, of Defoe's daughter Maria, who is known to have married some one of the name.

Defoe died in April 1731; and was buried in Bunhill Fields, the entry in the register being as follows: "April 26. Mr. Dubow. Cripplegate." His wife died in the following year, and was buried in the same place: "1732, December 17. Mrs. Defow. Stoke Newington." Defoe's first biographer, Chalmers, referred to the administration of his goods in 1733; but it has not been noticed that Mary Defoe, the widow of Daniel Defoe, late of Stoke Newington, left a will, dated July 5, 1731; probate was granted on December 30, 1732. She made her will according to certain powers of disposition given by the last will of her late dear brother, "Samuel Tuffley, of Croydon, Esquire," concerning such estate, lands, goods, &c., as were given to her, or to certain trustees, in this will, for her sole benefit. Of this estate she gave to her sons, Benjamin and Daniel, £1 each to buy a ring; and to her daughter, Maria Langley, one-third of the profits from her three houses in White Cross Alley, Moorfields, to be paid as long as the executors enjoyed the same. The remaining two-thirds was left to her daughters and executors, Hannah and Henrietta, equally; but if Maria died before the houses were out of the possession of the executors, her share was to go to the other daughters and to their heirs. Her daughter Baker was to have £1 equal with her brothers. To Hannah and Henrietta equally, and to their heirs, was left the farm at Dagenham, Essex, then in the possession of Henry Camping, tenant; as well as all the rest of the estate, including all plate and wearing apparel.

Lastly, we have the administration, already referred to, of the goods, &c., of Daniel Foe, or De Foe, late of St. Giles, Cripplegate, deceased. On the 7th of September 1733, administration was granted to Mary Brooke, widow, principal creditrix; "Susannah Foe, otherwise De Foe, widow, the relict of the said deceased," dying before she took administration; and Daniel, Benjamin, Hannah, Henrietta (spinsters), Sophia Baker, and Maria Langley, the natural and lawful children, and only issue of the deceased, being first cited with intimation but in nowise appearing. The Long Act does not refer to the widow's name, but adds that Defoe died "in January 1731-2." The fact that this date is quite wrong shows that the information furnished

when the administration was taken out was given by a person who knew little of the matter, and explains how the widow's name came to be given as Susannah. The name is distinct on the bond, but may have been written over a careful erasure. The sureties were Mary Brooke, of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, widow, Grace Porter, of the same, widow (each of whom signed with a mark), and Edward Inman, of St. Giles, Cripplegate, vintner.

Various interpretations have been put upon the fact that letters of administration were taken out by a creditrix, and it has been suggested that Mrs. Brooke was the landlady of the house in which Defoe died. Mystery surrounds the closing months of Defoe's life, and the matter is only made worse by the well-known letter to his son-in-law, Henry Baker, written on August 12, 1730, from "about two miles from Greenwich, Kent." In it he speaks of the inhuman dealing of his own son, which had ruined his family and broken his heart. "I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he has no compassion, and suffers them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with: himself, at the same time, living in a profusion of plenty." He had not, he says, seen wife or child for many weeks. They dare not come by water, and by land there was no coach. In the absence of other evidence we cannot say how far we can take this letter literally. Possibly Defoe had some special reason for writing thus to Baker; possibly his mind was giving way. He says himself, "I am weak, having had some fits of a fever that have left me low. But those things much more." It will be observed that he speaks only of one son, and it is not clear whether he refers to Daniel or Benjamin. In any case it is evident from Mrs. Defoe's will she was in an independent position when she died, and was able to leave the bulk of the property which she inherited from her brother, Samuel Tuffley, to her unmarried daughters. Each of the sons, it will be remembered, and Sophia Baker, received only a sovereign for a ring. The explanation as regards Sophia may, perhaps, be found in the fact that before her marriage in 1729 Defoe had given to her intended husband, Baker, as a portion, a bond for £500 upon the house at Newington. It was probably considered that she had thus already received her share.

There are various grounds for thinking that Defoe was not without means, apart from the circumstance that he was able to live comfortably at Newington. His daughter Hannah held South Sea Stock; and in 1722 he took Kirkwood Heath on lease from the Corporation of Colchester. It was, however, taken for his daughter Hannah, and the lease was then assigned to a Mary Newton; but the mortgage was paid off in 1727. The most probable explanation of Defoe not

making a will seems to be that his property was secured for the benefit of his family, and from the letter to Baker it would seem that it had been transferred to one of his sons, who did not fulfil the conditions upon which the arrangement had been made. Mrs. Defoe's own property was fortunately strictly settled upon her, and it was this that she was able to bequeath. There is a remarkable passage in Samuel Tuffley's will about what he wished done in the case of the disobedience of any of Defoe's children. Perhaps one of them had already, when that sentence was written in 1714, shown signs of his true character. Daniel, supposed to be the eldest son, is said to have emigrated to Carolina; and of Benjamin nothing whatever is known. Mr. Wilson had no ground for identifying him with a Norton Defoe who, if scandalous statements by Savage and Pope could be believed, was a natural son of Defoe's. It seems not improbable that it was Defoe's son Benjamin who went to America, and not Daniel, of whose descendants Mr. Wilson gives many particulars. If this is the case we have an explanation of the absence of any particulars of Benjamin. A Mr. De Foe, now in Australia, states that he is a great-grandson of Defoe, and that his family have always lived abroad since his grandfather—probably Benjamin—left England. Of Defoe's daughters, Sophia lived happily with her husband until her death, and Hannah and Henrietta, the latter of whom married John Boston, a supervisor of excise, are buried together at Wimborne. Several children of Daniel and Dorothy Foe were baptized at St. James's, Clerkenwell, between 1704 and 1708; but this Daniel, though probably a connection of Defoe's, cannot be his son, unless that son married very early in life. Other Foes are mentioned in the registers of the same parish; and a Daniel Defoe, "an infant and nursed child," was buried at Hackney, in 1724. On November 3, 1720, Tuffley, son of Nathaniel Defoe and Mary his wife, was buried in the churchyard of St. Michael, Cornhill; and it is probable that "Nathaniel" was here entered by mistake for "Daniel," and that we thus have a fresh glimpse of Defoe's son. That son, as we have seen, was a merchant in the parish of St. Michael in 1725, and this child had for Christian name the maiden name of Defoe's wife. Two great-great-granddaughters of Defoe's—daughters of James Defoe, who was the son, by a second marriage, of Samuel Defoe, Defoe's grandson—are still living in London, and were, a few years ago, very properly placed on the Civil List. A "Mrs. Deffoe," who was brought from Hackney, was buried at Bunhill Fields, in 1737, and cannot therefore be identified with a Mrs. Foe, whose Christian name, curiously enough, was Susanna, and who wrote a letter (now among the manuscripts at Trinity College, Cambridge), dated March 30, 1739, to Dr. Warren, thanking him for five guineas paid by him for her use to her kind friend, good Dr. Grey. She was a "poor unfortunate widow," with not above £7 a year to maintain herself and her child.

We have another glimpse, of the family into which Defoe married in the will of Charles Tuffley, a brother of Mrs. Defoe's, whose life seems to have been somewhat of a failure. He was a mariner, late of H.M.S. *The Crown*, but sick when he made his will, on the 22nd of June, 1711. He must have then been on his deathbed, for the will was proved on the 17th of July. Of such worldly goods as should be due to him at his death he gave to his honourable father and mother one shilling each if demanded, "declaring that I should have shown my duty to them in a larger respect were I capable, but am hindered by my honest intentions of paying the just debt from me due and owing to Mrs. Mary Simonds, of Allhallows, Barking, London, widow." He left, too, one shilling each, if demanded, to his brothers Samuel and Giles Tuffley, and to Aunt Sarah Tuffley. All the residue of money, wages, pay, goods, &c., went to his loving friend Mary Simonds, the sole executrix. From this we learn that Mrs. Defoe's parents were both living in 1711, and we know from Samuel Tuffley's will that the mother was lately dead, in 1714; the father, too, was probably then dead, as Samuel was in possession of the property.

In his *Serious Reflections* Defoe said that the story of *Robinson Crusoe* was a sort of allegory of his own life; and immediately after the appearance of the great romance an anonymous pamphleteer had noticed how the title could be applied to its author, and had published "The Life and Surprising Adventures of Mr. D— de F—, of London, Hosier, who has lived about fifty years by himself, in the Kingdom of North and South Britain." Defoe did indeed live, to follow the title of *Robinson Crusoe* still more closely, "seventy years all alone in the Island of Great Britain." He was misunderstood by men of all parties among his contemporaries. His name does not appear in the bulky volumes of the original edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, though that work was not commenced until 1747, nor concluded before 1766; and while it cannot be said that he is nowadays forgotten, much that is written about him shows an extraordinary misapprehension of his character. In his *Serious Reflections* he says, in the person of Robinson Crusoe, that he had grown old in affliction, and that he had found that the remedy against universal clamours and contempt of mankind was patience, a steady life of virtue and sobriety, and a comforting dependence on the justice of Providence. And in similar words he concludes his *Appeal to Honour and Justice, tho' it be of his Worst Enemies*:—"A constant, steady, adhering to personal virtue, and to public peace, which, I thank God, I can appeal to him, has always been my practice, will at last restore me to the opinion of sober and impartial men, and that is all I desire: what it will do with those who are resolutely partial and unjust I cannot say, neither is that much my concern."

THE EIGHT HOURS QUESTION.

THE argument addressed to the public in the December Number of this REVIEW, by Mr. Sidney Webb, has not made the real issues easier to disentangle. The question is whether Parliament should regulate the hours of labour. This Mr. Webb very fairly states. But he proceeds to develop his argument by speaking of "the Eight Hours Bill which the rising Democratic tide is now making inevitable," and telling us "that every politician knows in his heart of hearts that a reasonable Eight Hours Act will probably be one of the earliest fruits of the next General Election." Having assumed this as beyond doubt, he goes on to assume further that, in passing the Factory Acts, Parliament decided the very point in dispute, and that accordingly "no question of principle really remains at issue, and the important task of to-day is to clear up the misconceptions which hinder popular unanimity on the subject, and to devise means for the practical application of the admitted principles to the complicated circumstances of modern industrial life." For the rest, Mr. Webb's own task is comparatively easy. In a simple and an unostentatious fashion, he steps forward as having the undoubted title to assure us of the opinions of a large section of the electorate, and informs us that "students of political meteorology among the industrial classes already begin to declare that the party which first takes up the Eight Hours Bill, besides effecting an unparalleled improvement in the social condition of the worker, will gain the Labour vote for half a generation."

Now, I am not complaining of the tone of the article. It is studiously moderate and reasonable. And the economic discussion of the effects of the proposed legislation upon production, prices, and international relations, of which I say nothing at this stage, because

it appears to be introduced more for the comfort of us who are in misfortune than as a heedless argument in justification of the inevitable, is unexceptionable in form, whatever it may be in point of substance. What I do complain of is, that in the preliminary positions he takes the entire situation for granted, and, while professing to present us with a logical sorites, assumes the very point which he has to establish as its conclusion. Of course, if it be true that the vast majority of the working classes have definitely and finally gone on the side of the legislation in question, the discussion is no longer a practical one. Of course, if Parliament has already embodied the principle in the Factory Acts, the controversy is merely as to detail. It would follow that members of Parliament in general should give effect to the national conclusion, although, as Mr. John Morley pointed out in his speech at the Eighty Club, it would *not* follow that particular members ought to agree, if elected, to give any vote to that effect. But has the nation come to any such conclusion, or is it doing so? For my part, I must controvert some of Mr. Webb's positions as to this.

Let us, in the first place, see upon what we agree. We agree that the hours of labour ought, as far as is practicable, to be so shortened as to enable the worker not only to preserve health and strength, but to have leisure to recruit his body and develop his mind. The controversy is not, in other words, about the end, but about the means. And the position of Mr. Webb's Radical critics is that their own methods offer a safer and more certain way not only to this end, but towards the general ideal of equality of opportunity, than does the programme of the Fabian Society by its legislative short cuts. The former hold that if, in the higgling of the market, Labour is to bargain successfully with Capital for a large share of the profits of their combined application, Labour must be highly organized, and that accordingly it is to do to Labour an ill-service to withdraw from organization what has hitherto been not only part of its *raison d'être*, but one of its chief and most successfully accomplished aims, the regulation of the hours of labour. The sphere of discussion is thus a good deal narrower than is represented.

Again, some, at least, of the opponents of an Eight Hours Bill have not, what is currently imputed to them, an abstract principle in their minds which compels them to condemn, without regard to consequences, all State interference with adult labour. On the contrary, the position which the ordinary opponent of the Bill takes up is simply that formulated by such economists as Mr. F. A. Walker and the late Mr. Jevons. Why Mr. Webb should hint, as he does, that the latter of these writers may be cited in support of his own conclusions I cannot imagine. In the very passage which he quotes from, "The State in Relation to Labour," for the proposition that there are

cases in which State interference with the hours of labour would be justifiable, the important words occur, "If it could be clearly shown that the existing customs are injurious to health, *and that there is no other probable remedy.*" The whole point is whether this last condition is satisfied. Mr. Morley and his followers are not, if Mr. Webb and his friends would only believe it, talking metaphysics. And they ought not, merely because they happen to have formed an opinion on a matter of fact and business, to be confounded wholesale with the members of the Society for the Defence of Liberty and Property. I know of no writer who puts what seems to me to be the true point of view better than Mr. Walker.

"I should rather define," he says, in condemning the abstract doctrine of *laissez faire*, "the Manchester School to consist of those free traders who carry into the department of distribution that assumption of the economical sufficiency of competition which the whole body of free traders accept when dealing with the questions of exchange; who fail to recognize any differences between services and commodities, between men and merchandise, which require them to modify their doctrine of *laissez faire*, looking on a Manchester spinner as possessing the same mobility economically, as being under the same subjection to the impulses of pecuniary interest as a bale of Manchester cottons on the wharf, free to go to India or Iceland, as the difference of a penny in the price offered may determine; free traders who, to come down to single practical questions, object to laws against truck as an interference with freedom of contract; who oppose exceptional legislation respecting the employment of women underground in mines and at factory labour during pregnancy, and for the period immediately succeeding confinement, on the ground that such matters should be regulated by the interest of the parties thereto; who, while perhaps approving, on social considerations, laws regulating the employment of children in mines and factories, yet deny that such regulations have any economical justification, holding that self-interest is here, again, a sufficient guide; who object to laws or compulsory rules respecting apprenticeship, or admission to the professions, to the governmental regulation or inspection of industrial operations, and to any and all acts of the State directed to the promotion of prudence and frugality on the part of the working classes."*

But this repudiation of the tendency to erect the doctrine of letting things alone into a paramount principle need not lead us to the opposite mistake of invoking State regulation without misgiving.

"In considering the probable tendencies of such acts," continues the writer just quoted, "we should bear in mind how great are the liabilities to error and corruption in legislation; how certain is the administration of the law to fall short of its interest; how much better most results are reached through social than through legal pressure; how destitute of all positive virtue, all healing efficacy, is restraint, its only office being to prevent waste; how frequently, too, good acts become bad precedents."†

"It is one thing," writes Professor Cairnes,‡ "to repudiate the scientific authority of *laissez faire* freedom of contract, and so forth; it is a totally different thing to set up the opposite principle of State control, the doctrine

* F. A. Walker, "The Wages Question," p. 161.

† *Ibid.* p. 171.

‡ "Essays in Political Economy," p. 257

of paternal government. For my part, I accept neither the one doctrine nor the other, and, as a practical rule, I hold *laissez faire* to be incomparably the safer guide. Only let us remember that it is a *practical rule*, and not a doctrine of science; a rule in the main sound, but, like most other sound practical rules, liable to numerous exceptions; above all, a rule which must never for a moment be allowed to stand in the way of the candid consideration of any promising proposal of social or industrial reforms."

Is the statutory regulation of the hours of labour a case within the exception? Are there any grounds for so regarding it? This is a question—the question of fact rather than of principle—and to answer it we must do what I think Mr. Webb and his friends do not do—*look at the facts*. There may well be cases where combination on the part of even adult labourers is not reasonably possible. Whether there are, in point of fact, any such cases in this country is doubtful. That of the shop assistants appears to be one of the nearest approaches to an example. Probably, too, that of casual labourers, weakened by want and privation, and lacking a proper sense of independence, is another. The success of the recent dock strike, and the possibility it has disclosed of organizing casual labour, may cause us to pause before deciding about the second example; and, as for the first, it remains to be seen what public opinion and combination may yet effect. At all events these are not the illustrations commonly put forward by the advocates of an Eight Hours Bill. Their case has been largely rested on what is by many people looked on as the altogether exceptionally strong case of the miners and other underground labourers. It will be useful briefly to examine this case. It is one to which members for some mining constituencies, where the demand for an Eight Hours Bill has been strongly pressed, have had to devote a good deal of attention, and have had opportunities of gaining some reliable information. Now, although underground labour is not nowadays the severest or most unhealthy sort of labour, it is severe and unhealthy, and it may be readily conceded that eight hours is as long as it is good for any man to work underground, just as the same might be conceded in the case of the above-ground work of the agricultural labourer, who, unlike the miner, is exposed to the most varying weathers and temperatures and probably suffers even more than the latter. Yet it is not too much to say that, of all the cases given, that of the miner is probably the one where the interference of Parliament is least called for. How do matters stand at present? With the possible exception of the engineers, the miners of this country are, on the whole, the most thoroughly organized, from a Trades Union point of view, of all the classes of workingmen. Not only is this so, but probably from the circumstance that their time is largely spent underground, in places where they are inaccessible to intimidation and other forms of illegitimate influence, they are a most independent and self-assertive body of men. They

act for most purposes in concert, and where they exist in any considerable numbers can nowadays generally control the representation, not only Parliamentary, but Municipal, of their district. The result is that whenever they choose to combine—and in most cases they do choose—they can dictate their own terms to the colliery owners as regards hours of work, and within limits, provided the market is a rising one, as regards wages. The consequence has been striking. The great Miners' Unions of the north-east of England, not content with an eight hours day, have instituted a system, which has now been in operation for a long time, of successive shifts of men whose daily working period is six and a half to seven hours. In other parts of England the regulation of the length of the miner's day is in his own hands. It is only from Scotland that serious complaints have come of the combination of masters to keep the men at work more than eight hours. Now, in Scotland, the facts are worth noticing. Their main feature is this, that where there is an efficient Union there is an eight hours day, and that there is a departure from this satisfactory state of things only where the men do not take the trouble to keep the Unions in an efficient condition. In the East of Scotland, for example, there is a great coal-mining industry distributed over the counties of Fife and Clackmannan and Mid and East Lothian. In these counties there are two large and efficient Unions. The result is that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only a single pit (a Midlothian one) where there is systematic work for more than eight hours, and in that pit the departure from the rule is due to the practice of the men, and not to the coercion of the owner. Inquiries on the spot disclose the real circumstances. In an ordinary East of Scotland pit the normal day is eight hours. But, as the miner is paid according to his output, there is a temptation to stay below ground a little longer in order to make more money. This may be because a particular miner is not so skilful a worker as his neighbour. Or it may be because, having a larger family or wanting money, he desires to make a little more than his neighbour. But, whatever the reason of the practice, it is not a general one, and there is certainly no compulsion on the part of the masters. A miner remarked to me the other day of his neighbour, who was working with him at the end of a gallery: "John is an Eight Hours Bill man because he wants an Act of Parliament to protect him from himself." This is a typical instance. Some of the men who are loudest in demanding legislation are themselves the greatest offenders against the rule. On the other hand, many of those who are most strongly opposed to Parliamentary interference are men who themselves observe the principle of an eight hours day as rigidly as does an Australian miner. But they say very forcibly that there might come an exceptional state of things in which they desired to make a larger output per man, and in which

it would be most inconvenient that they should be unable to do so. It might be well for some of those critics who denounce the opponents of the Eight Hours Bill for miners as persons of doctrinaire views, to go down to the East of Scotland and investigate the state of matters for themselves. Instead of a poor, helpless, unprotected class of workers, they would find a large number of keen-witted, intelligent, and hard-headed men, well able to take care of themselves, and thoroughly conversant with all that is going on about them. People who go down the pit at half-past six in the morning and are out by three in the afternoon have abundant time for the study not only of politics, but of other matters, and the miners of the East of Scotland use their time, on an average, as well as most people.

But, it may be asked, if this is so, why is it that there has been in this very region so strong an expression of opinion on the subject? Why is it that at meeting after meeting of the men resolutions in favour of the Eight Hours Bill have been carried? The question is not so perplexing to those who have been on the spot. It is true that such resolutions were carried at a great many meetings some time since, and that even now probably a majority of the miners are vaguely in favour of the Bill. But if they are cross-examined as to their reasons, these are found to resolve themselves into two. One is sympathy for their less well-organized brethren in the West of Scotland. There are many districts in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire where the organization is of a miserable description. It is not that Unions do not exist in most places, or that there are not able and capable leaders. But the rank and file of the men appear either to have moral backbones of an inferior fibre to those of the East, or to be apathetic about combination. It has accordingly become possible for certain colliery owners to put pressure on their men to remain at work as long as ten hours. This, of course, would be impossible were the Unions to take action, or were public opinion to be brought to bear on the employers. Certainly there is in the nature of the circumstances no apparent reason why the men should not insist on an eight hours day with as much success in the West as in the other parts of Scotland. To do the Unions justice, in most even of the Western districts they have gained their point. There are, relatively speaking, as far as I have been able to ascertain, very few places where the day is not an eight hours one.

But there is another and more general reason for the demand which has been made for legislation. There is an idea which is very prevalent among the men, that the state of things to be arrived at is one in which the output of coal could be so completely controlled as to enable the men to dictate their own terms as to wages. The success of a policy of restricting the output is generally taken for granted. But putting aside the objections to it from a

public point of view, with the observation that, at all events, it is not desirable that we should be entirely at the mercy of a single class for our supply of coal, any more than for our supply of corn, the question remains whether it would be practicable so to limit the output. The public demand would surely lead to the employment of more men and possibly to the introduction in Scotland, as in the North of England, of the double shift system. In discussing this policy with the men, the impression one derives is that it has been very imperfectly considered.

To sum up the situation as regards under-ground labour, the result of the evidence appears to be that there is practically little or no compulsion to work for more than eight hours, except in a few pits in the West of Scotland, and that the difficulty there could be got rid of by the Unions themselves with a little effort. Elsewhere, there is great division of opinion as to the expediency of any legislation,* and it appears that the real object of those who are in favour of it is, not simply to regulate the hours of labour, but to raise wages by making the output of coal the monopoly of a certain class. If the question is put to the country whether, under these circumstances, it will sanction this policy, or leave the hours of labour to be efficiently regulated, as experience has shown they can be, and nearly always are, by the Unions, the answer ought hardly to be doubtful.

The proceedings of the Trades Union Congress at Dundee last autumn probably reflected pretty accurately the opinion of the working classes in general. There was a remarkable and very decided repudiation by the Congress of the demand for any general regulation by statute of the hours of labour. But in the case of mines it was said that this was an exceptional case, and should be exceptionally dealt with by the Legislature. The opinions of working-men are very valuable in regard to their own trades. But where we are dealing with questions relating to other trades, we may be tempted to examine the authority for their opinions somewhat sceptically. As a rule, they are at work all day and cannot get knowledge from experience, or at first hand, of what other working-men are doing. Nor do the various sections of the working classes hold much intercourse with each other. The opinion of the average member of Parliament on an industrial question may not be worth much, but, strange as the assertion may seem to some people, it is probably at least as good on a miner's question as that of the average joiner. The result of the proceedings at Dundee, and of those of the very-much-divided meeting of mining delegates at Birmingham shortly afterwards, is to leave the impression that there is a strong desire among the miners to have, or

* At the present moment the Scottish miners are making more money than has been the case for the last nine years, and the result is that but little is to be heard among themselves of the demand for legislation.

rather to retain, an eight hours day, but neither unanimity about Parliamentary interference, nor cause shown for it.

Another case frequently put forward is that of the workmen employed in its various factories, arsenals, and other industrial establishments by the Government. Now, most people will agree that it is eminently desirable and right that the Executive should set an example to ordinary employers of labour. There is sometimes reason to think that certain officials take the view that the Government workmen are in the position, not of ordinary workmen, but of subordinate officials, who ought not to combine and bargain at arm's length with their employers in the usual way. If there is any such opinion abroad, it may well be that it ought to be got rid of. And for effecting this purpose the proper instrument is a Resolution of the House of Commons or a Division in Committee of Supply. On the balance of advantages and disadvantages it is probably best that the Government should negotiate with the Trades Unions in the ordinary way. If so, there is no reason why the hours of labour in its employment should not be regulated in the customary fashion, the great employer being, if necessary, reminded of its obligations to society by a vote of the Commons who control it. But this is very different from saying that there ought to be legislation, or that the privileges of Government workmen should be different from those of other workmen. As Mr. Morley pointed out in his address to the Eighty Club, the tax-paying workmen elsewhere would, were this to be so, have cause to complain that they were paying for the extra comfort of their fellow-labourers. The case of the Government workman, therefore, no more than that of the miner, seems to fulfil Mr. Jevons' condition that no other probable remedy can be indicated for the improvement of existing conditions.

There remains a third instance, which has been prominently put forward—that of railway servants. There is a class of railway servant, of which the signalman may be taken as a type, the efficiency of which is of great moment to the public. The men in the box at a great junction or terminus require to be constantly on the alert, and it is necessary in the interest of the public that they should be so. In this interest, therefore, it is quite proper that there should be legislation if there is a serious evil to be met. The principle of such legislation would, however, be not the interest of the men themselves, but the protection of those who travel by rail. The Unions, which exist for another purpose, do not look after the public, and the public must therefore protect itself in the only way it can. But in instances where this larger interest is not specially concerned, there is no reason to suppose that the Unions cannot take care of themselves. Such was apparently the general sense of the great meeting of railway servants which met to consider the question in November last in

London, and which declared that low wages rather than the existing hours constituted the grievance of the men.

The special instances cited accordingly appear to amount to very little. But there are other and positive objections to anything like the propositions put forward in the Fabian Society's Bill. There are certain textile industries in which the wholesale market is only in an active condition for certain months of the year. During these months large wages are to be made, and high-overtime pay may be earned by the workman, just as the physician or barrister may earn more than his average at certain periods by extra work. I have not yet met the workman who wished to abolish the special opportunities of this period. Here, again, the Union is the proper authority to adjust with the employer, in the interests of its members, the terms on which a departure is to be temporarily made from the ordinary conditions of employment. Why the Home Secretary should, under the "Trade Option" clause of the Bill in question, be called in at the instance of a conjectured majority as a *deus ex machina* to do what organization can do, not only naturally, but efficiently, it is difficult to see. The knowledge of Mr. Matthews and his inspectors of the state of things at a particular season in mills of the Border Burghs could hardly, on the most favourable supposition, satisfy the hard-headed workmen of the district.

There is no evidence, with all deference to those who, like Mr. Webb, assert the contrary, that the majority of the working-men of this country desire legislation of this kind for themselves. Sometimes they desire it for their neighbours under a mistaken impression, fostered by the advocate of certain social and economical opinions, that their neighbours are in absolute need of it. It is customary to speak of the "labour vote" as though it represented some peculiar kind of opinion. Mr. Webb and his colleagues gently threaten the Liberal party with it, and proceed to dress up in electoral statistics a bogey with which to terrify weak-kneed politicians. Until the other day few people were alive to the import of their proceedings, or to the fact that the House of Commons was rapidly getting into a condition in which a large number of its members were being pledged to support an Eight Hours Bill. Only one side of the case was being presented to the candidate or the sitting member. He was assured at his meetings, by some person instigated from head-quarters in London, that the labour vote would go for the Bill, and that if he boggled at swallowing the entire principle he must at least swallow some of it—say so much as applied to miners' or Government employment. Much alarmed, and hearing nothing of the other side, he in many cases did so. Now, the average elector knows no more, if as much, as the candidate. Hearing the statement that such a Bill ought to be gone for, and seeing his candidate agree to it, he begins to think

there is something in it. Perhaps the active propagandists of the movement have already captured the organizations. At least no one is prepared to get up and argue on the other side. And thus the semblance of a body of belief in the principle of State interference is manufactured.

There are indications that this state of things will not continue. Prominent exponents of those opinions on other subjects which are most popular with the working classes, such as Mr. John Morley, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Burt, and Mr. Broadhurst, have pronounced strongly against the principle. So far as I have been able to ascertain, they represent, in doing so, the opinion of the vast majority of labourers *about their own trade*, excepting possibly in the case of the miners. And the miners are not only greatly divided, but of their attitude there exists the peculiar explanation already indicated. My strong belief is, that when the case against an Eight Hours Bill has been as much and as strongly urged as has been the case for it, the people concerned will go against it by an overwhelming majority. One would imagine from the current talk that the working-man voter was almost without exception a person of definite and almost ferociously pronounced opinions. Nothing is further from being the case, as those who have most to do with the business of getting his vote know. He is generally, but not always, a strong Radical. The reason is that he feels that certain existing institutions have prevented him from getting near to that equality of opportunity which he would like to see brought about in the interests of himself and his children. But he has no very definite notion of the way by which this is to be obtained, and he looks to political discussion and the newspapers for information. On both of these, by the way, he often bestows a good deal more attention than his more well-to-do middle-class fellow-citizen. As a rule he is quite open to conviction. And if there is anything certain it is that he has not made up his mind in favour of Parliamentary restriction of his hours of labour. He will want to hear a good deal about the effect on both wages and the labour market before he does. He is, in short, very much like the ordinary mortal whom we used to meet at the polling booths before the franchise was extended.

But if Mr. Webb's principle has not been advocated by him and his colleagues as the result of a special mandate from the working classes, what has been its origin? The answer is, that Mr. Webb and his colleagues in the Fabian Society are philosophers, and they lay stress on the principle because it forms part of their system of philosophy. They illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of that much-abused article, the abstract mind in politics. They have done the public the really substantial service of presenting, in a popular and attractive form, stripped of many of its unpractical qualities, the

theory of Collectivism as it has been advocated by Marx and other writers. Now, here again it is desirable to see how far one finds oneself in sympathy with Mr. Webb. We may think that the Collectivist ideal is a noble one. We may agree that we ought, if possible, to make capital the servant instead of the master of labour, to minimize the monopoly of capital and land, and to secure a more even distribution of the proceeds of industry. The aim of our policy may be to secure equality of opportunity for all alike; to break down the artificial barriers of class distinction; to raise the status of labour, and to remember that, as politicians, we have duties of construction as well as of destruction. But politicians must be not only idealists, but men of business. In other words, as no one would more readily admit than Mr. Webb, they must bear the facts of human nature in mind. And one of the facts of human nature appears to me—and here also I think Mr. Webb would agree with me—to be, that you cannot do all this at a stroke. The existing order of things did not come about by accident, nor yet by force or fraud. In the main, it is the result of tendencies in human nature with which we have to reckon. It may be that, as the result of time and change, these tendencies will be modified, and that we shall be able to avoid falling into slothfulness in the absence of the greed of gain with its good as well as its bad consequences, of the stimulus to action which it supplies to the plain man, as well as of the selfishness which it engenders. But that time has not yet come, and will not come, if it comes at all, for many a long day. And until it does come, many people will refuse to believe in experiments the object of which is to see whether, at a stroke, the new order of things cannot in certain particulars be substituted for the old. The point in an Eight Hours Act, in the eyes of those who wish to substitute a socialist *régime* in place of that which at present exists, is, that it must probably, to make it workable, be speedily followed by statutory regulation, not only of wages, but of the general relations of labour and capital. If the programme be accompanied by a vigorous campaign in favour of land nationalization, there will then be every prospect of the speedy application of Collectivist principles to capital also. Why not? some of Mr. Webb's friends, if not Mr. Webb himself, will ask. Simply because the soil is far from being prepared for the reception of such a plant. A great deal must happen, and a great many changes take place in the opinions and motives of society, before such a revolution can be tried without the prospect of immediate disaster. It is all very well to advocate Collectivist ideals, and to try to incline the world towards them. But when people wish to introduce a system through the medium of measures which signify nothing in practice, if they do not signify that we are to go the whole way, the matter becomes serious. To say this and to insist on it is to do

no wrong to the ideals themselves. It is good that capital should be simply a means to an end, the instrument of the labourer wherever this is practicable. It is good that the community should, in as many cases as are consistent with the public well-being and convenience, own the means of production, and that the land, which must always remain a monopoly, should be, where this can be, the monopoly of the community rather than of the individual. Let us, then, while respecting existing rights of property which cannot be set aside unless we are in a position also to set aside much more, take such steps as we can in the desired direction, but take them with a due regard to practical possibilities. Let us by all means foster and encourage a Collectivist policy wherever the world is ready for it. But do not let us push the principle into operation where the world is not ready for it, and where its adoption can only lead to its own discredit.

As things now go, the tendencies are all in the direction of labour obtaining a much larger share of those fruits of industry which are, and must for long continue to be, divided between it and capital, than has in the past been the case. Not only is the rate of interest falling, but the standard of wages and of the comfort of the labourer is rising. At present only a small percentage of the workers of the country belong to any combination powerful enough to hold its own in the process of negotiating with the capitalist employer. But the indications are that the capacity to combine is a growing one. With extended political power and with a constantly growing amount of sympathy directed towards his position, there would appear to be no limit to the extent to which the status and power of the labourer may rise.

Now, a formidable objection to an Eight Hours Bill is that it takes away one of the chief motives for combination. The force of this objection was very apparent in the case already referred to of the Scotch miners. As the agitation for legislation gained in strength, the popularity and influence of the Unions diminished. At one Union meeting at which I was present, it was with great difficulty that the men could be got to continue the appointment of the collector of weekly contributions. This state of things has been in part removed by the amount of business which the associations have had to do of late in arranging a proportionate rise in wages as prices have risen, and the interest of the members in their combination has distinctly quickened. But the decline of enthusiasm and the causes of its revival afford us an object lesson. If the Unions are to be kept in an efficient condition, they must be left plenty to do, and if we remove from them the responsibility of seeing to the adjustment of hours, part of their bread of life will have been taken from them. It is surely beside the point to urge against this conclusion, as does Mr. Webb, the fact of the development of the Union principle notwithstanding

the passing of the Factory Acts. Those conditions of male adult labour which were regulated under the Consolidation Statute of 1878 were matters which never had been and never could be efficiently dealt with by any ordinary combination. They relate not to easily comprehended subjects, such as hours of labour and rates of wages, but to standards of efficiency in mechanical arrangements and sanitary provisions, often of a highly technical character, and almost always requiring the investigation and criticism of the trained intellect of a professional inspector. Such legislation was needed, because the purpose for which it was wanted could not be effected in any other way.

It will be apparent why I do not propose to follow Mr. Webb into a discussion of the effect on prices and international trade of an Eight Hours Bill. If such legislation implies, and will by degrees effect, results which it does not enact, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the conditions of the problem to be answered. Could such a Bill pass without more passing with it, I am disposed, as far as I can find materials for judgment, to agree with Mr. Webb in thinking that the change would not have much consequence in the regions under discussion. In the mining industry, for example, it would probably have no effect at all, since it would effect no substantial change. In some industries of a textile character, where the foreign market exists only for a brief period, and is of a character which cannot be seen ahead, it might produce much disturbance. But in the majority of cases it is common ground between Mr. Webb and those who desire the shortening of the existing hours by bargain between employer and employed, that increased energy and intelligence would probably compensate for shortened hours. Yet the very difficulty of prophesying as to the future makes it additionally undesirable that we should tie the hands of our industrial community in any hard-and-fast fashion. In some parts, at all events, of Australia there is a general eight hours rule. But its existence has, from all accounts, been established exclusively by combination. Besides this, Australia is a young country, where the materials of production abound, and where labour naturally commands a high price, which is not limited by the narrower margins of profit in the operations of production which obtain in an older community. As regards the operation in our own country of the proposed legislation, we are left, so far as experience is concerned, practically in the dark. Why, then, should we take a leap which may land us we know not where? The working classes have not only not made up their minds in favour of such legislation, but of those of them who have thought about it at all probably the majority are against it. No necessity for it has been shown. On the contrary, the evidence is conclusive that the desired result can be effected by combination. And, lastly, we cannot justify it on the ground of our intention of treating it as the first

step towards a statutory regulation of wages, if not the complete enactment by Parliament of a Collectivist order of things. This last way of looking at the question I believe to be the real ground of its popularity with the more clear-headed of its upper- and middle-class advocates. And they know that, if it is even stated, at least half of the easy-going politicians who support the proposition on the ground that their constituents wish them to do so, will be frightened away.

But if the case for the Bill can not be sustained, it follows, from the nature of the subject, that the case against it can. To pass the Bill would be to make a new precedent. New precedents ought not the less freely to be made when needed merely because they are new, but this one is something more than new. It is mischievous, if there be any force in the considerations of fact which have already been urged. One of the political tendencies of the day is to assume that merely because a matter touches the affairs of the working classes, they alone must be the depositories of wisdom about it. Now, not only is this doctrine new, not only has it been repudiated by those who have in the past most completely enjoyed the confidence of working-men, but it is without foundation in fact. As well might we say that because the Corn Laws concerned the landlord class, the opinion of that class as to their abolition ought to have received exclusive consideration. The principles of the Eight Hours Bill and other labour propositions concern the community at large just as much as did the Corn Laws. But the working-men themselves do not accept the claim which is suggested on their behalf. Most people who have discussed these questions with them know that the vast majority feel themselves at sea upon them, and ask for information instead of offering it. If they have any opinions, they are, as a rule, based on the supposed experience and needs of some trade other than their own. What they most want is, to have the case on both sides argued out, in order that they may get materials for a decision. And, when this has been done, they will give us a decision as valuable as any we could hope to get from any other section of the electorate. But the question is not simply a class one, and we have no justification for treating it as such. Our business is to try to get to the bottom of an intricate and far-reaching subject, and to form our own opinions upon it. I doubt whether any matter more complicated or less fitted for an off-hand conclusion has ever yet come before the constituents.

Mr. Webb cites for our edification the success of the recent strike at the London Docks, and bids us take warning from it. We will take warning, but not in the sense Mr. Webb would have us. We will take warning from its success against the doctrine that reliance cannot be placed on the power of combination. To some of us, at least, it seems that this victory of unskilled labour, struggling under

the least favourable circumstances, against a great and powerful capitalist organization, has strengthened the hands of the opponents of an Eight Hours Bill more than anything which has happened for many a long day. If so much could be done by the poorest workers, enfeebled by their poverty, possessing at the outset, as the story of the movement, as we now know it, shows, no real organization, pressed from outside by competitors for their places, and devoid alike of the high average of intelligence, and the accumulated resources which have enabled other combinations to succeed, how much more may not be done when the conditions are favourable to the labourer! Public sympathy is increasingly with him. The extension of the franchise has brought with it a far greater attention to his case from both political parties. We appear to be approaching a time when it will no longer be endured that labour should continue to be dealt with as a commodity to be bought in the cheapest market, and used for the purposes of the dearest, without regard to the results to the labourer. High profits and low wages are no longer allowed to go freely hand in hand. The improvement which has, beyond reasonable question, taken place in the past, in the status of those who work with their hands, shows signs, not of abating, but of largely increasing its rate of progress. It may be that the Collectivist ideal of Marx and Schaeffle will never be realized, but at least it promises to continue an asymptotic limit towards which we shall ever be moving, along a line to which no end can be assigned. But be it observed, that it is not through interference from without that the worker has progressed thus far. It is by the growth of his own intelligence, and by a more determined reliance on himself. It has been said, that the curse of the poor is their poverty. It would be equally little a truism to say, that they begin to be well off when they cease to be badly off. Then, for the first time, do they divert their attention from the immediate necessities of their miserable condition, and gain the spirit and resolution which the effort to raise themselves in the social scale requires. And it could be shown, were this the place to show it, that the analogous rise of the middle classes to equality of opportunity with the higher has taken place along similar lines.

Few things are more striking than the rapid increase of sympathy in this country with the Collectivist point of view. We feel it in our pulpits as well as on our platforms, and it is thrust on us in our literature as well as in our daily Press. The fact is one to be recognized and not deplored. Such sympathies can hardly fail to do good, and gradually to bring about not only beneficial changes in our laws, but higher conceptions of the duties of property. What we have to resist is, not the tendency and the standard which is being set up, but the desire of the hotter heads to accomplish in a short time what can only be the result of a slow change. Nothing annoys the

ultra-socialist party in this country more than to be told that their system, if carried at once into effect, would import a fresh divide up in the immediate future. But if the change were made suddenly, and without a corresponding change in human nature, surely experience teaches us that the criticism is a just one. The French Revolution remained, for this very reason, a negative movement, and was attended with many failures. The world was not ready for the only constructive ideas which its later leaders had in their minds. Let us not forget the lesson. The growing demand for better distribution will meet its response outside the House of Commons, and will operate by changing the material on which that body has to work. But that material cannot be changed by Acts of Parliament, and while it remains unaltered the duty of the people's men of business is to recognize the fact.

The history of the world, and not least that of our own country, shows that time may bring about the greatest changes, and bring them about by the gentlest means. It may be that failure and disappointment would be the consequences of an Eight Hours Act, or of the immediate introduction of a Collectivist system. But it does not follow, because such a policy will not succeed, that the order of things against which it is directed will remain, merely by reason that the policy has not received effect. There was a period in which the country was flooded with discussions on the morality of cutting off the heads of kings. There has come a period when we ask ourselves whether we should not by some stroke get rid of that monopoly of the means of production which, at every turn, confronts the labourer in the struggle to raise his condition. The discussions have ceased in the first case. The point is no longer a practical one. And so it may be with the second. There are now no kings off whom to cut the heads. There may yet be no monopoly to extinguish. And with the one, as with the other, the change may well take place constitutionally, gradually, and without disturbance to our position as a nation.

R. B. HALDANE.

NOTE.

Since this article went into type, the Conference of the Miners Federation of Great Britain has met at Birmingham and adopted a resolution by a large majority in favour of an Eight Hours Bill. As on former occasions, no satisfactory reasons for resorting to such a Bill as a remedy are offered. No evidence is to be found in the Report of the proceedings, either that there is any extensive or systematic coercion of the men by the employers, or that the Unions have difficulty in regulating hours like wages. In this case, as in many others, the public cannot take the testimony of experts who are apparently unable to assign the slightest valid reason for their conclusion. It is, of course, beside the point to talk, as some of the delegates to the Conference did, of the hardship of the miner's employment without showing that the desired result is not attainable by combination.

PHILOSOPHICAL BUDDHISM IN TIBET.

THEY who may have gathered their notions of Buddhism from Sir Edwin Arnold, or from the Esoteric ecstasies of a Theosophist novel, would hardly recognize their romantic faith, we fear, when observed in that vulgar field of operation—daily life and practice. In the sacred land of this religion, in Tibet, both the philosopher and the ploughman are to be met with, equally earnest in their respective paths of the “Doctrine”; but, alas! nothing in their faith or doings seems to correspond with the ideas we had preconceived upon the subject. The creed, which we were told had succeeded in marrying Science to both Mysticism and Poetry, appears before us in its coarse particulars. The philosopher is found to be a most unwashen and most unpoetical idler, who has never put the same interpretation on the doctrinal phrases of his books which his English admirers have painfully attached to them. The ploughman, too, is a most obstinate pagan, who has heard, in truth, of the great Kyapgon and the goddess Dolma, but knows nothing of Shakya-muni or Nirvana or *karma*. If you were to broach to them the theories of Esoteric Buddhism, both would certainly declare that the Kusho was a monstrous learned gentleman, but his notions seemed to be neither those of the books nor those of daily observance.

Nevertheless, the Tibetan form of Buddhism comes direct from ancient India, and may claim to be as deeply philosophic as when it was taught and preached in Prakrit vernaculars in Magadha and Patalipura. In Tibet, more minds, more lives, more money, more ceremonial, more book-learning and book-writing, are devoted to the study and service of Buddhism—nay, infinitely more—than in any other country at the present day. Yet it may, without hesitation, be roundly asserted that the Buddhism of most modern European writers

on the subject is not the Buddhism, past or present, of Tibet—nor, indeed, of any other Eastern land.*

HOW THE DOCTRINES WERE REVEALED.

All the teaching and precepts of his religion are comprehended by the Tibetan Buddhist under the inclusive term CHHOS (pronounced as it is spelt in Ladak, but in other parts of Tibet sounded more like *chhoi*). But how was this Chhos first revealed to mankind? The conception of the early propounders of the faith seems to have been that their religion was an entirely new thing, first made known almost in their own time by Buddha Shakya-t'ubpa, who, according to received chronology, probably lived *circa* 350 B.C. However, when treatises on the subject came to be elaborated in the early centuries after Christ, the Oriental love for piling up the ages and dating everything from infinity to infinity had to be gratified. So the Chhos revealed by Shakya-t'ubpa was averred to be new only as regards the present *kalpa* or age in which we are now living. Kalpas or ages innumerable, of varying lengths, but mostly lasting eight to ten thousand years, had endured and passed away before the present era set in. Now, in each of the three ages previous to our own, it was taught that a different Buddha appeared, and instructed mankind then existent, and, indeed, all living creatures, in those self-same doctrines which Shakya-t'ubpa had revealed in the current period. Later writers, however, did not stop here; but were fain to carry the date of the first appearance of a Buddha on earth back to earlier times still. They assigned similar teachers, therefore, to the three epochs preceding the last three; and thus declared Shakya-t'ubpa himself to be the seventh of the earthly Buddhas. Mediæval mysticism, nevertheless, was not contented with these, and has enlarged the number to 1000, inventing names for each one of them. Many of these, however, have yet to appear. But all the systems agree in teaching that at least one other Buddha has in any case now to come, who will complete the revelation of Chhos made by his predecessors. The doctrine of the Buddha to come is not found in religious books written previous to the seventh century A.D. His name in Sanskrit works is Maitreya; and by Tibetans he is styled Jhampa (*Byamspa*), "The Loving One."

In the temples and monasteries of Tibet we find frequently effigies and paintings of the seven human Buddhas. However, we may remark that the term "Buddha" is hardly known in Tibet, and

* We must except from our sweeping statement the Buddhists of Ceylon, who, singularly enough, in recent years, have permitted Europeans to re-teach them their old faith in its newly developed form as interpreted by Christianized modes of thought. Sixty years ago the Sinhalese priesthood were intensely illiterate; but presently European scholarship brought about a revival of learning in native circles. However, the Buddhism now imbibed was really a foreign importation—the product of the ingenious speculations and misinterpretations of European students.

never used by the populace, Sang-gye, Chomdende, or Chowo Rimpochhe, being the colloquial names current. Sang-gye ("The Increase of Purity") is the correct appellation; and the Tibetan names of the seven Sang-gye are:

- I. Rnam-par Gzigs: "He who saw through and through."
- II. Gtsug-tor-chan: "He who had a crest of fire."
- III. Tams-chad Skyob: "The Preserver of All."
- IV. Kor-ba Jig: "The Dissolver of the Round of Life."
- V. Gser-t'ub: "Golden Might."
- VI. Od Srung: "The Guardian of Light."
- VII. Shakya-t'ubpa: "The Mighty Shakya."

THE AGE OF LITERARY BUDDHISM.

One commonplace error deserves here special mention. People have been deluded into assuming most exaggerated notions concerning the antiquity of Buddhism. Certain of its leading doctrines are indeed very ancient; but they were borrowed from Brahminism, which was itself but an Oriental variety of the speculative metaphysics of Greece and Egypt. Buddhism in its developed form, as it is presented to us in its sacred treatises, is really comparatively modern. Professor Max Muller, a decided partisan, frankly admits that the art of writing was not introduced into India at least until the first century before the Christian era. The earliest lucubrations never pretended to detailing anything like a statement of facts in the life of an individual founder of the Buddhist faith. It was only gradually that the lay figures, upon whom the philosophy of the system had been draped, were put forward in books which certainly were written after the Christian era had opened. These figures were by degrees merged into one pre-eminent personality—the Shakyamuni, whose life is portrayed with a certain amount of fitful detail in such works as the Lalita Vistara and Abhinishkramana.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF THE LAST BUDDHA.

The Tibetan canon, following similar statements in Chinese works, seems to make the last Buddha a contemporary with King Asoka, who flourished *circa* 240 B.C. At any rate (in Kangyur. § Mdo, book xxviii.) that king, as a lad, is made to meet Buddha in his earthly existence begging alms in the mendicant capacity. We need not, however, emphasize this point, as most of our schemes of Indian chronology are the result of pure speculation, and rest on data derived from Indian authors, who are proverbially destitute of the chronological faculty.*

* Even King Asoka's date, as supposed to be fixed by the inscription on the Allahabad Column, is not beyond suspicion. There we read what are alleged to be the Pali names of certain contemporaries of Asoka; but these Pali synonyms are only generic, not individual, and might apply to later monarchs with the same dynastic names.

The family name of this Buddha of our own age was Gautama, the name by which he is commonly known in Burmah at the present day; and his personal name was Don-dub (Sanskrit, Siddharta). However, belonging, as he did, to the royal race of the Shakyas, his usual designation is that of SHAKYA-T'UBPA (Sanskrit, Shakya-muni), or Shakya the Mighty. In his human capacity he was the son of one Zā-tsang-ma, King of Kosala, and of Gyu-t'ulma, his wife. He was born in the province of Oude in North India, at the city of Serkyā-i-dorg (Sanskrit, Kapilavastu). The elaborate legends of later writers, however, aver his conception in his mother to have taken place through the miraculous entry into her side of a six-bodied elephant! The mother having died in child-bed, the young prince's early education was conducted by his aunt, who likewise acted as his wet-nurse. In due time he had bestowed upon him a wife, whose name was Sa-ts'oma; and presently he thought fit to take unto himself a second spouse, bearing the name of Rāg-dzinma. A son was born to him, who received the appellation of Da-chen-dzin (Sanskrit, Rahula); and all things prospered with the young father, as became a prince full of power and pleasant occupation. He devoted himself both to gaiety and to royal sports; but every now and again problems concerning the object and miseries of human life obtruded themselves on his mind. At length an aged Brahmin who haunted the palace-grounds began to instruct him in the seeming realities of life, the illusion of all around him, and the part which he was destined to play in the destiny of human affairs. Finally, having visited a village of poverty-stricken labourers, and noticed how wretched was their existence from birth to death, he resolved to abandon home and wife in search of the truth. He quitted his father's palace, and spent years in wandering and meditation. And thus, to shorten the story, he at length, after trial of various phases of asceticism and social communion, arrived at full knowledge of the Chhos, and conquered forthwith every desire for existence. Being then deemed completely victorious, he became Chomdende (Bhagavan), and practically fitted for Nirvana. Next, so far as can be gathered from many confused narratives, the hero frequented various set localities, which he turned into his preaching places. One place was styled the Vulture's Peak, another was the pleasure-garden of a king whom he had converted, and so on. His sermons were chiefly anecdotes of former Buddhas, with expositions of right thought and doctrine. Most certainly, however, not one-hundredth part of what is ascribed to Buddha's personal utterance and regulation was ever delivered by the hero himself. All the later writers, composing treatises five hundred years and more after his demise, put their effusions and speculations as proceeding from the very mouth of Buddha. In the end Shakya-t'ubpa retires to Kamarupa in Assam, and, attended by thousands of followers, dies of spinal disease under a pair of *sal*-trees. Thus he enters Nirvana.

THE TWELVE ACTIONS OR CHARACTERISTICS OF A BUDDHA IN THE FLESH.

1. Descending from the region of Dewachen.
 2. Conception in the womb.
 3. Birth from human mother.
 4. Exhibition of physical skill.
 5. Marriage and conjugal diversion.
 6. Relinquishment of family ties.
 7. Penitential and ascetic exercises.
 8. Conquering the demons.
 9. Emerging to be Buddha.
 10. Preaching 100,000 sermons.
 11. Dying a calm and natural death.
 12. Deposition of body in various parcels as holy relics.
- Sometimes these characteristics are expanded, or rather sub-divided, into an enumeration of 125 *t'in-le*, or acts.

METENSOMATOSIS.

THE HOG—THE TAPE-WORM—THE CROCODILE.

There can be no proper appreciation of the elaborate fabric into which the dogmas of Buddhism have been built up unless it be remembered that one fundamental doctrine underlies their whole position. The whole rests upon a thorough acceptance of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls from body to body. Moreover, in holding this principle, Buddhism asserts, at the same time; another axiom—that between the souls of man and the lower animals there is no essential distinction, except perhaps a generic one, the body being merely the temporary lodging-house of the soul. Buddha's offer of a way of escape from the misery of life is expressly made to "all living creatures," not to human beings alone. Such a principle naturally follows from the transmigration theory; and in this the Buddhist is more logical than the Hindu, from whom he has borrowed the idea. To him—in doctrine, if not in practice—the lowest form of animal life is sacred.

When a person dies, the sum of his merits and demerits, acting one against the other, has naturally moulded his soul into a *karma*, which requires to be re-born into carnal existence, accompanied by a body properly suited to the worth and the wants of such *karma*. The *karma* (or *las*, as it is termed in Tibetan) is, therefore, the psychic development naturally ensuing from a man's actions and thoughts. Moreover, the body proper to such new development of soul is not only that which the soul has fairly earned in its last-terminated career, but is even *the only material form* in which such a soul so shaped *could* make itself visible upon earth. The new body is merely the

mode in which such a fresh development of soul must, as a physical necessity, manifest itself in fleshly form. In a word, that new body is *how the new soul looks when seen by mortal eyes*. A very pretty theory this, and one which, we believe, has been acknowledged on respectable authority to be highly scientific.

However, the sentiments, and especially the numerous illustrative anecdotes, to be found in the books considerably modify the philosophical exactitude of this theory.

Buddha Shakya-t'ubpa (though he be absorbed long ago into "The Void"), the Three Holies (namely, Sang-gye, Chhos, and Ge-dun), the gods Lhai Wangpo Gyá-chyin (Indra), and particularly Chenráisi (Avalokitesvara) and Dolma (Tara), the special protectors of Tibet, have indefinite powers—according to the books—of changing, improving, or making worse, the particular condition in which any living being is to be re-born. Thus, in one narrative, an unfortunate individual has a vision, in which he foresees his next appearance upon earth will be in the form of a hog. He proceeds to bewail his fate with heart-rending and pithy word-pictures of what such a state of existence will involve. "Ah, me, a yard! O horror, a sty! O woe, to have to feed on dung all my days! Alas for the seats of the gods and their society at the solemn assemblies!" Hearing these lamentations, Indra directs him to cry for help to Buddha. This he does; and, happily, he finds his destiny altered.

There is certainly a fine sense of retributive justice in the theory which assigns a fresh life to a man strictly resultant upon his line of conduct in a past career; but the weak point would seem to be that in the new existence the soul is totally unconscious as to what brought it into its degraded or higher condition. Its desires and its happiness are adjusted to its present state. There remains no recollection of the life just concluded or of those that went before. One can, indeed, see a certain ingenious equity in the fate which in one Tibetan narrative is meted out to a loose liver among the Lama fraternity. He is adjudged to be born next as a tape-worm in the bowels of his mistress; but, alas, how is that tape-worm ever to have the chance of bettering its existence? What instigations to higher aims, what desires after purer morality can it ever acquire in the entrails of this fair, but frail, enchantress? Nevertheless, were there remembrance of the fault in those subterraneous regions—the consciousness that punishment was being inflicted upon one—who shall say that even a tape-worm might not strive to govern its dark doings with abstinence and rectitude?

Practically, however, we believe that the idea of the next life being a peculiarly repulsive one does, in even the sordid lives of Tibetans, exercise some wholesome control. One of the most munificent almsgivers at Tashi-lhumpo at the present day is said to be a merchant who for many years resided in Khams, on the Chinese border, and

amassed a huge fortune by selling goods at unfair profit to the pilgrims to a neighbouring shrine, as well as by usurious loans to them. This rascal was visited one day by a Lama of unusual sanctity. That worthy, having observed the roguery of the fellow's dealings, succeeded in terrifying him in a very thorough manner. He declared that he had had a vision in which it was revealed to him that the merchant, in his next period of life, would infallibly be born as a crocodile. However, he had also learned that charitable deeds during the remainder of his days might yet save him from the crocodile existence. The consequences of that revelation have been satisfactory. The repentant merchant for the last thirteen years has resided at Shigatse, and has, ever since, distributed weekly a dole in money to 500 of the poorest and most deformed beggars outside the gates of Tashi-lhampo monastery.

There can be no question that the leading doctrine of Buddhism is the theory of metempsychosis, and that without this doctrine as a foundation the entire superstructure would be without fulcrum or weight. All the preachments of Shakya-t'ubpa and the writers who have invented his impossible 100,000 discourses derive their plausible force from the cycles of miserable life asserted to be in store for every living creature. Renegades from Christianity are eloquent with their mis-statements of what their cast-off faith owes to Buddhism. Christianity, at least, despised and repudiated this, the keystone and soul of all Buddhist philosophy. But even this foundation doctrine was borrowed by the Buddhists from the Brahminists, and by the Brahmins in their turn from the Greeks; for no Indian philosopher has been, or ever can be, anything but a plagiarist. Give him a striking thought, yielding scope to his talents for innumerable and useless re-arrangements, and he can indeed go on twisting a hideous chain of ingenious workmanship, reaching to infinity. But he cannot originate. He will *go on* without stopping; but *start* he cannot.

THE SIX CLASSES OF BEINGS.

There are six orders of living creatures into which the transmigrating soul can be born. They are classified in descending grades thus:—(1) *Lhá*; or petty gods. (2) *Lhámayin*; or they who are not gods, but are still higher than men, and are ever fighting with the *Lhá* for a higher position on the sacred hill of heaven, Mount Sumeru. They correspond to the Indian *Asuras*. (3) *Mi*; human beings. But in many treatises we are told that all holy men, such as full Lamas and hermits, rank with the *Lhá*. (4) *Dhü-do*; properly only beasts, but presumably including birds and other lower creatures in the present classification. (5) *Yi-dak*; gigantic beings hovering between earth and hell, and, though not actually among the damned, yet living in torment. They are represented with huge bellies and with bodies some miles in length, but with tiny mouths, incapable of admitting

any but the minutest morsels of food. (6) Nyal-wa-nam; the inhabitants of the infernal regions, who cannot regain a higher class.

THE MYSTERY OF LIFE.

The recipe which Shakya-t'ubpa is alleged to have given for the cure of the sorrows and the pains to be found in every life takes almost the form of a syllogism. This syllogism, which has been variously quoted, may be thus arranged :

All Sorrow and Pain are the result of Existence ;

All Existence is the result of Desire ;

Therefore, if all Desire be annihilated in the soul, Sorrow and Pain will no longer survive.

Accordingly, it will be seen that, in order to be rid of sorrow and pain, there can be no remedy but to escape from existence, or, as the Buddhist would frame it, from the orb of transmigration, from the unending circles of birth and re-birth in which it has become man's fate to be caught up and whirled round. When the desire for existence, which is supposed to include all other desires, has been completely conquered, then will man's soul attain entire deliverance from the burden of having to live ; it will pass victoriously beyond (*bchom-ldan-das*), and enter into the supremacy and sublimity of Not Being—of Nothingness—lapped in the everlasting embrace of Nirvana.

Thus, theoretically, does the philosophical ascetic of Tibet hold that *Stong-pa-nyid*—signifying “emptiness,” “vacuity,” “the void”—should be the chief product of all speculation, and the aim and end of all his aspirations.

NYANG-DAI, OR NIRVANA.

One can well conceive the reason why the enunciators of philosophical Buddhism fixed upon the abstract notion of Nirvana as the ultimate goal of the persevering saint. Any one with experience of Oriental peoples, especially that race inhabiting the district where the Buddhist creed was first born and developed, will confess that the one idea of the highest degree of happiness they possess is that of rest—absolute, immovable rest. Let a Hindu lie as a log and sleep, he is then deliciously, intensely, happy. The Sanskrit term Nirvana means the absolute cessation of all motion and excitement, both of body and of mind, and this notion necessarily involves cessation of all personal existence. With the natural tendency of the Hindu philosopher to imagine nothing logical unless pressed forward to the utmost extremity, even though it involve the *reductio ad absurdum*, the Sanskritic Buddhist* made Nirvana his acme of absolute painlessness and rest.

* We use the term “Sanskritic Buddhist” advisedly ; for there is strong reason to believe that, so far as India was concerned, much of Buddhism was mere “book-religion,” speculative rules placed on paper by enthusiasts, and never extensively put in practice.

Notwithstanding, every one who has associated with the common order of persons in a Buddhist country will have discovered that none save the bookworms have any notion of the philosophical meaning of Nirvana. The synonym for the state of Nirvana in the Tibetan language is *Mya-ngan-las Das-pa*, contracted colloquially into *Myang-dāi* or *Nyang-dāi*; and the exact signification of these words is, "the being delivered from affliction." Now, that is truly what the popular conception finds in Nyang-dāi, or Nirvana; not annihilation, but only the fullest deliverance from all that is disagreeable in human existence.

The philosophical definition of Nirvana is, as indeed is nearly all else in the system, utterly inconsistent with other dogmas of the faith. Thus we have Buddha Shakya-tubpa, who is supposed to have achieved the state of Nothingness and Nirvana long ago, still spoken of as taking the deepest interest in living creatures, and with so much of feeling in his present disposition as to be accessible to, and even influenced by, their prayers. In fact, the Buddha in Nirvana has nearly taken the place of the Jehovah and the Theos in the Hebrew and other faiths which existed long anterior to Buddhism.

BUDDHISM INVENTS A SUPREME GOD.

In order to meet the difficulty just referred to, and realizing the contradiction involved in the notion of Buddha being in Nirvana, and yet attentive to our prayers, in quite the later days of Buddhist doctrine, a large party have formed a schism, and have invented what is styled the Adi-Buddha theory. In this new system a heaven has been created, where the spirits of Buddhas and Bodhisattwas are assembled previous to manifestation upon earth, or before absorption into Nyang-dāi. This region is named Dewachen, and it is presided over by a supreme deity, who in Sanskrit is styled Adi-Buddha, and by the Tibetans is known as T'og-ma Sang-gye, or else as Kunzhii Sang-gye. The accessories of this unorthodox doctrine are very obscure. The chief being is certainly prayed to by his votaries, and is held to rule especially over a new set of Buddhas, who had previously, by orthodox Buddhists, been considered as existent in the celestial regions. These celestial Buddhas are five in number, and under the name of Dhyani Buddhas have been long and universally believed in. For their origination, a single ray of light is said to have filtered out from Nyang-dāi, where it had sprung from the essence of all the Buddhas absorbed there, and on reaching the mansions of Dewachen the ray created five Buddha-like emanations correspondent to the five human Buddhas. The Dhyani Buddhas manifest the utmost interest in the concerns of the world. Sometimes their interest seems to be shown personally, but usually it is exercised by means of certain vicegerents;

one to each Dhyani Buddha, who are designated Dhyani Bodhisattwa. One of these Bodhisattwas is Chenráisi, special protector and tutelary deity of Tibet; another is Jam-pal, who has taken Nipal under his particular care. Personally the Bodhisattwa are saints who have attained to the position antecedent to Buddhodom, but they voluntarily forego the bliss of Nirvana out of philanthropy toward mankind.

THE FIVE DHYANI BUDDHAS, WITH THEIR CORRESPONDENT
BODHISATTWA.

Buddha.

Bodhisattwa

- I. Rnam-par Nang-mdzad [Vairochana]:
Kuntuzangpo [Sumanta Bhadra].
 - II. Mi-skyod Dorje [Akshobhya]: Dorje Chhang [Vajrapani].
 - III. Dzinsten Jung-do [Ratna Sambhava]: Jampal [Manjushri].
 - IV. Od-pag-med [Amitabha]: Chenráisi [Avalokitesvara].
 - V. Donyod Grubpa or Rnga Sgra [Amoghasiddha]: Unascertained.
- N.B.—The Sanskrit titles are placed within brackets.

TO REACH THAT GOAL.

To reach the ineffable state of Nothingness is, accordingly, in theory the long, long ambition which the true Buddhist carries with him throughout his circle of existences. He approaches it, he swerves, he falls back, he re-approaches, is nearly there, loses a step, recovers; and finally, by a splendid epilogue of meditation and self-denial and universal benevolence, makes the ultimate flight beyond. There are no numerical rules as to the multitude or fewness of the births to be previously undergone. There is no record of its having been attained in a single existence. Moreover, as it is impossible to know when any soul first entered on the round of transmigration, he who seems to gain Nirvana at one bound may possibly have been born in infinity previously. When a being has really made up his mind to reach Nirvana, he must attain by perseverance in the prescribed ascetic exercises to the various settled grades of perfection. He has, it must be noted, set himself apart from the ordinary mass of mankind, and entered the stream which flows from the external world to the port of discharge from all being and existence.

There are four stages of perfection defined by Tibetan Buddhists.

- I. Gyun-dhu Shū-pa: "He who has entered the stream."
- II. Len-chik Chhir Yong-wa: "He who comes back for one time more"—*i.e.*, he who returns just for one further period of earthly existence.
- III. Chhir Mi-yong-wa: "He who does not return"—*i.e.*, being in the Bardo, or Dewachen, but not prior to birth, but waiting for admission to Nirvana.

IV. Da Chom-pa: "He who has conquered the enemy"—*i.e.*, conquered existence and desire, and has become an *Arhant*, or complete saint.

A BUDDHIST'S MEDITATION.

Attainment to the grades of perfection, and thence to saintship, is only to be acquired by the most complete abstraction from external objections and the profoundest internal contemplation. This must be persisted in for months—nay, if possible, for years together. Thus is the Buddhist hero gradually separated by his own earnestness from the world and its desires. He loses all notion of surrounding things; what we deem to be realities become to him sheer illusions. Nothing *is*, but the idea he has set before him.

This systematic meditation is denoted in Tibetan by the general term *Gom-pa*, but, as Jaeschke, the Moravian missionary, has set forth, there are held to be three degrees of this mental concentration.

- (1) *Tā-wa*, or contemplation.
- (2) *Gom-pa*, or meditation, properly so called.
- (3) *Chyö-pa*, or exercise and practice.

Contemplation is defined to be that state which is deaf to all sounds prevailing within one's hearing.

Meditation is that state which has no knowledge of the existence of oneself or surrounding objects.

Exercise and practice are attained when all desire vanishes (for the time) from the thoughts, and when even disgust and dislike of what a Buddhist ought to dislike no longer remain.

The actual modes of meditation are various. The commonest plan is to place a small image of Buddha, or the relic of a saint, or even the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet, before one. You are to gaze fixedly and immovably at this object, until every other idea is lost. You continue looking and drawing the object, as it were, into your very soul, until no impressions from the outer world seem to touch you. At length you gain an absolute inexcitability of mind and deadness to all that could impress you from without—a full absorption in the idea of Nothingness, which Buddha is supposed to embody. This state of mental inactivity is termed *Zhi-lhak*, and whoso acquires that condition of mind has learnt the first lesson of Buddhistic holiness. Observance of the moral laws, the Eightfold Path of Buddha, is as nothing compared to the practice of *Zhi-lhak*. Any lapse from these laws in ordinary life is amply atoned for by every occasion that this abstract state is reached; but he who is able to plunge himself into mental vacuity, and, we might fairly add, idiocy, merely by his own effort, unaided by any sacred object of contemplation, will soon be endowed with *Ngoi-dub*, or the supernatural powers of a saint.

There are various species of saintly meditation. The different schools of mysticism, such as the Du-kyi Khorlo (Kalachakra), the T'eg-pa Chhen-po, and others, have each their own methods. In these systems minute directions are given for meditating on the inspired, or else on the expired, breath. They teach, for example, how, by dint of long-continued practice, the power may be acquired of holding back the breath for an incredible length of time. By this inspiration the air is said to be drawn from the lungs into the blood, flowing through two veins near the heart styled *ro-ma* and *kyang-ma*, and thence to enter a main conduit, the *u-ma*; whereupon a delicious feeling of warmth, comfort, and uncommon lightness is experienced inside. This process is styled "Tum-po"; and the Tibetan poet, Mila-rái-pa, relates several instances where the internal lightness and buoyancy thus acquired has permitted the operator to rise from the earth, and to float for several minutes majestically in the air.

Another favourite device for compassing the requisite depth of abstraction is to imagine some object known to be impossible in Nature, and to survey that in the mirror of the mind's eye. The impossible thing usually recommended for this species of meditation is the HORN ON A HARE'S HEAD. Contemplate this, pray, from all points of view, likening it to what is grand, noble, and yet simple. "In front," says Milaráipa, "it is like a king seated on a cushioned throne; to the right it is as an officer waving a flag upon the hill-side; from the left it is as a lotus in the marsh; from behind it is as the precious jewel of the Doctrine appearing from the ground"; and so forth. A Tibetan poet can hardly be devoid of imaginative genius who is able to conceive pretty conceits upon this one-horned and most unpoetical beast.

BUDDHIST VIEW OF VIRTUE.

They who seek to instruct the general English reader in the mysteries of the Eastern creed make strong points in their expositions of the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path to Virtue. Those, however, who have had any practical acquaintance with the inner life and opinions of native Buddhists of professed sanctity and genuine learning, soon can enlighten the inquirer as to the estimation in which that portion of the Doctrine is held. Such saints rank the observance of the mere moral maxims as the poorest and least desirable of the attainments proposed to them. In fact, we have always found that whilst European investigators had seized on these moral precepts as pearls of great price amidst the general dross of Buddhist maundering, the accomplished Naljor-pa (Jogi) has hardly even known of their occurrence in his books. The truth is that our Christian interpretation of the word virtue incapacitates it and similar expressions from

being rightly employed in rendering what are supposed to be the corresponding phrases in Oriental literature. In fact, the highest manifestation of moral perfection amongst Buddhists is held to consist in the power of performing feats of jugglery. One who possesses the greatest virtue proves his claim thereto by the ability by which he can make things seem to others what in reality they are not. This magic power is styled *dzu-t'ul*, and it does not imply the capacity to perform substantial miracles, but, admittedly, the art of creating illusions such as shall baffle all attempts at unravelment. Thus Milārāpa proves his sainthood by *appearing* to fly up Mount Tise astride upon a banjo-shaped tambourine. He lies down, moreover, on Lake Ma-p'ang and completely hides its waters with his body, and yet (it is distinctly stated) his body retains throughout the feat its proper size.

The ordinary Tibetan does not seem to vex his soul much as to what may be the next *ts'e-rab*, or period of existence, in store for him. He believes that his actions now will tend to shape the condition in which he is to reappear at his re-birth; and therefore he who is of a sober frame of mind possibly seeks to influence the fate of the future by rectitude of conduct now. But mere morality in his daily bearing seems to him to be of much less power in developing his after-destiny than the due performance of certain prescribed duties of a purely mechanical nature. Moreover, even these perfunctory acts of the regulation type are practised by him on account of blessings to be derived in his present life, rather than because of remoter rewards to be realized hereafter.

THE BARDO.

Between death and re-birth, a certain lapse of time is held to be necessary, and during that time the spirit of the departed exists in an intermediate state. We say, the *spirit*; but both the common and the philosophical belief is that the spirit is always accompanied by an immaterial body. Moreover, the spirit is clothed in this ethereal body, not only while it is separated from the grosser earthly envelope, but also during its various tenancies of material frames on earth. This immaterial body is *Gyu-lus*, "the body of illusion," and it passes into the intermediate state, giving a certain form to the soul whilst there. The waiting time previous to re-birth is termed the Bardo; and to be quickly delivered from the Bardo is the devout hope of every dying man of the Buddhist creed. There are terrors in the Bardo, and they are said to be unspeakable. Even the Buddhist soul shrinks from what is so near akin to non-existence; and yet he philosophically pretends to labour after the attainment of ultimate annihilation. Ah! the true soul of man is, after all, of one common aspiration. We *will* exist somehow, somewhere. Nothing can hold us back from individuality and being. Even in Buddhism, annihilation has been invented, not for popular belief, but only, like the theoretical meeting-point of parallel

lines in mathematics, to give a symmetry to a system which otherwise would have no logical ultimum or terminus.

It would seem that the holiest of men are not exempt from undergoing the Bardo. Even the souls of the high incarnate Lamas, the heads of the mighty monasteries of Tibet, who are the transmitted *karma* of the greatest saints of Buddhist history, must stay there the allotted interval previous to reappearance. Nay, the spirit of the venerable Chenrási, a Jang Chhub Sempa (Bodhisattwa), which so benevolently returns to earth to animate each successive Grand Lama of Lhasa, endures the Bardo at every fresh transmigration. This period can never be less than forty-nine days, and may extend to several months. Prayers are prescribed for the shortening of this intermediate period, the appraisalment of which seems to rest with Buddha Shakya-t'ubpa. Both the Bardo and the prayers for its abbreviation are among the improvements introduced by later Buddhist doctors, not earlier, certainly, than the eleventh century A.D. Not unnaturally these and other points of resemblance between mediæval Buddhism and mediæval Christianity are claimed by several European theologists as the result of the missionary enterprise of either the Nestorian Christians in the earlier centuries, or the Roman fathers in later times. The Bardo and the prayers for its short duration are absurdly analogous to the doctrinal teaching concerning purgatory. But that Christians could have derived their theories thereupon from Buddhism is unquestionably an historical impossibility. In the early Sanskrit works this intermediate period is not once even hinted at.

SOME CONCLUDING WORDS.

The parallel which Arnold attempts to draw between the life of Christ and the career of the Buddha is as unfounded in actual fact as it is chronologically and historically impossible. Christ's life, as portrayed in the Gospels, had been given to the world long before the *expanded* editions of Buddha's career, including the supposed striking parallel facts, had been invented and put into writing. Max Müller, whose disposition is to give a greater antiquity than justifiable to everything Sanskrit, confesses that the art of writing could not have been known in India more than 100 years before the Christian era. Most probably it was introduced even later. Now, the earliest accounts of Buddha are so slight and unpiecemeal as barely to individualize the hero as a distinct personality. Yet, on Max Müller's theory, they could hardly have been written more than a few years previous to the Christian Gospels. Later and later writings gradually evolve and drape with more and more substantial details a defined being out of the shadowy generalities of the earlier narratives. And when does Sir E. Arnold wish us to believe his Buddha, stolen from Seydel the German, was shaped? When were the works

from which he has drawn his facts written? Certainly not earlier than the fourth century after Christ. The very nucleus of the Buddha biography, giving it the utmost antiquity possible, as we have seen, could hardly have appeared earlier than the dawn of the Christian era. And every frank student of Sanskrit literature must confess that the enlarged biographies, such as that in the "Lalita Vistara," evidently were written several centuries later. If, then, there exist these alleged parallels (as they were clearly in the case of Buddha put into form and announced in the Buddhist world some centuries after the Gospel narratives had appeared) it would seem pretty conclusive who were the copyists. Nay, if these parallel incidents are to be insisted on, the Buddhist authors of the enlarged biographies of their hero, it must be allowed, had certainly good opportunities for learning the facts of the life of Christ. The Syrian Christians—"the Christians of St. Thomas"—had been some time settled on the Western Indian coast, in Travancore, when the later details were invented. If the most probable date of the appearance of the greater Buddhist writings be taken, we might say that the ancient Syrian Church had then held sway in Southern and Western India nearly 200 years, even if we delay the formation of the Christian colony to so late a time as 300 A.D. Moreover, the latter would not lose any opportunity of circulating their tenets.

But, as a matter of fact, there is no analogy in the *leading* occurrences of the two lives. ONE is a carpenter's son who passes thirty years of His early life in the round of daily toil in a provincial village. He is never married; leads an active life of practical temporal as well as spiritual benevolence; His doctrines are despised and unsuccessful during His life; and He dies a cruel and disgraceful death. THE OTHER is a royal prince, living, in his father's palace in the metropolis, a life of ease and pleasure; some accounts alleging immorality even, and dissipation. He is thrice married, and has also a son. After his conversion and perception of the truth, he leads, on the whole, an inactive meditative career; does nothing for the mere temporal relief of his fellow-creatures, believing all earthly comfort and help to be illusions. His doctrines are received with acclamation even by kings; and he finally dies a *natural death*, lamented by thousands, and buried with honours.* Any such general comparison makes the minor likenesses of petty details lose all their significance.

Another point which the ordinary reader deserves to have made clear to him is this. The original Buddha of the Buddhist religion and of the ancient Buddhist classics is certainly not the Buddha of Sir Edwin Arnold, or of your modern convert to poetical Buddhism. The Buddha of European and American enthusiasts is quite a fanciful creation of their own. It had no existence in either facts or doc-

* According to the Sinhalese narrative, Buddha died from over-feeding upon pork.

trines in the minds of the original inventors and propagators of the old religion.

The truth seems to be somewhat this. . We have all of us been brought up from the earliest childhood in an atmosphere saturated with Christian teaching. We may have been directly taught, and even personally touched, by Christian doctrines and their practical application in daily life. On the other hand, we may have had little real instruction on such subjects, and religion may never have made much conscious impression on our character. Yet, for all that, whether the teaching has been earnest or superficial, every European has been bred up in a society permeated with the results and feelings which centuries of Christianity have given rise to. Humanitarianism, charity, self-denial, purity, are all of them the offspring of Christianity, and have come to be recognized even by the irreligious and worldly as high and noble things, and as essentially part of any religion. Thus is every man born and brought up in England, unconsciously or consciously, possessed of a mind impregnated with such preconceptions and feelings. His cast of thought is insensibly moulded by Christ's teaching, however much he may befoul with his lips the old faith now. And so it comes to pass that when he fain would discover or make for himself a religious hero or a god, he cannot help endowing him with the qualities and attributes which are inseparably associated in his soul with a spiritual Ideal.

Apply this line of thought to modern Buddhism. There we find that the translators of Sanskrit works on the subject, who have had no Christian antagonism for the creed they concern, have yet had, as it were, minds evolved out of Christianity as well as Christian reminiscences, and have rendered expressions and sentiments in a high and ideal manner, which the Eastern originals were never intended to convey. Even renowned scholars, like Rhys Davids and Oldenberg—generally dispassionate and unsmitten with any taint of the new eclecticism—cannot help being led away in this direction. Meanings are given to words and doctrines such as would occur to the Christian-trained mind, but they are such as the Buddhist author and Oriental reader would neither conceive nor, uninstructed, understand. Thus, likewise, has the Modern Buddha been created. He has been endowed (by the unscrupulous partisanship of new converts), either wilfully or unconsciously, with the character and sublimity of the Christ of their old faith. Accordingly, it comes to pass that the hero of this new and dilettanti religion is not the old Bhagavan and Shakya-muni of Indian conception, but a mystic hybrid, a modern ideal deity, a fanciful impossible CHRIST-BUDDHA, ingeniously compromised, but never existent.

GRAHAM SANDBERG.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A VOYAGE WITH GENERAL GORDON.

DURING the early part of the year 1882 General, then Colonel, Gordon, was stationed in the Mauritius Barracks, in command of the troops there. Just at that time the troubles in Basutoland were gathering to a head, and threatened to culminate in another native war; and Colonel Gordon had communicated the wish that he should be allowed to proceed to the affected region, and use his influence in bringing about an amicable settlement of the awkward difficulty which had presented itself. Gordon's offer was accepted, and the English mail, which arrived at Mauritius on the 3rd of March, 1882, conveyed orders to him to proceed forthwith to Cape Colony. Those who have studied Gordon's character will readily understand the extent of his anxiety, that he should at once, and without a moment's unnecessary delay, carry out the injunctions of the order; but the probability of delay did present itself. At that time the facilities for passing between Mauritius and the Cape were very inadequate, and Gordon at once perceived that to wait several weeks for the next passenger steamer would mean the retarding, if not indeed the ruin, of his mission. The commander of the Ever Victorious army hated procrastination, and he determined now, if it could possibly be done, to overcome the difficulty and prevent delay.

In the Mauritius harbour there lay a small trading schooner of 300 tons burden, named the *Scotia*,* and, on inquiry, Gordon was informed that this tight little craft would proceed in a few days to Cape Town. This was his chance. He at once communicated to the captain of the *Scotia* his intention of joining the ship and of proceeding with it to its destination. The communication came as a surprise to all on

* The *Scotia* was then, and is now, commanded by Captain Wm. Duncan, Kingston-on-Spey, Morayshire.

board, and the captain's wife (who sailed with her husband) was exceedingly perplexed that no time was left to make more adequate preparations for the distinguished passenger; for the *Scotia*, a small vessel, fully manned, had no pretensions to offer either the usual comfort or the ordinary conveniences of a passenger boat, and the reception of the military magnate must therefore be of the humblest, if of the kindest, description. In a diary of the voyage—which the writer has had the advantage of perusing—and under date April 1, the following entry is made:—"At 4 P.M. a letter came to say that Colonel Gordon (Gordon Pasha) was going as passenger with us to Cape Town. It took us all by surprise. We felt rather put out at having a passenger at all, and more especially such an illustrious one. However, we have to make the best of it."

The Colonel informed the captain of the *Scotia* that he would come on board at a given hour in the afternoon, and, by the time arranged on, such preparations as could be made for his reception were completed. The afternoon wore into evening, however, and the evening into night, and still the distinguished passenger did not appear. The captain and his wife concluded that the Colonel had changed his mind, and were just making everything snug for the night when, close on midnight, a stealthy step was heard on deck, and next minute, the missing one presented himself at the cabin-door. He apologized heartily for neglecting to keep his engagement, and hastened to explain the reason of his lateness. On its becoming known, he said, that he was to leave Mauritius in a couple of days, his military comrades and many private friends had resolved to make him the subject of a parting demonstration. "This sort of thing" he heartily detested; and, in order to shun the ordeal of being lionised, he had walked into the country a distance of some twelve miles, and there secreted himself till darkness fell, after which he walked back again to the town, and from thence to the *Scotia*. No wonder that the captain and his wife were somewhat amused at the explanation. This little incident, however, did much to reveal the man, and tended to popularise the stranger in the eyes of his host and hostess. For an hour he talked lightly, and seemed to derive much enjoyment from the fact that he had succeeded in escaping the honours his friends wished to bestow on him. With that peculiar aptitude which truly great men have for making all those around them feel happy and at ease, the Colonel, even before he retired to rest that night, had fairly established himself as a favourite with all on board; for he was a man who, as the captain put it, "sternly resisted all fuss."

Early on the following forenoon the ship was besieged by visitors who came to bid the Colonel God-speed. They by no means represented only the "upper crust" of Mauritius society, but included many in the middle and lower class of life to whom, at one time or

other, Gordon had shown kindness. In connection with this reception of visitors, an incident occurred that went still further to the revealing of Gordon's gentlemanly disposition. Late in the afternoon a lace-coated officer from the barracks—a personage of “high degree”—strode on deck, with that air of hauteur which, alas! those bearing her Majesty's commission so often display in intercourse with the merchant marine. Without deigning to lift his cap to the captain's wife, who happened to be on deck, or even stopping to exchange compliments with the captain, he, whisking his cane in quite a lofty manner, asked curtly: “Is the Colonel at home?” Gordon, who saw the whole proceeding, emerged from his place on deck, and drily exchanged civilities with the officer, whose manner had suddenly become quite ingratiating. The interview was a brief and formal one, and, when the dignified young officer stepped down the gangway, Gordon stepped up to the captain and his wife and offered a sincere apology for the bad manners displayed by his last visitor. When he had done this, he took occasion to remark that, had his command at the barracks not come to an end, he should certainly have deemed it his duty to tell the haughty fellow what he thought of his breeding. “He had no more right,” he said, “to come on board your ship and act as he has acted than the occupier of the British throne would have to enter the private house of any of her subjects, and demand to be shown through its rooms, without first securing the consent of its owner.” This incident, slight as it may appear, seemed to give the Colonel much pain, for nothing offended him more deeply, or called forth his indignation more effectually, than the witnessing of an ungentlemanly action of any kind.

Gordon's love for children was somewhat akin to a passion, and several of the Mauritius boys and girls, on whom he had been accustomed to bestow—what were always at his command—a kindly smile and an encouraging word, came on board the ship to bid him good-bye. One little lad, in whose welfare the Colonel had taken a very special interest, came among the rest, and was introduced to the captain and his wife as “My pet lamb.” The child brought with him a parting gift for his benefactor, consisting of a couple of bottles of sherry, and these he presented shyly to the great soldier. The Colonel thanked his favourite very warmly for the gift, and then parted from his “pet lamb” in the most affecting manner. The bottles of sherry were not uncorked, nor was a case of champagne that he received as a parting gift from his friends disturbed during the voyage, for Gordon's habits were of a strictly temperate nature, and it was only on the rarest occasions that he could be induced to taste stimulants.

The Colonel's luggage, which was of a very meagre description, was easily stowed, the only bulky item of it being a large and very

heavy box, addressed "Colonel Gordon," and with the word "Stationery" printed in large characters on the lid. The captain was naturally much exercised as to how and when his illustrious passenger intended to consume such a tremendous supply of writing materials, but the real contents of the box were, as yet, a secret.

On the 4th day of April the anchor was weighed, and the voyage to the Cape begun. The wind was at first light, but on the following day a swell prevailed, and Gordon, who always admitted he was a very bad sailor, had to draw on his heroism to support him under *mal de mer*. In short, he utterly failed to keep up; he fell sick, and was reluctantly forced to remain below. Indeed, it was while he was yet suffering severely from the horror of sea-sickness that he became a General, for, under date April 6, we find this entry: "Yesterday we had a Colonel on board; to-day we have a General, for this is the day of our passenger's promotion. He does not seem to attach much importance to his honours." For the next day or two excellent weather prevailed, and the General's health and spirits improved proportionately. He was a great smoker, and, seated in a big easy-chair, which had been placed on deck for him, enclouded in cigarette smoke, he would sit for hours during the heat of the day, and talk in the most entertaining manner. At nightfall he would, when in the humour for it, keep the watch company on deck, and while away the tedium by drawing liberally from his never-ending fund of stories, and very occasionally he would touch on his own past history and future prospects. He shrank from all appearance of self-laudation, and would never encourage questions that would involve him in anything of the kind. In the cabin, of a night, he would often allow his conversation to flow forth in a swift and unbroken current. Nor was his talk ever frivolous. Many times, indeed, his manner was serious, and even solemn, and often he would sit for hours silent, and apparently deep in thought.

According to the diary, the General possessed one theme on which he specially delighted to speak. Under date April 8, appears the following somewhat remarkable passage:—

"The General was very talkative this evening, explaining to us his pet theory—viz., that the Seychelles Islands, which are situated to the north-east of Madagascar, are the site of the Garden of Eden! He gave many reasons for thinking so—one being that there was a tree found there that is not to be found in any other part of the world. This, he is confident, is the 'Forbidden Tree'! It is called the Coco-de-Mer, or 'nut of the sea,' and has many peculiarities. The nut is shaped like a heart, but, with its husk taken off, it is like a man's body from the chest to the knees. To raise a tree, he explained, a nut is laid on the ground and covered with leaves. By-and-by, a shoot comes out and runs along the ground, and, when about

twelve feet long, it takes root. The root is in the form of a bulb four feet in diameter. The tree itself grows to the height of one hundred feet, and is only about nine inches thick. It is forty-seven years old before it bears fruit and its nuts grow seven in a bunch, from the end of the extended arm, each weighing perhaps forty pounds. They take seven years to ripen. The leaves are twenty-five feet long and fourteen feet broad, and can bear a man's weight! It must, indeed, be a wonderful tree."

Many times during the voyage, in conversation during the evening, Gordon would revert to this pet theory. But, though he would sometimes become quite eloquent over the subject, his arguments hardly persuaded the other occupants of the cabin; the captain, a sound-headed Scotsman, "thinking to himself that if the theory was a correct one, then Eve must have experienced considerable difficulty in getting the 'apple' conveyed to her husband."

In connection with this eccentric idea, so firmly believed in by Gordon, let me mention a peculiar and somewhat remarkable incident, as given in the captain's own words..

"One morning," said the master of the *Scotia*, "I was working upon deck when, in his usual polite manner, the General came and asked me to give him a hand in moving the large trunk marked 'Stationery,' which had, up till this time, occupied a place in his room. I went. He merely wished its position reversed—that is, its address side turned toward the wall, so that he would not, as he said, see that imposing word 'Stationery' meeting his eye every time he ascended to the deck, or descended from the deck to the cabin. He did not yet tell me what the mysterious box contained, but, some days later, he informed me that he wished to put its contents into less space, and respectfully asked me to help him. The case was, after some difficulty, opened; and judge of my surprise when, instead of books and papers, as I expected, there met my eyes a great number of equally-cut pieces of wood, arranged with the greatest possible care, and almost filling the large box. The General, perceiving my surprise, speedily explained to me that this was a treasure he prized more highly than all his personal belongings, 'for,' said he, suddenly becoming serious, 'this is the wood of the Cocco-de-Mer, the "Forbidden Tree." I heard,' he continued, 'that there was at one time seen in Mauritius a chest of drawers made of this wood, and, though its discovery cost me protracted search, I at last came across it in a second-hand upholsterer's shop. I paid a good price for the old and rickety piece of furniture, and depend on it, I would not have lost the rare opportunity of possessing a quantity of this most valuable of woods—not for any sum.'"

He afterwards presented the captain's wife, as a mark of the greatest favour, with a piece of the wood which he so much cherished,

and that, together with a pair of ostrich eggs which he gave her, as a keepsake, on his leaving the *Scotia*, are now preserved by her with the greatest care and veneration.

A certain and considerable portion of every day was set aside by the General for reading. The mail which brought the orders for him to proceed to South Africa also brought a month's daily papers—the *Times*, the *Standard*, and the *Daily News*—in all nearly a hundred great sheets. These, which he took with him, he read with the greatest eagerness and care, and the rapidity with which he read surprised those on board. Not a single item, however trivial, escaped his notice, and of this he gave proof when giving of an evening what he called “a digest of the news budget.” The newspapers exhausted, he tackled the captain's library, which happily was of considerable proportions. Nor did he seem to have any particular fancy for any special kind of literature. Astronomy, navigation, history, geography, and whatever else came first to hand, seemed to be equally acceptable to his mind, for he read the books as eagerly as he had done the newspapers. He undoubtedly possessed, too, the enviable faculty of imparting to those around him the knowledge he derived from his reading, and his stock of information was as varied as it was accurate. Both the captain and his wife bear testimony as to that, declaring that to sit and listen to his conversation on any subject, that lay near his heart, was indeed a pleasure which they appreciated very highly. Especially on philanthropic questions would he speak with the greatest enthusiasm and earnestness, and then at the tenderness and largeness of his heart were manifest to the highest degree.

When a little more than a week had elapsed, the wind rose suddenly, and, as suddenly, the sea became so rough that the General's buoyancy, for he had a buoyancy, was of no avail. The higher the waves reared themselves, the more he was tossed, and the old enemy, sea-sickness, again asserted its power. He re-

misery were described by himself as "far more severe than he had ever during his lifetime experienced, either at home or abroad." Ver often he repeated his determination to go on shore at the very first port the *Scotia* reached, and, one morning, after a sleepless night of sickness, he called the captain to his bedside, and offered him £50 if he would make for land with all possible speed!

But, under date of Wednesday, April 13, we meet this encouraging entry: "The General is better, and is getting on splendidly!" Again, the captain said, his free and easy manner returned to him; his merry laugh and cheery word could be heard both fore and aft, and his cigarette-case, which had remained untouched for a week or more, was again often appealed to. He had a great love for nautical expressions, and used to vie with the crew in his frequent use of them. The most ordinary story he made amusing by padding plentifully with these. In those bright days, after he had mastered the sickness, he became happier than ever, and he took delight in poking fun at all around him. He had his big armchair taken on deck, and placed alongside his hostess' work-table, and there he would sit for hours together, with his favourite cigarette between his lips, intently reading. But often he would lay the book on his knee and, as he puffed tobacco-smoke vigorously from his mouth, his mood would suddenly change; his eyes would assume a "far-away" expression, and there for an hour he would sit almost motionless with his gaze fixed on the sea. These strange fits of absent-mindedness would often overtake him, even when in the midst of conversation with his hostess, and after a lengthy interval of unbroken silence he would, by an apparent effort, wake from his day-dream and go on just as before.

Late one beautiful day his hostess were sitting together on deck, he and she. Their conversation was as changeable as the wind and the topsails overhead. The General talked of the Nile through when, some years before, he came to the source of the Nile.

The answer was as brief as it was emphatic, and the topic of matrimony was not further touched upon.

Where sickness prevailed Gordon never stood inactive. Several of the crew of the *Scotia* suffered from illness, and they were his especial care. He spoke kindly and cheerfully to the poor fellows, and either read to them himself or saw that they were supplied with literature. They were the first he asked after in the morning and his last care at night. He had pet names for several of the crew, and one young lad whom he took a deep interest in, he called the "Dover Powder Youth," from the fact that he used to have a "Dover's-powder" administered to him when he lay ill.

While on board the *Scotia* the General observed the Sunday in his own characteristic fashion. A large portion of the forenoon he devoted to a close and careful study of his Bible, and he invariably wrote out extensive notes and comments on the portions of Scripture that might have been engaging his attention. This done he would lay aside his note-book, and with his Bible lying open before him, would engage in deep meditation. If one entered the state-room on a Sunday forenoon he would find the great soldier, if not reading or writing as indicated, sitting in his favourite seat with his head resting heavily on his hand, and his eyes shut as if he were asleep. The afternoon he devoted to conversation and general reading.

Not long before the time of which we write, the General, it will be remembered, had accepted the post of private secretary to Lord Ripon, the then newly appointed Governor-General of India. The private secretary, however, suddenly and without warning, flung up the appointment, to the surprise of everybody, and returned home. One evening, in course of conversation, the topic of fashionable society was touched upon and Gordon made reference to the reason that induced him to give up office on the occasion mentioned. The true and only reason he had, he said, for leaving India was that he could not put up with the ways and customs of the high social circle in which he was expected to move. "Dress for dinner, dress for evening parties, dress for balls, dress and decoration, decoration and dress! day after day. I could not," said Gordon, "stand the worry of it, and rather than do so I gave up the appointment."

General Gordon's absolute faith in Providence was one of the leading features of his wonderful and peculiar character. Not once, nor twice, but often, he said, he had been reduced to little short of pecuniary destitution, but he had always been granted enough to do his turn, and assist those in need. For he parted freely with money, and this weakness of his was often taken advantage of by needy persons. He used to tell of a friend of his who was a bit of a spendthrift, and to whom he (Gordon) had often given money. But, even to his generosity there was a limit, and, in reply to a pressing

appeal in which his needy relative declared, by way of a threat, that if the money was not sent he would go to Patagonia, Gordon simply replied: "Go, and I trust the change may do you good."

"Captain," said the General, as they both sat together on deck one evening, enjoying a smoke—"Captain, you remember the occasion on which I was so ill with that horrid sea-sickness, when in my sore trouble I offered you fifty pounds to land me at the nearest port? I could have held good my bargain, but nothing more. I have been making a rummage over my pecuniary possessions, and I find that I can scrape together exactly that sum—all I possess in the world."

The remaining days slipped quietly and happily by, and at length the voyage of almost a month's duration was drawing to a close, for, under date May 2, we read:—"Saw the Cape of Good Hope at four P.M., and were within sight of its lights all night;" and then a little further on, "We were very pleased to get round the Cape at last, and had a glass of wine with the General to congratulate each other on the event."

At length, his destination reached, the General parted from those on board the *Scotia*, not before faithfully promising to come back and spend an evening soon. ("We will miss the General's company much," says the diary.)

In a few days afterwards, therefore, in fulfilment of his promise, the General came on board, and stayed the evening; and, over a cup of tea, he told the captain and his wife of an awkward situation he had found himself in since last he saw them. His arrival in Cape Town was known only to his two nephews, but, when the intelligence that he was in the city got wing, he received numerous invitations to dinners, suppers, balls, and the like. He went to an evening party at the house of a wealthy and influential citizen, and gave this account of his adventures:—

"At last the time came," he said, "when we had to tack ahead and drop anchor in the dining-hall. I was offered the arm of my hostess, and buckling on to the port side, I made good headway for some time. As we approached the door of the dining-hall, I could see that it was too narrow to allow berth room for two clippers under full sail. I therefore dropped behind, and allowed my hostess to sail ahead, but, failing to keep a proper look-out, I stupidly planted my foot on my escort's dress-tails, and rent the garment. For my heinous blunder I received a wild look of disapproval, and I shall not easily be forgiven. During the evening I fell into several other mistakes, and, when I rose to leave, the company seemed as heartily relieved as I was."

Thus he chatted till late on in the night, when he took a final farewell, and left, nor did his host and hostess ever see his genial face again.

A few days later the captain of the *Scotia* received a brief letter from the General, stating that, as he had taken command of the colonial forces, he would proceed up-country immediately. He did not forget to ask particularly after those on board, who, during the

recent voyage, had received so much kindness at his hands: for, in a postscript, he asks, "How is the invalid Martin and the 'Dover Powder Youth'?" This note was followed by another (both letters are carefully preserved and highly-valued by the captain) in which he asked as a favour that one of the two ostrich eggs he had given to the captain's wife should be presented to his "pet lamb, Willie Brodie," and then follows the benediction, "Good-bye, all of *Scotia*!"

"Except," said the captain of the *Scotia*, "on one other occasion when General Gordon sent us his compliments, we heard no more of him till his death was lamented in both hemispheres and his name was on every lip. And I often think that could we, by some means, have been afforded a glimpse into the distant future; could we have witnessed the stirring events that crowded the last stages of his career, and looked upon him at the moment when, the eyes of the world turned towards him, he so dearly won the immortal title 'The Hero of Khartoum,' I question if we could have loved him more than we did, when, as a much more obscure, though a none the less noble man, he was our cabin companion on board the *Scotia*."

WM. H. SPENCE. •

THE TAXATION OF GROUND-VALUES.

THE object of the following few pages is to briefly examine the proposals contained in a pamphlet on this subject, which has been recently issued by Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C. The author has a considerable reputation with regard to some other subjects, and also apparently writes as the official exponent of the views of a Society for the Taxation of Ground-Values. And, consequently, his views, and the reasoning in support of them, have a *prima facie* claim to the attentive consideration of the public.

Mr. Moulton begins (p. 3) by calling attention to the recent growth of local expenditure and local indebtedness, and remarks (p. 4) that, although this local expenditure may be a wise economy, the local taxation by which it is met is felt as a heavy burden. He points out that the whole of this expenditure is raised by an indiscriminate levy of rates upon the annual value of buildings, which consists (*a*) of the value of the structure representing a capital outlay, which is entitled to specially "favourable treatment," and (*b*) of the value of the ground which is not due to any expenditure, but to "the presence of the town," and partly also (p. 5) to the creation by the community, at its own expense, of—

"Fixed capital in the shape of streets, bridges, open spaces, public buildings, sewers," &c., &c. . . . "Even the more ordinary local expenditure, which is devoted to the maintenance of existing streets, sewers, &c., is largely for the benefit of the landowners. Their land can only preserve its enhanced value by the maintenance of those works which have enabled it to acquire that value."

"Seeing, then (p. 6), that these swollen ground-values (though they have become the private property of the landowners) are chiefly created and maintained by public expenditure, while the value of the buildings in a town is created and maintained at the cost of private owners. . . . these two descriptions of property ought to contribute to local taxation in very different ways and to very different extents."

And this would, in fact, have been the case long ago but for—

“The prevalence of a notion that rates—though levied upon landed property—are in reality a personal tax paid by the occupier, and that they are levied on (*i.e.*, made proportional to) the annual value of premises solely because the rent of the premises he occupies is taken as a rough measure of his ability to contribute.” “The position of local taxation in our towns is, therefore, as follows:—The proceeds are to a large extent expended in creating and maintaining the enormously enhanced value of the land upon which the town is built, while the owners of that land, who profit thereby, contribute little or nothing directly, and but a small part indirectly, to that taxation.”

The two fundamental principles of the Society are then (p. 7) defined to be—

“(1) That the local taxation of a town ought, to a large extent, to be levied upon the owners of the land within the town in proportion to the annual value of their land,” and (2) “that no arrangement should be permitted to interfere with the landowner’s obligation to pay this tax personally.”

The first of these propositions is justified by the consideration that—

“It is only fair that the ground-values created and maintained by the existence and development of the town should bear the expense of the common outlay necessary to the continuance of that existence and that development;”

and the second, by the remark (p. 8) that—

“Without it any reform will be delusive, and the landowner will be able, as at present, to slip the burden from his own shoulders to that (*sic*) of the occupier by requiring him to undertake to pay the rates.”

It is then stated that to carry out the principles of the Society legislation is necessary, with the object of assessing and rating land and buildings separately; and (p. 9) of fixing the land-rate upon the owners of the ground-values by means of successive deductions, which are to be made from the occupier downwards in respect of so much of every rent payable as represents land-value. This present land-value is called by the author “*ground-value*,” and is entirely independent of any ground-rent that may actually have been fixed, since it represents the *actual rental value of the land for the time being*.

The rates levied on the ground-value should then (p. 10) be far heavier than the rates on the value of the buildings (though Mr. Moulton does not actually recommend at present any legislation with this object).

“Indeed it is a very doubtful question whether some kind of buildings should be taxed at all. *To compel a man (the italics are not Mr. Moulton’s) to pay a heavier tax because he prefers to live in a decent and well-built house rather than in a hovel savours of the absurdities of the window-tax.*”

Unoccupied land must bear its full rate, in order to force it into

the building market. In the case of a building held at an actual ground rent of £100, but standing on ground now worth £500 a year; and let to an occupier at £1000 a year (so that the value of the structure is also apparently £500 per annum) the occupier C will deduct from the rent payable to the owner of the building lease B, rates on £500, the ground value; and B will deduct from the rent payable to the landowner A rates on £100, being so much of the ground-value rent as reaches A, B, thus paying rates on the £400 per annum ground-value rent, which he himself receives.

The above, then, is as fair a *resumé* as I have been able to make of the main arguments, and the main proposals of Mr. Moulton's pamphlet upon this important and interesting subject. The remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to answering certain objections to the proposed scheme, especially with reference to the allegation that it would be an interference with existing expectations and existing contracts. These answers do not appear to me to at all meet the objections in question; but I do not intend to deal with them at present, both from considerations of space, and also because there are other objections to the scheme that appear to me to be fatal, and that will be immediately stated.

Generally, the whole pamphlet is written in an easy, flowing, rather rhetorical style, which is unusual in treatises of this nature, and which is well calculated to attract persons who are usually repelled by the logical severity of economical investigations. Unfortunately, as will soon appear, Mr. Moulton has not been able to combine with this too attractive method that precision and accuracy of thought and language which are the most essential requisites for subjects of this nature.

The first point that will strike an attentive reader is, that the increase in land-values is ascribed to two different causes—namely, (1) “The presence of the town,” and “the growth of the community;” and (2) the expenditure of the rates; and that no attempt at all is made to distinguish between, or ascertain, the amounts of increase which are respectively caused by these two factors; and yet these two causes are sufficiently distinguished by most, if not all, writers on political economy, the increase due to the first of these causes being, in fact, nothing more nor less than our old friend, the “unearned increment.” This mistake would be sufficiently important in any case, but in the case of this pamphlet it appears to vitiate the whole argument—which is, as I understand it, that increased land-values should bear their proportion of the rates, *because they are caused by the expenditure of the rates*. If, then, a portion of this increase is not caused by this expenditure, but by something else, this portion, in whatever other way it ought to be dealt with, ought not to be rated in respect of this expenditure; and this consideration is of the more

importance, the larger the portion of the increase, which is, in fact, "unearned increment." How large this portion in fact is, Mr. Moulton has, as I have stated, not endeavoured to ascertain, and I shall not myself try to estimate. Indeed, it appears to bear no proportion or relation whatever to that portion of the increase of ground-values which is due to local expenditure. It would be impossible, for instance, to say that the "unearned increment" in London and Oxford respectively bore any sort of proportion to the respective rates of local expenditure in the two cities; but it does, undoubtedly, appear to me—and I think almost all political economists would agree with this view—that wherever, as in many parts of London, there has been a great and striking advance in ground-values, by far the larger proportion of this increase is due to "unearned increment," and not to local expenditure. Indeed, it is well known that a high scale of local expenditure, or what is known as "heavy rates," has a distinct tendency to keep down rents, and therefore land-values.

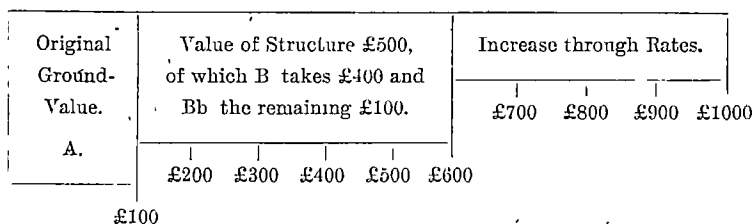
Again, Mr. Moulton justifies the rating of ground-values because they are *created and maintained* by the common outlay. The preceding paragraph has shown that the extent to which they are so *created* is uncertain and probably small. But, to let that pass for the moment, why is "*maintenance*" coupled with "*creation*," to the absolute confusion, so far as I can see, of the argument? Increase of ground-value is to be rated because it is created by local expenditure, but when it has once been so created, is the whole ground-value, original and increased, to be rated again because it is *maintained*? Subsequent local expenditure will, according to the argument, be occupied in making an additional increase to the already increased ground-value, and this additional increase must therefore be rated for the benefit so derived. But are the already existing ground-values, which are necessarily maintained during the process of further increase, *also* to pay for this maintenance? This appears to be rating twice over in the course of the same process, and for a necessarily concurrent result, and would in principle involve the rating of mortgagees, since their securities are undoubtedly *maintained* by the expenditure of the rates.

In connection with this point, it may be noticed, first, that Mr. Moulton makes no attempt to distinguish between *original* ground-values, which should apparently, on the principle of benefit, not be rated at all, and *increased* ground-values which may be said to be partially due to the expenditure of rates; and, secondly, that he is apparently ignorant or oblivious of the fact that a considerable portion of actual present ground-value is as much due to private expenditure as are the buildings standing on the ground, since new streets, footways, sewers, &c., are, in all ordinary cases, paid for not (as might be inferred from certain passages in the pamphlet) by the ill-used public,

but by the landowner himself, or by some one whom he pays either in money or money's-worth. But the point is chiefly important as leading directly to the consideration of the question, "Who is the person who actually benefits by an increase in ground-values?" and so, as I believe, to the detection of the central fallacy in Mr. Moulton's argument.

Let us take the illustration given by Mr. Moulton himself, on p. 11 of his book, and suppose that a landowner A has let land at the rent of £100 per annum for ninety-nine years to a builder, B, who has erected thereon a structure which is (apart from the land) of the rental of £500 per annum; and let us also suppose that, in consequence of local expenditure alone, the value of the ground has increased to £500 per annum, and the value of ground and structure together to £1000 per annum, at which rent it is let to C. But let us further make this additional supposition, which is necessary for the purpose of distinguishing between the various parts of which B's interest is composed—namely, that after B had built the structure, which was then with the land worth £600 per annum, he secured his profit, partly in cash and partly in rent, by letting the structure and land to Bb in consideration of a premium for the whole ninety-nine years, less one day, at an annual rent of £500.

The position of the parties may then be illustrated by a diagram, in which the rental of the land and structure is represented on a scale like that of a thermometer, each division representing £100, thus:—



At the commencement of affairs, then, before the supposed increase in ground-values, the position of the parties is this—C, the occupier, pays Bb a rent of £600 per annum, being the full rack-rental of the property, but deducts from this payment the rates on £100, being the then annual ground-value; Bb pays B a rent of £500 per annum, from which he similarly deducts rates on the ground-value of £100, and thus himself obtains a full net rent of £100; B pays A a rent of £100 per annum from which he also deducts rates, and thus himself obtains a full net rent of £400; A is the only owner who has to bear rates on his ownership, and this he does to the full amount of the rent he receives, although a very considerable part of it must have been original value, totally irrespective of local expenditure, and another part of it may represent private expenditure in streets, &c.

Now, assume that, in consequence solely of local expenditure, the ground-value of the land has risen to £500 per annum, and the rack-rental of land and structure to £1000 per annum; and let us again consider the position of the parties. C, the occupier, now pays Bb a rent of £1000 per annum, from which, however, he now deducts the rates on £500, being the present ground-value; Bb pays B a rent of £500 per annum *on the whole of which he now deducts the rates*, and thus himself obtains a net rental of £1000—£500=£500 per annum, or £400 per annum more than he did before (exactly the amount of the increase in ground-value); B pays A a rent as before of £100 per annum, on which, as before, he deducts rates, and therefore himself receives a rental of £100 per annum *less rates on the whole amount*, and A receives just the same as before. The net result is that B, because his fixed net rent of £400 per annum has, by the increase of ground-values, been brought within the range of the present ground-value, has to pay rates in respect of the increase of £400 per annum, *every penny of which goes unrated into the pocket of Bb*. If a final proof has to be given of the absolutely arbitrary character of the suggested scheme, it is only necessary to consider the position of B during the progress of the increase in ground-value from £100 to £500 per annum, or the future position of Bb when the ground-value rises above £500 per annum. In the first case, B would have seen his fixed rent of £100 per annum gradually becoming subject to taxation in respect of an increase in ground-value, in the benefit of which he was not allowed to share. In the second case, Bb will at last, after having received an increase of £400 per annum for which he has never paid anything, begin to pay rates on further increases, because it just happens that a portion of his rent now falls within the ground-value limit.

Examples of the above kind might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, but they would all tend to the same result. The simple fact is, that the persons benefited by a rise in ground-values are not those who receive the fixed primary or ground-value rents; but those who are entitled either to possession or to the receipt of the ultimate or rack-rentals in proportion to the extent to which they are so entitled; this extent again being measured both by the duration of the time for which they will be so entitled, and by the comparative proximity or remoteness of that time. The receipt of increase in ground-value has nothing in the world to do with the receipt of ground-value as originally fixed. The gigantic fallacy (I can use no weaker expression) of Mr. Moulton's proposal consists in taxing the receiver of original fixed ground-value for the profit which accrues to the receiver of the *increase* in ground-value—namely, the person entitled to the ultimate rent.

It may, however, be said that A, the owner of the reversion, will ultimately benefit by the expenditure of such parts at any rate of local

taxation as have been devoted to works of permanent importance. I believe myself that, even independently of contract, the grievance is very much exaggerated, since the sinking-fund for the repayment of capital expended in this way (which is all we have to consider) is a very small proportion of the rates; and that when contracts are deliberately entered into to pay this sinking-fund there is no real grievance whatever. And, as a business man, I do not agree with Mr. Moulton's view (p. 7) that the effect of the uncertainty in rates is to exclude their consideration in fixing ground-rents, and think it more likely that (as in other similar cases) the result is to cause a wide allowance to be made, which shall cover any possible increase. But my main answer is that the proposal I am criticizing is one for taxing incomes, not reversions; that under it improved leasehold ground-rents which are merely terminable annuities, and in most cases represent actual expenditure, and feu-rents or chief-rents, which are merely perpetual annuities and have no reversion attached to them, would be rated equally with freehold ground-rents, which involve a reversion; that as between reversions themselves Mr. Moulton does not propose in any way to estimate the value of the reversion, but merely to deduct rates on the present ground-rent, which he himself calls arbitrary, and which to the knowledge of every surveyor affords no indication of the value of the reversion; and that Mr. Moulton has not attempted to draw any distinction between capital and income expenditure of the rates, a distinction which is absolutely vital to any effective consideration of the subject. When a proposal to rate reversions is put forward (and few people who have not considered the matter can form any conception of the difficulties and dangers surrounding the attempt) then it will be time to deal with any such proposal on its merits.

I have purposely dealt here only with one or two main and fundamental reasons for considering Mr. Moulton's proposals unfair and oppressive in their tendency, and have not attempted in a periodical which appeals to the general reader to enumerate the almost numberless ways in which such legislation as he recommends would unsettle and confuse the operations of those who are accustomed to develop, manage, and deal in building estates and house property. But it may be useful briefly to notice what class of persons would be most benefited by the proposed change in rating. It is quite clear, in the first place, that the wealthy inhabitants of fashionable localities would gain far more than the less opulent class who reside in the suburbs, since the ground-values in respect of which deductions are to be made bear a far greater proportion to the value of the structures in the former case than in the latter. But to the middlemen who farm out single rooms in the central districts to the very poor the proposed change would be a veritable godsend. They, of course, charge to their tenants

a rent inclusive of all rates, and would have no reason whatever to abate a jot of their demands on this score. But, on the other hand, they would be entitled to deduct from the rents paid to their landlords, and to put into their own pockets, the whole rates on the full value of the ground on which their houses are built, estimated, as it would seem, not only on the value of that ground if used for its present purpose, but on the value which it would realize if cleared and then applied to more lucrative objects.

Too much importance also can hardly be attached to the following consideration (on which alone it would be possible to write nearly a whole treatise) namely, that for the cheap development of land, and the cheap erection of houses, it is above all things essential to be able to command capital at low rates of interest. This capital is at present supplied to a very large extent for the purchase of freehold and leasehold ground-rents, because, though the interest is low, the security is almost perfect, and the income is absolutely fixed. If this security is once assailed, or this income once rendered fluctuating, the whole of this large mass of cheap, or trust, capital will forthwith be drawn into the debenture or preference stocks of railways, or other similar securities, with the sanctity and fixity of which no one, so far, has been found bold enough to meddle; and rents will inevitably be raised through the higher rates of interest which will be charged for the whole, and not merely for the more speculative part, of the capital invested in houses. The stock-splitting operations, which have recently been taking place, prove to demonstration how large is the amount of capital seeking investment at a moderate, but fixed return. It would be an act of political fatuity to drive this capital away from being utilized towards the production of dwellings for our ever-increasing numbers.

One word more in conclusion. Mr. Moulton speaks airily at page 6 of his pamphlet of the former "prevalence of a notion" that rates are a tax on the occupier, and are levied on the rent, because it is a rough measure of his ability to contribute. Was he aware, when writing, in this fashion, that this "notion" is the deliberately reasoned conclusion of (amongst others) the greatest modern English master of Political Economy.* If he *was* aware of this, does he consider it right in a work, priced at one penny, and therefore intended for the masses, to use language so obviously likely to mislead those who have no means of checking his statements? If he was *not*—but here it is unnecessary to do more than suggest an inference!

C. H. SARGANT.

* See "Mill's Principles of Political Economy," Book V., chap. iii., § 6.

UNIONIST FUSION.

FOR a time it seemed that the proposal to bring the two sections of the Unionist party together in a common organization and under one name had been abandoned. But it has been revived of late, with a more particular view apparently to the inclusion of Lord Hartington in the Cabinet. That it is a seductive proposal for the Government party must be allowed. But that there is much in it that is purely experimental, and that if carried out its consequences, whatever their character, could not be slight, must be admitted too ; and therefore it behoves all concerned to inquire very carefully whether they who press the proposal on public attention do not commit a common fault in politics by running after a fascinating idea with eyes for nothing but its fascinations.

These there is no difficulty in understanding ; but, so far, no account of them that has appeared in print goes beyond the presentation of a glorious vision, in which all that is sober, wise, and strong gathers under one banner—all trivial differences discarded, every grave difference reduced to triviality—in order to quell a most alarming incursion of disorder. Who, being a patriotic Briton, does not wish that it could come true ? But who, being a sensible Briton, does not wish for some assurance, before the friendly clans are gathered beneath the one new flag and under the command of a committee of their chiefs, that the trivial differences *have been* discarded and the grave ones reduced to triviality ? It is an important point, because, if nothing of this sort happens before the fusion, the differences may be carried into the fusion ; and the result ? I do not say that there is any certainty about it, but I do say that there is much uncertainty. . What usually happens on the intrusion of a few drops of water when two masses of molten metal are run together ?

Prudence bids us remember what does usually happen, and look to what would be the outcome and the cost of similar accidents in the case of party fusion.

The prospects of such a proposal as we are considering cannot be fairly judged without regard to several circumstances which appear to be entirely neglected. The suggestion having been made, and more than once repeated, it is important to ask, Whence does it come? To whom has it been addressed, and what has been the response to it? Quite conceivably, it might have arisen from a spontaneous change of feeling in the general body of Conservatism on the one hand and Liberalism on the other: a change so complete that, even if it were not accompanied by a demand for fusion, signified readiness to fuse and the temper to remain in accord. If that were so, the proposal would stand on firm ground, and somebody may say that this is the actual state of the case. But—no illusions where illusion is dangerous, however pleasant it may be. It is not true that the fusion proposal did so arise, and we may doubt whether there is a sufficient modification of feeling or opinion on both sides to warrant belief in the scheme as generally acceptable.

We know exactly when and where the idea was first broached. It originated with Lord Salisbury at a time of stress which soon passed away. Of course, the Prime Minister cannot have been moved by personal feeling alone when he said that he would readily accept Lord Hartington as a colleague in the Ministry. Obviously, he must have felt that more good than harm would come of such an arrangement, so far as the country was concerned. But how was the suggestion received by those whose assent was invited and could not be forced? With coldness in some places, with repulsion in others. Some individuals liked the notion, but they were few, and Lord Hartington himself was not of the number. It soon appeared that, as a body, the Conservatives were strongly opposed to it; to the Unionist-Liberals, as a body, it proved yet more offensive; and, of course, that was quite enough to make the scheme impossible. But it was not given up. From time to time the suggestion has been heard of since—always, however, in the same way. It has never proceeded in any shape from the rank and file of either party. The reek of "public opinion" from those quarters has never exhibited a trace of a desire for fusion, while signs of a contrary wish have not been infrequent. Whenever the proposal has reappeared some individual of more or less distinction has raised it; and in every case it has fluttered to the ground again at once, chilled by the frost of general dislike. On the last occasion, indeed—when the suggestion was formally revived by Lord Hartington himself, and supported immediately afterwards by Mr. Chamberlain—surprise kept it before the world for some days: the wonder being why they, of all men, should

have brought forward the scheme just then, nothing being known to account for their doing so. No explanation appeared, and again the suggestion was dismissed by common consent. The followers of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain would have no more to do with it than other people.

Wishing is of no avail in circumstances so adverse as these. However desirable the fusion of two political parties may be, it cannot be accomplished unless both are willing, and cannot be attempted without the opposite result if they are not. But, suppose the Conservative and Liberal Unionists, the general body of them, ready to gratify their leaders by making the experiment, would a wise man decide on permitting them to do so? Not with much confidence, I should think. Some Conservative voices have spoken in favour of the attempt—but faintly, and with the hollowness of echo. Some Liberals, whose judgment ranks high (and not officialized Liberals either) would not hesitate for a moment; that we know. But, one and all, the Liberal supporters of the proposal stand upon an assumption of extreme fragility. The basis of their reasoning is that, amalgamation having been resolved upon, the Conservative brethren would carry out the idea by walking the whole distance into the Liberal camp. They would make no difficulty about that; the fact being—(this is the manifest and sometimes the avowed notion)—that since Mr. Gladstone has preached Home Rule the Conservatives have shed their Conservatism. What there is in the natural order of things to account for their doing so has never been explained, I venture to say, even in the minds of those who seem to believe it done. However, there is the belief and the expectation drawn from it. Suggest to any one of these Liberal Unionist advocates of fusion that the Liberals will have to move toward Conservatism a little if amalgamation is to agree with both parties, and if he thinks you sensible he will hardly believe you serious. To him it seems manifestly impossible that the Liberal Unionists should make a single step toward Conservatism, and not much less than an outrage to ask them to do so. There is little to complain of in that, for it testifies to well-settled convictions, which are always respectable; but it has a great deal to do with the fusion scheme, obviously. We are thereby informed that, as soon as the actual business of amalgamation was attempted, the proud unyielding spirit of Liberal consistency would clash with quite enough of Tory feeling to strike fire. Why not? Is there no fighting pride in Toryism? no remnant of the Old Adam in persons of that creed? Can it really be supposed that Tory opinion has become Liberal from the root because of a controversy about government in Ireland? Or is it imagined that the later developments of Radicalism—which is Liberalism in extremes—naturally incline Conservatives to adopt more “advanced” opinions

themselves? None of these questions can be made to yield an answer favourable to fusion, and others quite as cogent and unmanageable might be set.

This being so, let us see what might be expected to happen if the two parties tried the experiment of combination. We will assume that the initial difficulty of persuading both to abandon their old designations has been got over. A common name has been chosen (never mind at what sacrifice of valued associations on either side), and a stringent necessary rule has been passed by which no parliamentary candidate is permitted to refer to his previous connections in the language of preference. It is a good deal to take for granted, but let so much be assumed. Now comes the business of establishing a common organization in every constituency; and as soon as that essential detail is approached, the likelihood of scores of little local quarrels comes into view. At once we are confronted with the probability of contentions like those which have distracted Birmingham for two years, and which no authority can ever hope to compose. As matters stand, the Unionist parties have separate organizations in most constituencies; in all, I suppose, where the Liberals are fairly numerous. In absorbing one of these into the other—which into which?—in choosing officers for the common association, in making rules as to the choice of Parliamentary candidates (and no candidate can have belonged originally to both sections of the Unionist party), what risks of open and even of furious discord may arise? The bye-elections have taught us whether jealousies and heart-burnings do exist where we should naturally expect to find them, since political differences are commonly a growth of ineradicable differences of temperament. Again and again we have seen how these jealousies operate, even while the two parties are *not* mixed up grain to grain like the particles of saltpetre and charcoal in gunpowder. Besides the local associations, there is the central office to be considered—the head-quarters' bureau of reference and direction. The working of that body in the admission of another King of Brentford to sit with the Earl of the Central Conservative Association and what would be another detail whence strife might spring would.

would have a particular and personal interest. To dip further into detail, at least one energetic Liberal-Unionist could not join the Cabinet; and Mr. Chamberlain being left out, it might not be unimportant to consider what Mr. Chamberlain would naturally do in that situation. One thing he would do like all the rest of us: watch most narrowly and jealously the legislation of the Mixed Government. If he did not think this legislation sufficiently harmonious with Radical principles, such as were embodied in the Unauthorized Programme and the like, he would denounce it, organize against it, "stump" against it; and this he would do all the more probably because thus a new career would be opened to him where every practical avenue seemed closed. There may be differences of opinion, of course, as to the amount of mischief that might arise for the Government party in that way; but there can be little doubt as to the gravity of the consequences if a distinct leaning in the Cabinet to Conservative principles on the one hand, or to Radical principles on the other, roused rebellion in the amalgamated rank and file. How much easier it is to disagree as strangers at a distance than as members of one family under the same roof is pretty well known. Joined in the same local club, the still-differing Tory and Liberal would watch for every sign of party domination at the seat of Government in Downing Street; and they would do so with a restlessness, all the more feverish, all the more likely to break out into wrath, because of the *mariage de convenance* in which they were domiciled together. Fusion, or no fusion, we know already that the Liberal Unionists have no idea of making any concession to Tory principle and the Tory temperament. Aware of an extreme sensitiveness on that point, their leaders scarcely ever speak in public without betraying a consciousness that they must carefully guard themselves against being supposed capable of anything of the kind. On the other hand, the later developments of Radicalism, so far from inclining Conservatives to adopt more "advanced" principles, have had a precisely contrary effect. How should it be otherwise, indeed? It is useless to argue right or wrong; there are the facts, and they render it all but impossible that the policies of a mixed Cabinet would be marked by the sharpened jealousy,

party. Fusion of the formal kind that is still recommended from some quarters would increase the risks of yet greater disturbance; while, as to a Cabinet of Fusion, that harmony should last long there seems very doubtful indeed, except on one condition. If the Conservative members of the Government agreed to clothe themselves with Liberal principles (as those principles have been hitherto distinguished from Conservatism, and as they have heretofore divided the followers of Lord Salisbury from the followers of Lord Hartington) the Cabinet itself would be harmonious enough no doubt. But here a consideration comes in that should not be lightly treated. Liberalism is a wide word and covers a very broad range of principle. What, then, is the sort of Liberalism that Lord Hartington would be expected to represent and to enforce in a Coalition Cabinet? Or, if coalition stopped short of the Cabinet, what sort of Liberalism would the Government be expected to adopt in reward for fusion in the constituency-organizations? We shall not exaggerate if we say that it must be a distinct and unmistakable Liberalism. It must be strongly marked from the beginning of the arrangement as to assure the professors of that creed that they have not erred—that no Gladstonian can call their leaders place-seduced renegades with the slightest degree of plausibility, or ridicule themselves as sold to Toryism. Lord Hartington must see that he would be expected to push forward a step or two, instead of standing on the foot of Whiggish Liberalism; or, without Lord Hartington, the Government which represented the amalgamated party would be expected to advance beyond Whiggish Liberalism. But how would that suit the Conservatives—the born Conservatives who form the bulk of the Unionist connection in the constituencies? And what would be Lord Hartington's position as a Cabinet Minister under such circumstances? what his relations with his colleagues on the one hand and his own party in the country on the other? Excessively uncomfortable, we must suppose, with a risk of declining into the intolerable.

And mark this point, for it is a most important one: whatever the relations of Ministers to each other there could be no resignation. There could be no resignations in a Coalition Cabinet formed under such circumstances and at such a time—or none of any significance—without confusions verging on disaster. Yet, in the ferments precedent to a General Election such as the next one is likely to be, or when the legislation of the last Session of this Parliament is being prepared, it is easy to conceive of strong differences of opinion both in the Cabinet and without. On either side there are men of expediency and men of principle. How to win the election will be the main point with the one—how to win it without the sacrifice of principle which was so much condemned in the Gladstonians will be the aim of the other. Nobody can doubt that, as we come nearer to the end of this Parliament, the

choice between fighting the New Radicalism on lines of Conservative resistance or of Liberal concession will be sharply presented to the Unionists. That choice must be decided in the Cabinet; and the debate upon it will go on while the two sections of the united party pour in their opposing influences from without. It must be so, in the natural course of things; and supposing that, at this time, we have a Coalition Ministry, the difficulty of accommodation in Downing Street will rise to a maximum. If sacrifices are forced upon the representatives of either section in the Cabinet, they must not include resignation of office. If sacrifices have to be submitted to, they cannot be solved by resignation, or even by any avowal of subjection for expediency's sake to what is felt to be a wrong course of policy. Anything of that sort would put all at loggerheads just when an open breach of concord would be fatal. And, yet, what would be the position of Lord Hartington or Lord Salisbury, what would their position be in the eyes of an eagerly-jealous following, if either submitted in silence to a range of policies that announced the subjection of his party? Of course, resort might be had to compromise, and that, no doubt, is the idea for the occasion. But it is all to the point of these remarks that a compromise-policy (supposing it attainable) would seem far more gracious and acceptable if it were not believed to be the outcome of bargaining in the Cabinet—mutual surrender of principle arranged at a green baize table. It is more important to observe, however, that since the grand question for settlement will be whether the New Radicalism is to be fought on lines of Liberal concession or Conservative resistance, compromise would be unusually difficult of application. Compromise is a sweet word, and the thing is often excellent in such disputes as go before the County Courts. The compromise of principle is far less easy, as well as far less lovely; and the composition of precise opposites is rarely manageable at all. To use an image frequently employed in the debate of such matters, this is a case in which sitting on two stools would be difficult in attempt and hazardous in accomplishment. The supports on either side might be expected to give way by the withdrawal of thousands of Liberal, thousands of Conservative voters—the one as much disgusted as the other.

If, in short, "England does not love Coalitions," the distaste is neither so vague nor so unaccountable as many who repeat that saying seem to suppose. It is by no means a case of "I do not like you, Dr. Fell." Englishmen know perfectly well why they do not love Coalitions, and feel that their reasons for the dislike are rooted in experience of the advantages of plain common sense and common honesty as guides to conduct. A little sophistication in political affairs, some infection of the complaint that sickens the air of Westminster, and they might take to Coalitions more kindly; but though

the contagion is spreading from focus and platform nowadays, the mass of political opinion in England retains the simplicity which made coalitions repugnant to it fifty years ago. They are disliked for the traffic in principles which they imply, and are none the less suspected as unworkable, because, in almost every case where they are proposed, the suggestion proceeds from the personal ambitions, the personal jealousies, the contentious wants, wishes, exigencies, of two or three individuals highly-placed. The present case is more free from that suspicion than others have been, but not free altogether. The men of the day in politics, or most of them, are new, and have yet to become established on a firm footing. For various persons of distinction, the grand question of the reconstruction of parties is associated with another—namely, Who is to lead them when reconstructed? where shall I be in this case, and how shall I stand in that? The temptation to have a hand in the process of reconstruction is therefore very great; but no man can hope to meddle with much effect unless he happens to be in enjoyment of an all-commanding popularity. At present, no such person exists on the Unionist side in politics, which is the only one we have to deal with in this discussion. Neither Lord Hartington nor Lord Salisbury himself can claim to be so blest; and that, of course, is another reason for abandoning these projects of mechanical fusion.

On all accounts it is a business that had better be left to "the heat of conflict," of which there will be no lack as the General Election draws near. If the mechanical fusion could be accomplished now (as, thanks to the unsophistication of the electorate, it cannot be), the chances are that it would be all undone in this very same "heat of conflict." That is to say, it would fall to pieces at the first and most critical application of its use. In the two sections of the Unionist party as they stand side by side there are many potential elements of accord, but there are also some potential elements of discord. Neither have yet been awakened to full activity. Accordances and discordances alike are slumbering in unknown quantity; and there is no likelihood that they will come out in force till the rival leaders have definitely marked down the lines on which they mean to fight in future. When the Gladstonian programme is published, when the Unionist programme is declared, and the grand struggle of 1893 begins in earnest, the rank and file of both sections will know how they stand in relation to their own leaders and to each other. But not till then will they know, or not till then will the knowledge be brought home to them warmly and definitely; and then we shall see for the first time a general movement of resolution into one or other of the two new parties which will be the product of the next General Election. In the heat of that struggle the infusible elements on each side will run out—some into the opposite party, some (in all likelihood no small portion

on both sides) into sheer evaporation; or, to speak plain prose, retirement in disgust from all concern with politics. According as the rival programmes are finally planned, some Liberal Unionists will go back to their old chief, some Gladstonian Liberals will drop their present connection, some Conservatives will stand off, leaving compromise to its own rottenness, as we may suppose them to say; and thus a lasting fusion will come about by the only effective means. To be lasting it must be spontaneous, and we must wait for the spontaneity till the forces get to work which are necessary to set it in action. Press the two Unionist sections into the mould of fusion now and they will fly off here and there with all the stronger repulsion, all the louder *éclat*, when the day of spontaneous reconstitution arrives.

It seems, then, that while the temper of the rank and file of Unionism renders all attempts at consolidation impossible just now, no good would come of the project if it could be carried out. The most probable consequences would be a repetition of the Birmingham bickerings in a score of constituencies, a livelier ferment of jealousy on the Conservative benches of the House of Commons, and the introduction into the Cabinet of additional hazards of dissension; and all this as preliminary to a great electioneering struggle which demands the utmost provision of concord for success. And yet the project is still advocated—still advocated in spite of the palpable consideration that even if amalgamation worked fairly well up to the time of the elections, it would almost certainly flay and “fly” when the rival programmes are produced. Then, why is it still advocated? This is essentially a matter of practical politics; yet, so far, I have seen no argument for fusion that differs in character from the rhapsodies of Universal Brotherhood associations. Argument, indeed, there is little or none. Its place is taken by vague indulgence in the language of longing, as of those who sigh for a purer and brighter world below. Yet the proposal has been supported by men of whom it certainly cannot be said that they are hasty or injudicious. It must be observed, however, that if we except Lord Salisbury himself and those who are supposed to speak for him, the preachers of fusion are all on the Liberal Unionist side, and all of a certain order—that is to say, above the rank and file of the party. Possibly this may be explained by “the lesson of the bye elections.” It is a fact that Liberal Unionist candidates for Parliament are not always backed with cordiality by Conservative voters. The consequence is, that the number of Liberal Unionist representatives is dwindling considerably; and the fear is, that it may decline yet more before and at the time of the General Election. That, of course, is a very grave matter, and one that affects the official members of the party above all. Not that the Conservative Unionists are unaffected by it, since they do not gain the seats that

are lost by their allies; though it is sometimes supposed that they would gain them if they were contested by Conservative candidates. However that may be, the most striking and immediate consequence of the loss is, that the Parliamentary following of the Liberal Unionist leaders is melting away. It was never very numerous; and should it continue to decline at the same rate, or suffer corresponding reverses at the General Election, the leaders of the party will soon have a very poor show of numbers to back their personal pretensions and authority. Now, whether they look to the furtherance of their principles or their own place in the world, that is a serious matter for them; and so it may be that their desire for fusion—which has been expressly advocated as including the common and equal use of the whole machinery of electioneering—has blinded them a little to its hazards.

It is not so easy to account for the favour which the fusion proposal seems to have found in the eyes of the Prime Minister. Possibly, he is less inclined to it now than he was some time ago; and then its charm for him appeared to be relief from over-great responsibility. A Cabinet fusion was his first desire. It has been an extremely difficult time at the Foreign Office. More than once, events of tremendous import seemed to be at the very point of birth—events fraught with the gravest consequences for the British Empire, and entailing the necessity of framing decisions of an equally momentous character. It would have been only natural, then, if Lord Salisbury had wished for a highly-placed colleague in Lord Hartington, who, partly on account of his known gravity of judgment, partly on account of his position as chief of an independent Liberal party comprising many of the wisest and most sober of Englishmen—would have added great weight to the decisions of the Government while he shared its responsibilities by half. It now appears, however, that the dangers have passed away which various high personages admit they trembled at; and though they may revive, and revive at the very time of our General Election, the day of their return seems distant. If so, then all the less reason is there to force a union of parties which precipitancy might ruin, and which cannot be true and lasting if it does not come about spontaneously, or under pressure of all that is really capable of fusion.

As we have seen, this pressure will probably be brought to bear in the stress of the elections; but it may be hastened by accident. What will happen to the other party when Mr. Gladstone disappears is a matter of common speculation; nothing more common, in fact. Every shuffle and change that is likely to follow upon that much-anticipated event is discussed openly and at large. Meantime, the possibility of another disappearance from this mortal scene is quite disregarded; not, perhaps, because a higher degree of delicacy is

demanding where Lord Salisbury is concerned, but because a complete failure of health in his case is not likely to be followed by any serious political complications. But is that so? The question has never come under debate in the newspapers and reviews, but it is a matter of deep concern in the official entourage of the Prime Minister. A sincere solicitude, and the doleful chatter of gossip insincere, have probably exaggerated the fear that he is "not strong;" but, however that may be, no sooner does he fall ill than his colleagues of both sections put on their considering caps, and the buzz of speculation amongst them becomes anxious to a degree that seems quite unsuspected beyond their own immediate circle. In the language of the French, they have reason. The Prime Minister is not much considered as a centre of stability, but that he is, and his withdrawal from public life would put everything into confusion. It is unnecessary to speak of the rival ambitions at his side—the various eyes fixed upon the same office whenever he has an unusually bad cold, the claims and counter-claims that stir in Opposition, the arrangements of Ministries and policies that instantly take form in different minds. Enough to point out that should that happen on the one side in politics which we are quite at liberty to discuss when the other is concerned, Fusion would become at once the question of the day—of the hour. And where would the question centre? It would instantly be massed upon another—namely, a Ministry with or without Lord Hartington? Supposing him to be in the land of the living (a most ungracious matter to discuss, all this) that would be the grand point; and how much would be involved in its debate and decision need not be said. What may be remarked, however, is, that when we cast imagination forth to embrace the difficulties and contentions that would arise upon the fusion question, should it be forced on us by an event that shall be nameless, it is easier to understand the argument against the premature adoption of a hazardous project.

FREDERICK GREENWOOD.

[NOTE.—It is due to the writer of "The Home Rule Movement in India and in Ireland," in our January number, to explain that, owing to the non-arrival of a proof, two or three printer's errors crept into the text: on page 79, in line 6, 1880 should be 1888, in line 7, £15,000 should be £1500.—ED. C.R.]

COMMUNISM.

SINCE the great awakening of the Renaissance and the Reformation, each century has been entrusted with a special task, and with a special science to accomplish it. In the sixteenth century that science was theology, and the task it enjoined, religious reform. In the seventeenth the science was moral philosophy, and the task the Cartesian renovation of moral philosophy. The eighteenth century was given over to the study of politics, and found its correlative task in proclaiming throughout Europe those natural rights already inaugurated by the Puritans of New England. While the nineteenth century has devoted itself to political economy, and has set before itself the amelioration of the lot of the greater number.

The sixteenth century says to man: "Thou shalt no longer submit to the decisions of Popes, but thyself search the Scriptures for Truth." The seventeenth century says: "Thou shalt no longer bow before traditional authority, but seek out truth by the light of reason." The eighteenth century says: "Thou shalt cease to be the slave of nobles and despots who oppress thee; thou art free and sovereign." While the nineteenth century argues: "It is a grand thing to be free and sovereign, but how is it that the sovereign often starves? how is it that those who are held to be the source of power often cannot, even by hard work, provide themselves with the necessities of life?" This is the problem which now lies before us—a problem which men have endeavoured to solve by books, by lectures, by rude violence, and have hitherto endeavoured in vain. Yet for any fresh endeavour, for any new light upon the problem—Justice among men—we must turn to that recent science, by some called political economy, by others social science, whose object is to analyze the production and distribution of wealth. When Voltaire was studying history, with Madame de

Châtelet, and attempting to discover the laws which rule the rise and fall of empires, he fully realized that for his object a knowledge of political economy was necessary, a science, at that period, barely outlined. In the present day it is sufficiently advanced to materially aid our researches with lessons from the past. All social problems are certainly not by any means new. In all ages the unequal distribution of the good things of the earth has excited the astonishment of the wise and the complaints of the poor:—to some leisure, luxury, and power; to others labour, misery, and servitude. In the introduction to his excellent *Histoire de l'Économie Politique*, Blanqui writes: "In all revolutions there are never more than two parties; those who wish to live on the produce of their own labour, and those who would live on the labour of others." This very true remark is expressed in another way by Aristotle, who says: "The weak are ever clamouring for equality and justice, the strong do not trouble themselves about the matter." It is obvious, then, that though no verdict has yet been reached, the case has been in court a long time. Inequalities date from the earliest stages of society, though the most cursory glance over history shows that it has been the constant effort of humanity to combat these inequalities, and that the effort has been increasingly successful. In our own time, however, new circumstances have arisen, which have totally changed the conditions of the fight, and of these circumstances I will mention three.

In the first place, those who live by manual labour, who were in the beginning slaves, then serfs, and are now but the "lower orders," are, theoretically at least, recognized as the equals of the non-worker, and in many countries have already legislative rights. Secondly, political economy has discovered to us the causes of inequality by explaining how wealth is distributed. Lastly, thanks to the press, and the spread of education, the workers are themselves mastering the mysteries of political economy, a weapon which will be formidable enough. These circumstances, and many others which I cannot enumerate here, endow the old problem of inequality with a gravity which it never previously possessed, and which is now appreciated by all. The problem therefore calls for most persevering study, for so long as the old conservative forces exhibit blind terror at all change, and the new radical spirit frets foolishly at all that is, we shall be swayed continuously between despotism and anarchy. Careful study is the more requisite, too, because no remedy has yet been found for that evil inequality, the source of which we have discovered. It is true that remedies have been invented, and each patentee, so to speak, has been convinced that his alone was the universal panacea, just as not infrequently the confidence of a raw physician is in proportion to his ignorance. Some of these remedies are worthless, but others certainly repay examination, as there is often a soul of truth in things

erroneous, and one may possibly pluck out a jewel, and set it in conspicuous daylight. When the improvement of the condition of our fellow-men is at stake, attentive and patient examination becomes the strict duty of humanity. Let us, then, examine Communism, the remedy which is offered in an engaging and seemingly scientific form well calculated to seduce the public.

The importance of Communism lies in the fact, that it is specially attractive to two classes of men of mutual sympathies, reformers and workers. The former are drawn to it by a sentiment of justice; the latter by their own necessities. The two broad facts at the base of Communism which account for its persistence are, a resentment of the inequality of conditions, and a faith in the principle of universal brotherhood, a principle which is just in itself, but has unhappily been misapplied. Not in vain were the watchwords, *Equality* and *Fraternity*, sounded in the ears of enthusiasts of the new ideas; once graven in their hearts, they could not be effaced. But how are these principles to be applied? How is society to be reformed in accordance with justice? Communism is offered as the solution of this difficulty; Communism, that dream of so many great men, the indefinite organization of the earliest human societies. Its simplicity seems to make it feasible; its apparent regularity takes the imagination; its colour of benevolence wins the pitiful. It is adopted without reflection, and without knowledge; and naturally, for it necessitates neither. It is golden-mouthed, and draws delightful pictures; its descriptions are no less fascinating than its contrasts are striking; but it reasons little; it does not appeal to the intellect. Of the difficulties in the way of all economic reform it has nothing to say; it simply ignores them.

As for the workers, is it likely they would refuse to follow this path strewn with the flowers of Utopia? Their lot is often very hard, always uncertain, and appears all the harder in contrast with the luxury in their midst. The eighteenth century tells them of a time when land was unappropriated, when man was a proud free agent, virtuous and upright, earning his substance by the strength of his arms, not as a serf, or a paid servant, but as a warrior, the darling son of nature, whose exhaustless benefits he enjoyed. They are told now of a happy future, when evil shall be banished from the earth, and injustice from society, when there shall be no laws nor restraints save those of love, no limits to enjoyment but desire, no labour but such as they have taste for; when life, in a word, shall become the long and pleasant feast that poets sing of. Is it strange that they rise up and rush forward with outstretched arms, and hearts full of hope, to embrace these visions of happiness presented to their excited imaginations? They would have these dreams realities; they would make these phantom fancies texts for legislation; this happiness, of which they have caught a glimpse, they want actually to enjoy; and

if society, in its present conditions, resists them, and rejects their ideal, they stand up and attack it. You may tell those who have not the wherewithal to live, that their lot is inevitable, that the majority must ever suffer so that the minority may enjoy; they will not believe you. In the heart of suffering man hope dies hard; and it is well so, for when hope is dead, what is there left but revolt?

Should you bind youth down to the present by bonds of interest or ambition, it will yet escape you, for it believes it has a mission to fulfil, a certain progress to realize. It were vain to attempt to detain it, yet you may perhaps guide its flight. So it is useless to tell these enthusiasts of brotherhood, that humanity falls again and again into the same errors all ending in ruin. The reply will be an affirmation of indefinite perfectibility, an article of faith bequeathed to us by the eighteenth century, and an enumeration of the startling evidences of progress writ large on the page of modern history: the printing-press, and steam, religious liberty and equality before the law, the wonders of industry, and the wonders of thought. It is vain, too, to add that while we think we are advancing, we are but moving in a circle, blindly turning the treadmill of our centuries as of our lives. Their answer is: "It is true we are moving in circles, but they are the circles of a vast spiral ascent starting from the mire of the diluvian period, and reaching to that invisible sun, which Plato called Truth. Coarse clay, at the outset, we are ever perfecting ourselves, as our reason grows, and grasps new principles." It were wiser did you say to these impatient enthusiasts: "The evil is indeed great, and it becomes all lovers of justice to fight against it. Analyse it, discover its cause, that you may find also its remedy. Do not listen to the voice of instinct, about which so much is talked; it is the voice, not of mind, but of matter. Do not trust the imagination; its impressions are all embellished by the senses. Feeling will not suffice; you must have knowledge. Cease to dream, and learn to know. Your Communistic plans are merely the delusions of your heart; see if they can satisfy your reason. You desire liberty, equality and fraternity; they would crush liberty, violate equality and impose fraternity." This is the attitude, and the argument that I have adopted in the following pages. Before, however, putting a system to the test, it is necessary clearly to determine its nature and its object.

Communism, as generally understood, includes any and every idea of reform or social progress. Infatuated with the prevailing order of things, in this view every novelty and every pioneer of reform are tainted with this heretical Communism. It is the spirit of evil, disguised and metamorphosed in numberless ways. Like the recluses of the Middle Ages, these fanatical Conservatives, disturbed by the phantoms of their imaginations, see the Black Monster everywhere. Communism is the Satan of political

economy. Any intervention of the State to assist the needy classes, and to lessen social inequality, is condemned as imbued with this detestable error. Free education, public libraries, the housing of the poor, agrarian laws for Ireland, limitation of the hours of labour—all this is said to affect liberty of contract, and free competition, and to be Communism more or less pronounced, which, if once admitted, will spread throughout the body politic. But the principle of Communism, it must be remembered, is this: that the individual works for the profit of the State, to which he hands over the produce of his labour for equal division among all; so that all shall receive the same amount of wages, or rather remuneration corresponding to their requirements. The maxim which sums up the whole system is well known: *From each according to his strength, to each according to his needs*, as in the case of a family. This is the basis of the social order advocated by Mr. Bellamy. Communism must not be confused with collectivism. In the collectivist system, all the materials of production belong to the State, but the production itself is in the hands of co-operative societies, under hierarchical rule, each man being paid in proportion to his labour. Such a system may offer egregious difficulties, but, as it admits of the incentive of individual interest, it is not of itself an impossibility. In Belgium the State holds and works the railways, in Prussia, many mines and collieries, and in France, the forests. There is nothing to object to in the principle of this.

The first Christians condemning the world, its prides, its distinctions and its laws, fled to the deserts, where they lived in common. In the same spirit, Rousseau, disgusted by the inequalities in the society of his time, condemned the individual possession of property, and even ventured to find his ideal in primitive society, and advocate a return to this. The social condition of these primitive savages is pretty clearly indicated by him when he says: "Beware of forgetting that the fruits belong to all, and the earth to no one." Unhappily, the enthusiasm of the eighteenth century in regard to the "natural man" has been completely chilled by the accounts of modern travellers, who have found him frequently more ferocious than the wolf, who does not slay and eat his fellows, and more treacherous than the tiger, who, at least, makes no protestation of friendship before despatching you. Contemporary reformers have therefore abandoned their search for the ideal community among primeval forests, and have preferred to study conventual life, and the Moravian brotherhood. The organization of a communistic society is exceedingly simple. All the means of production belong to the State; the citizen may work as much as he chooses, and also consume as much as he pleases. This is pretty well a summary of Communism, but all its advocates from Plato to Mr. Bellamy have adorned it with more or less ingenious details, and fictions of one sort or another.

I should like here to glance at the errors on which Communism is founded. It seems to me that it springs up in turn from two principles, just in themselves, but misunderstood or misapplied—fraternity and equality. There are thus two sorts of Communism: one which is based on the idea of fraternity, the other on that of equality. Let us first examine the former kind, to which alone I shall refer in the ensuing section.

I.

If I look down into the innermost depths of my consciousness, I become aware of two sentiments from which all others spring. I feel in the first place that I exist and love myself. I seek my own happiness primarily in the acquisition of material objects, finally, as my reasoning powers grow, in the acquisition of truth. Here then is the first of these two feelings—*selfishness*. Moreover, I am in the midst of other beings like myself, and if they do not attack me and there be nothing to excite conflict or rivalry between us, I tend to like them. This then is the second of the two feelings. It has been called *sociability*, because it is the basis of every sort of society, *altruism* because it involves affection for one's fellows, and *fraternity*, because it is the link which unites the great human family together. You may analyze the feelings in all their infinite degrees of intensity, and you will find they all have their source in the two primary sentiments. Even in our love for others there is something of self-love. We can never lose consciousness of our own individual and personal vitality, which is the source of all our ideas, and the arbiter of all our desires. But self-love assumes a disinterested character when we rejoice in the pleasure of others or grieve over their sorrows. *Amare est alterius felicitate delectari*, says Leibnitz, and this is the finest definition of love that has ever been given. All our actions are guided by love of self, and love for others under the names of *pity*, *charity*, *sociability*, *altruism* or *fraternity*. These two principles are the motive powers of the mind, I might almost say the pivots of life. Yet Communism ignores one of them, it would indeed abolish self-love, and leave only love for others, or altruism. Fraternal love in universal brotherhood is the sacred theme which has been the inspiration of Communism in all its intoxicating madness. I say madness, because the attempt to uproot from the human heart all self-ward feeling is of the idlest. It will thus be seen that Communism bears some resemblance to Quietism, and still more to Pantheism, in that it tends to absorb individuals in humanity and humanity in God. So far from loosing the passions it would completely subject them to the reason, for its creed is that in spirit alone can men be united. Thus it calls on all men to live the rational life, which it maintains is the only true one. It aims, moreover, at the deletion of the individual with his

individual view and his individual existence; he is to be merged in the collectiveness of the social body. It recognizes no distinct or separate interests, talks of duties, knows nothing of rights; for my right is in what I own, and if no one owns anything, there can be no rights.

Let us break the fetters of the material, cries the Communist, and soar upwards into the realm of the spiritual, where in true unity we may worship in common the true, the beautiful and the good. Private property would sever us, distinction of interests would be a bar to union. All happiness is increased by being shared; to enjoy together is double enjoyment. This maxim should be the source of all effort, for effort without it is but selfishness. Meals, too, should be eaten in common, that the social life may be cemented. Let us institute *phidicies* as in Crete, *andries* as in Sparta, *syssities* as in Athens, or *agapes* as among the early Christians. These common meals will be at once a means of communion and the symbol of brotherhood. Men are merely members of that collective being called Humanity; there is neither *I*, nor *thou*, nor *we*. Why should we ephemeral sojourners here bring war into the world by setting barriers in the road of the hot natural impulses? Love should admit no divisions, everything should belong to everyone. Appropriation engenders selfishness; let selfishness be uprooted from the earth, with the very name of property it has originated. "God," says St. Ambrose, "created all things for the enjoyment of all men, and the earth for a common possession." Nature herself, therefore, is the author of Communism; property is a fraudulent usurpation. As the earth is mankind's common property no one may make a claim in excess of his requirements in the name of property diverted from the common possessions, and held only by violence. Being one vast family, why should we not follow the laws of the family? The earth is our common mother; why divide her? Why cause bloodshed by our fratricidal quarrels? Is not her provision sufficient for our needs? And as we share her blessings in common, and thrill together in the breath of her harmonies, why not enjoy together her boundless fecundity also?

Self-sacrifice makes man superior to beasts. Self-sacrifice should be our rule of life, and our highest ambition. Let us work for the good of others, without reckoning the pains or counting the cost. The well-being of humanity is our own. Whoso considers himself fails in his duty to his fellow. Selfishness should be punished with dishonour. No unit in the community should be allowed to suffer from defects in his individual organization, for which he is not responsible. If the health or other requirements of a unit necessitate a greater allowance, it must be given. Fraternity knows nothing of the parsimony of individualism. *Need is the measure of right*. On the other hand, if

you have been endowed with greater strength or higher intelligence than others, you may not use these gifts to your personal advantage. Is it a provision of Providence? Sovereign justice wills that you render an account of it to your brethren. Is it a faculty developed casually? That constitutes no right in itself; you owe others the use of your superior gifts. To devote one's ability, one's time, in fine, oneself body and mind to the service of one's neighbour, that is the whole law of love. Duty is limited only by capacity; *from each according to his power.*

For two people who love each other, the greatest happiness lies in proving their mutual attachment. The recipient of a service is not indebted to the donor, but rather is the donor under an obligation, for his happiness consists in giving pleasure to the object of his affections. One cannot even conceive gratitude from the recipient; it would be an insult to friendship. Gratitude is rather the natural feeling of the giver, who is delighted in the indulgence of his heart's impulse. All the members of the Community will be animated by this temper.

Why speak of justice? Justice is a measure, and love needs and will have no measures. Love is infinite, inexhaustible. It throws a veil over faults and negligences: it sets aside all obligations to give to each according to his deserts. In its effusion it wipes out all differences. Does not the father of the prodigal son do likewise? Let this be the type and model of society. As things now are, a man's affections are limited to a narrow circle, within which he suffers and enjoys. His intercourse with people at large is rare, distant, and reserved, and is usually tinged with distrust and indifference. It is this condition that fraternity is to destroy. Man must feel himself to be a part of a whole, must realize that his interest is so bound up with that of society that he suffers or rejoices with it. The entire community should live in each one of its members, and each one of its members in the entire community. When each believes that the interests of others are identical with his own, all will have the same end in view, and joys and sorrows will be in common.

Under these circumstances all control becomes superfluous. The conflict of selfish interests is at an end, or, rather, self-interest rightly understood fashions them to the common weal. Government is then based upon "the persuasion and voluntary consent of hearts." All power, in fact, becomes useless; for power is merely force employed to impose justice on the relations between man and man, and that will no longer be necessary when private interest works sympathetically with abstract love of justice. To love my neighbour is to benefit myself; to devote myself to him is to increase the sum of public happiness, of which my own is a part. Love of self is absorbed in

love of others, and I can only love myself in the person of others, and seek my own happiness in theirs. What use, then, is there for the State in this contest of self-abnegation? The State is the power that enforces the performance of duty; but duty is now synonymous with interest, and there is need of no incentive to its performance.

Such are some of the familiar arguments of Communism in its most spiritual form. We find this view in Plato, and in all the authors of Utopias, who took their cue from him; we find it, too, in the Gospel, and in most of the Christian writers. Listen to Bossuet's comments on the beautiful words spoken by Christ in His last prayer, and given to us by St. John:—

"As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us. That there may be between them, as between Us, perfect equality, from the first amongst them to the last; that there may be complete friendship and community; that each may say as it were to his brother, 'all that is mine is thine, and all that is thine is mine.' This, it is often necessary to repeat, was in reality the case in the early days of the church. 'And they were of one heart and one mind; neither said any man that anything he possessed was his own, for they had all things in common.' This system was effectual in the primitive church, showing that a disposition to such an arrangement must be at the bottom of all hearts. Let us therefore encourage this disposition, let us commune together, let us be charitable and compassionate, looking on none with disdain. In reality all are equal; we have all been created from the same dust, and we all alike bear the image of God in our hearts. Let charity equalize all, according to St. Paul, who says that all should be equal. And to that end he writes: 'that your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want;' and he repeats: 'that there may be equality as it is written; he that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack' (2 Cor. viii. 14, 15). It is the Divine Will that there should be equality amongst men, that is to say, that none should be in want; but that all should have what they need, and that there should be compensation for inequality. When shall we say with our whole heart to our suffering brother 'all that is mine is thine,' and to our more wealthy brother 'all that is thine is mine.' Alas! we shall never see such a perfect state of things in this world. Yet this is what Christ holds forth as an example. Let us seek for this Divine unity. My God, I open wide my arms to my brethren, my heart warms to them and my bowels are filled with compassion; I would be to them father, mother, brother and sister, friend and defender, all in fact that they require to make them happy."*

These are eloquent words, springing from a heart sincerely afflicted by the evils which weigh down the great mass of mankind. It is this feeling of humanity which nearly always gives birth to Communist systems. Those who pretend that these "detestable follies" spring up in our age, from the disturbance of men's minds and the licence given to their passions, quite forget that both the sages of antiquity and the saints of Christianity advocated the same doctrines, and that the first in the gardens of the Academy, where nought save words of justice and virtue were heard, and the second in their solitary cells,

* "Meditations on the Gospel of St. John," 157th day.

whose walls were the sole witnesses of their piety, alike preached the necessity of community, seeing no other remedy for the evils of society. These great men were distressed and indignant at the manifold iniquities under which the human race groaned. They conceived a state of society where justice should reign supreme, and where mutual affection should unite together all men, henceforth brothers. From the heights of this great ideal they emptied the vials of their wrath upon luxury, pride, distinctions of class and private property. They quite forgot the obstacles that personal interest and the instinctive desire for independence placed in the way of the realization of these schemes inspired by feelings of charity.

Yet, as is known, these plans and visions were not wholly and entirely day dreams. Associations founded for the abolition of property have existed, and have even thrived and prospered. But in what circumstances? At the time of the French Revolution (1789), religious communities owned about one-third of the land; towards the close of the eighteenth century, they possessed about the same proportion in Spain, Italy, and Belgium. At the present day, in the last named country, there are over 2000 convents and religious establishments, almost as many as there are communes, and it is, I think, universally admitted, that if these absolutely communistic associations had the rights of possession as corporations, in less than a century the entire country would be in their hands. If once religious Communism be granted a legal existence and power of inheritance, it will certainly triumph over the individualist principle, even with respect to the accumulation of wealth. During the last few centuries the Jesuits have been engaged in trade. Several convents on the Continent do business successfully; so that if the members of these orders were to live what may be called a spiritual rather than a material life, and were ever ready to sacrifice their interests to what they consider their duty, they might yet realize Mr. Bellamy's Utopia.

Between pure spirits community is natural; between brutes it is an impossibility. All that satisfies the tastes of the mind—*i.e.*, the possession of knowledge, the sight of the beautiful in nature and art, may be enjoyed by a number in common! Many nations and successive generations can be gladdened by fine works of art. The beautiful and the true, and all appertaining thereto, have the divine privilege of being enjoyed by all simultaneously, of being the entire possession of each, and of losing none of their charms by an increase in the number of their possessors. The more, then, men rise to the appreciation of pure ideas, the greater is their serenity, and the greater their capacity of intimate union with their fellows. Whereas, on the other hand, all things which satisfy the senses can only be possessed by one person at a time; the desire of two, for the same thing, is at once a source of dispute and conflict. The more therefore men

live the sensual life, the less capable they will be of harmony and of a life "in community."

All great men who advocated Communism realized this fact. It was their desire to awaken in mankind a taste for "spiritual" things, which could be possessed in common, and to restrict the appetite for tangible things, the possession of which is naturally exclusive. Read Plato and listen to St. Paul. The former tells us the body is an oppressor, a tyrant, a weight holding us down to the lower regions; the latter, that it is the source of all evil, a tomb, containing nothing but decay. "Who will deliver us from the body of this death?" The possession of a wife engenders jealousies and quarrels; marriage is an exclusive and personal contract. Therefore St. Paul extols virginity, which would obviate a great discord. Plato thinks that wives should be held in common, and establishes a sort of chaste promiscuity, so as to make the union between men complete. Platonism and Asceticism both sacrifice personality and marriage. A man must sacrifice not only his interest but his will to live "in community"; he must renounce self entirely, and yield implicit obedience to his superior, who has sole control of him; his physical powers and his tastes. This superior may be society in general, as represented by *plébiscite*, or it may be an individual. Monastic communities well understood the indispensable conditions for life in common. Their chief object was to root out from men's hearts pride, concupiscence, and love of earthly things, hence the three vows of chastity, poverty, and humility. But to attain this, the mainspring of the human organization was so strained that it sometimes snapped. These communities, however, survived, are still in existence, and even multiply. But when once they descend from the cultivation of the "spiritual," their fall is sad enough.

Briefly, fraternal Communism was conceived by men of genius in their disgust at the vices of society, and out of an absorbing and ardent love of justice. Its chief characteristic is "spirituality," its principle of organization is authority, its object fraternity. It has founded some lasting associations, but always by taking religious feeling as a basis, and often by stifling the most natural affections as well as all individual initiative.

II.

We must now consider that species of Communism which has for its object the establishment of universal equality. All ancient politicians were of opinion that a democracy could not exist if there were too great inequality between the conditions of citizens, and the object of nearly all the Greek legislators was to reduce this inequality. Aristotle, that great observer, held this view. "Inequality," he says, "is the source of all revolution, for no sort of compensations can atone for

inequality." It is necessary, he thinks, that there should be equality of condition throughout the same order, for it would be difficult to maintain a government based on injustice; and he explains in detail all the means that have been from time to time employed for the maintenance of equality. Minos and Lycurgus attempted to solve the problem by establishing a sort of Communism, and the institutions they founded lasted sufficiently long to excite the ill-justified admiration of both ancients and moderns; but inequality finally invaded Sparta, and the Greek Republics ended in anarchy. Montesquieu shared the views of the Greek statesmen, for he says the basis of a republic should be *virtue*, which he defines as love of equality. "As what I call virtue," he writes in his introduction to the *Spirit of Laws*, "is love of country, that is to say, love of equality." Again, in Book vii. chap. 2, "Equality in the distribution of riches makes the excellence of republics." These are maxims which have been too much lost sight of in our day, as they have not been considered applicable to the present age. I think this is an error. It is true that they were certainly more applicable to ancient cities, where the citizens were comparatively few in number, and where all considered themselves as equals; but at the present time precisely the same feeling of equality is spreading throughout all classes. I am quite aware that the opinions of Montesquieu are not wholly reliable, because, having studied ancient society much more than modern, he thought more of artificial than of natural organizations. Nevertheless, I think that he is right when he says that a certain equality of condition is essential to the continuance of a democracy, even though that democracy be a modern one. The events of these later years have given still further proof of this. When those, who by their labour can only secure to themselves insufficient or, at all events, precarious sustenance, have a voice in the government, it is more than probable that, sooner or later, they will do their utmost to alter laws which sanction the inequality from which they suffer. Those, on the other hand, who are better off, support the laws already in existence, and, to maintain them, are willing to have recourse to a dictatorship. So that democracy terminates in either anarchy or despotism, and usually in the one as a result of the other. Under any circumstances, inequality is the cause of its downfall. Such has been the lesson of history from the earliest times, and such also was the lesson of history but yesterday. It cannot be denied that the opinion of Aristotle and Montesquieu is supported by facts. Historical changes of this sort formerly took place within the limits of a city, or at most, of a realm; they never occurred everywhere simultaneously, because each city and each realm had its own peculiar faith, ideas and institutions. In our day this is no longer the case. The spread of Christianity, the facilities of communication, the activity of trade and commerce, and

many other circumstances have brought all Christian nations to share the same general views, and to face the same social problem, modified in each case by local influences. The result is that the difficulty which disturbed these ancient cities within their narrow limits, at present agitates, and threatens still further to agitate, all the nations of Europe ; and that, by the extension of its sphere, it has now acquired an importance which cannot fail to strike every one, and the more so, that we have lately seen an Emperor taking the lead of the Socialist movement. I will endeavour to demonstrate by what process this difficulty has grown so in modern times, and how certain reformers have sought to solve it by Communism.

During the Middle Ages men's minds, being still slaves to custom, were not vigorous enough to attain to any conception of the rights of humanity. With the Reformation, that bold insurrection against religious despotism, a new era of things commenced. Holland took up arms in support of liberty of conscience ; England shook off the yoke of the Stuarts and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people ; beyond the seas Puritans and Quakers founded democracies based on principles of universal suffrage, of direct government by the people, and of universal equality. Finally, the eighteenth century adopted all these principles and arranged them in systems, and, as is well known, the French Revolution promulgated them through the world. Since that time, the idea of equality has penetrated everywhere into men's minds, and become the foundation of many societies. The process is as follows : By an energetic effort of self-assertion man comes to consider himself independent of the institutions under the domination of which history would place him. This call upon nature, or rather upon reason, gives him a glimpse of the essential rights of man. In fact it is quite impossible to conceive the bare idea of man, without a glance at that goal of perfection, whither it is the law of his being to tend. "Thou art a man, thou must therefore be all that thy name implies ; thy development is thy destiny." But certain conditions are indispensable for the accomplishment of this destiny, and these may be summed up in the one word Liberty—liberty of thought, freedom of action, and property, as a free sphere in which to exercise that liberty. These are essential rights. They belong to all, for all are of one kind. The man therefore who claims freedom for himself must admit to his fellows the enjoyment of the same right. An abstract idea of equality thus becomes the basis of the new social order. The root of the words equity and equality is *æquus*. Justice and equity could never be conceived without the idea of equality. *Iustum æquale est*, says the old definition. Aristotle was the first to write : "Right consists in an equal proportion" (*Polit.* iii. 6). In Greek *dikaion* means "just and equal." It is inscribed in the written constitutions in the following words : "*All citizens are equal before the law*," and in England this is admitted as a

fact. But in reality all men are not in enjoyment of their primitive rights, and the greater number lack the means of development. They have no opportunity for culture of the mind. Their whole time is taken up by manual labour. They are not free, for they have nothing on which they can employ their vital energy; others hold the land and capital, and themselves non-workers, exact from the workers payment for the right of retaining a portion of the bread they earn by their labour. Private property is an essential condition of liberty, and consequently of the development of human destiny. As Sir Louis Mallet recently remarked, with his usual penetration, without private property freedom can have but a merely nominal existence. But how can property be assured to all, it being of itself an exclusive appropriation? And here we come to the formidable incongruity between the right to live by working for one's livelihood, which it appears ought, certainly to be the right of all, and the right to private property, which seems to offer an invincible obstacle to the exercise of the former right. This difficulty requires a few words of explanation.

A man is born. He can invoke the rights that this incident confers on him, and therefore the right to procure himself food; otherwise society must either take upon herself to feed him, or let him starve to death. Everything is already appropriated. The exclusive private domain of those already in existence refuses to receive the newcomer or to give him sustenance. What is to be done? Do you deny that he has certain rights, and foremost among them the right to live? Even you yourself enjoy all you possess merely by the same title that he appeals to, that is to say, your birthright as a man. To deny him similar rights would be to transgress the law. Would you dispute his exercise of these rights? In that case the very conception of rights, resulting from the earliest notions of individuality, would fade away, and nothing would remain but chance and strength. But neither strength, chance, occupation, nor conquest, are titles to adduce; they may all be summed up in one word—facts. To-day facts may be in your favour, but will they be so to-morrow? Who say strength say numbers; and it is obvious to which side these belong.

The progress of the human species seems to be arrested at this point; how overcome the obstacle in the way? How ensure to every man education, property, and even work without attacking the privileges of those already enjoying all these? Which of the two ideas—equality or exclusive possession—will gain the victory? The future destinies of the civilized world depend on the issue of these conflicting interests. What indeed is civilization if it does not enable the greater number to enjoy their necessary rights, and to have a share in the general well-being, education, and social and political freedom? But, once again, how is this end to be attained? The problem is as complex and difficult to solve, as it is serious. As a rule, economists

have not stopped to consider it, and the majority of Socialists have answered it too thoughtlessly. During the eighteenth century it was acknowledged by all thoughtful men, though its component factors could not be as clearly perceived as they are now, thanks to the progress made in economic science. The majority of those, who, during the last century and the present, became conscious of the difficulty were satisfied with calling attention to it, and setting it forth with more or less precision and eloquence; other more daring reformers sought to do away with it, after the manner of Minos and Lycurgus, by Communism. But as the majority of them were Materialists, they have given this creed a new characteristic, which it is essential to note here. They denied the existence of evil instincts in man. According to them, man is essentially good. All the evil proceeds from established institutions. If these were reformed, evil would wholly disappear. All the passions are holy. They are excellent springs which must be wisely controlled and worked for the common happiness. Nature is our mother, they argue; why resist her voice? Instinct is her voice; to satisfy it is our right, and since it is an equal right for all, all must enjoy equally, as enjoyment is our destiny. The only way to effect this equality of enjoyment is to institute community of possessions. These materialistic Communists, therefore, instead of seeking for means to realize equality of rights, endeavour to establish absolute equality of possessions. According to their view, man is no longer a free agent, possessed of certain rights, and responsible for the way in which he uses them, but a simple unit to be placed in a line with other units, so that none may exceed the uniform level. The system, as has been said, would turn society into a sort of bed of Procrustes.

For rights to be thoroughly respected, or in other words, for all to enjoy complete equality, society as a body should eat with the same mouth, work with the same members, and feel successive sensations with the same senses. In default of this perfect unity of society, which alone would realize the absolute idea of equal rights as conceived by the Materialists, it is possible to have at least meals, work, and pleasures in common. All care should be taken to prevent one having a larger share of enjoyment than another. If necessary, the aid of despotism must be called in to hinder this. The principle of equality demands it, if there is to be an equality of sensations. The individual possession of implements of labour necessarily entails certain differences which the principle of responsibility sanctions. Individual possession, a necessary condition of all labour, and individual responsibility, an essential condition of all morality, must therefore both be abolished. Can there be any greater inequalities than those which result from the institution of marriage? Woman has ever been the object of the most ardent desire, and the source of the greatest joys.

These must be the same for all, says the Materialist. What then is to prevent complete promiscuity? Logic points directly to it, and there is no moral law to forbid it. Is not indeed the voice of instinct in its favour? Therefore the Communists of the eighteenth century added to their doctrines community of wives as well as of goods.

Nature herself differentiates between man and man. Strength of muscle, or of limb, quickness, vigour, or special intelligence prevent uniformity in the same race. All are differently endowed. But these varieties of faculties are to be arrested in their development. Phrenology must be consulted that means may be found to efface these differences, by modelling the tender heads of infants in the same mould. Such a course would effect material equality. The uniformity would be complete. Obviously, too, the culture of the mind and the various talents, constitute sources of serious inequality by developing those tendencies which date from birth. Let all culture be prohibited, and all progress arrested. The cultivation of the soil suffices for the maintenance of life. Any other occupation would become a cause of inequality; let it therefore be prohibited. The distribution of labour, in itself so great a good, would be wholly incompatible too with justice, thus understood; for labour, if distributed, would not be the same for all. Let each then cultivate the common soil for himself, and draw from it what he needs for the satisfaction of his wants. Freedom of thought is not compatible with this *régime*; its whole tendency would be to destroy anything of the kind. The greatest possible care must be taken that the laws are properly executed, and any budding superiority must be at once nipped with an iron hand; for superiority of any description would constitute a public danger, and an attack on the established order of things. This doctrine is very clearly explained in the *Manifeste des Egarés* drawn up by Sylvain Maréchal at the time of the conspiracy of Babœuf in 1793: "Equality of condition before the law is a mere day-dream; if there be one single man in the world in the least degree richer or more powerful than his fellows, the equilibrium is upset; there must be no other difference amongst them but that of age and sex; the soil belongs to no one, the fruits of the earth are for all alike; it behoves the State to distribute them equally amongst all men, who in return must give enforced labour, the description, quality, and quantity of which are regulated by the State alone. Luxury, which bears in itself the stamp of inequality must disappear, and, with it, all great cities, hotbeds of agitation and immorality. Equality implies the common education of children beyond the pale of their parents' supervision, and their instruction is to be limited to useful and practical knowledge, to the exclusion of any speculative information. When this system is once established, no one will have the right to express an opinion opposed to the sacred

principles of equality, and the frontier will be inexorably closed to all foreign produce or foreign ideas. Finally, in order to assist the establishment of the new state of things public and private debts will be abolished." (*Hist. du Social.* par B. Malon, ch. vii.) Absolute and necessary despotism is then the last stage of this system which invokes liberty, promises happiness, and swears by equality. It recognizes the independence of man, and makes a slave of him. It gives free vent to his appetite, but ties up labour. It liberates him from the obligations of the moral law, but introduces the inquisition. Respect the principle of evil; it is an instinct of nature. Let concupiscence spread unchecked; pleasure is the great aim of life. Woe to him who rises superior to his fellows in either genius or virtue; he is infringing the rights of others, and violating equality. Why proscribe Aristides? Because he is a just man. Dissolute brutes under an iron yoke is the ideal communism which materialism dreams of. Herein is summarized the entire doctrine. Man is desirous of family joys, and of the supreme charm of liberty. Instead of these he is allotted compulsory labour and promiscuity of intercourse. Society must arrive at a state of organization, where the greatest activity can be displayed under a reign of the most perfect order; the materialists offer a dead level of uniformity and general servitude.

It should be observed that this latter theory is in total opposition to primitive communism. Rousseau's scheme was to let loose man as a free being in an isolated condition. Babœuf, on the contrary, wished a Communism of equality organized by the State. Instead of an aggregate of persons in a state of freedom which knows no laws, you have laws cramping individuals into a condition where liberty is wholly unknown. In the one instance the realization of Hobbe's *homo homini lupus*; in the other Loyola's maxim, *homo perinde ac cadaver*; either life without order, or order without life. In both cases alike justice must perish, and individuality be entirely lost.

The doctrine here explained is in reality, with the exception of a few trifling details, that of the communists of the last and the present century. It entirely differs from that of Plato, the ascetics, and Bossuet, who all, nevertheless, extolled community of possessions. The one school would have all the passions fully satisfied, while the object of the other is to stifle them. The one reinstates the flesh, denying the soul; the other abhors the body while exalting the mind. The one is political, and calculates on attaining its object by authoritative measures and by the power of the State; the other is religious, and relies for its success on conversion and the advancement of morality. The one has its origin in a conception of rights, appeals to self-interest, and aims at the establishment of equality; the other originates in a conception of duty, appeals to charity, and seeks to establish universal fraternity. Finally, if the one be the better calculated to fire the

masses by a perspective of material enjoyment, the other is more suited to captivate generous and enthusiastic minds by the vision of a terrestrial Eden, and by the ideas of justice on which these day-dreams are based.

III.

Let us now briefly inquire if Communism be suitable to men as they now are, and as they seem likely to be for some time to come. Before pronouncing a judgment on this point, we cannot do better than look at Stuart Mill's opinion on the subject. He writes as follows :

"The restraints of Communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The generality of labourers in this and most other countries have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixed rules, and on the will of others, as they could be on any system short of actual slavery. If therefore, the choice were to be made between Communism and all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices ; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence, that the produce of labour should be apportioned, as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life ; if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."

Mill's opinion should put us on our guard against hasty judgments, and precipitate denunciation of Communism. Nevertheless there are, in my opinion, strong objections to it, so strong as to quite suffice for its unhesitating rejection. Mr. Bellamy, and communists of his stamp, blinded by their utopian visions, will not see what is daily proved by experience. *From each according to his strength* they say, but who is to be judge of this ? The State. The State, then, is to set me my task, and condemn me to an amount of labour which is to be settled solely by its arbitrary judgment. What is the difference between this and the galleys ?

To each according to his wants. But who is to limit these ? Each individual ? No ; for this would be making caprice or gluttony the measure of the allotment. The State then ; that is to say, the daily rations, shall be fixed by law ; there shall be a national "pot au feu," a sort of enforced mess for all time. This is no longer a feast of equals, a family banquet, or the evangelical love-feast. In the *Agape* the State had no part, love reigned supreme ; it was in consecration of their unity that the members of one great family gathered together, a communistic institution rendered possible by evil overcome. But away from this ideal, the memory of a foregone or the forecast of a very far off future age, no such institution is possible save by constraint. Communism may also be reproached with weakening the springs of activity and with enervating instead of

stimulating the will. It is certain that man can only draw his sustenance from the earth by dint of labour. Labour necessitates an effort against the instinct of idleness, a certain degree of trouble, of which want is the incentive, and the satisfaction of want the reward. If you take away the reward for the trouble, you remove the stimulus. There must be direct and immediate connection between labour and its produce; in other words, the labourer must feel that the produce of his labour is his own. If the produce be entirely, or even partially absorbed by another, the intensity of labour will be impaired. This is what actually takes place in the society of to-day; and it would take place to a far greater degree in a state of society where the producer had only a certain share of the produce allotted him; activity would certainly decrease, as there would be no immediate connection between the effort and its object, between labour and the produce destined to satisfy the need. The producer would not have the full enjoyment of his own creation.

The larger a community is, the less direct is the connection between labour and its produce, and the less intense is the activity born of real want. It may easily be conceived that in a society of some millions of persons this force would be reduced to a mere minimum. Religious communities, in order to compensate for this inevitable inertia, offered—as a reward for labour—happiness in a future state, which acted as an incentive to work, in the place of want or a desire to enjoy the good things of the world! In this way industry was encouraged in their midst, and work did not come to a standstill. But could any one with a full knowledge of men of the present day reasonably suggest that they should go down into mines, dig out ore, work in factories or workshops, drive engines; in a word, accomplish any of the multitudinous duties involved in our industrial and commercial life, with a view to securing happiness beyond the grave, and the joys of Paradise?

On the contrary it is most highly essential to respect in every way and stimulate the incentive of personal interest. Give it the amplest satisfaction by ensuring to the worker the full enjoyment of his produce; justice wills that this should be so. Guarantee to all free scope for their energy; equality would have this so. Let the excitement of want and the desire for legitimate enjoyment reign in the sphere of labour; they will give a prodigious impetus to industry. But do not attempt to impose an artificial "fraternity"; it would engender hatred, and would be productive only of misery. If the rights of each be clearly defined and guaranteed, the feelings of affection uniting men together will develop beyond the region of material interests. If any object of common envy be in dispute these brothers become absolute wolves or sharks, but if dispensatory justice render conflict impossible they will live in friendship. If I am

bound to work for my neighbour, I shall, more than probably, dislike him; all that is oppression entails hatred of the oppressor; but if both of us enjoy the fruit of our own personal exertions, I shall be animated by feelings of affection, and ready even to make sacrifices for him.

It is very important to keep the two primitive sentiments of man within the compass of their spheres. The sting of want may incite to the struggle with the barrenness and parsimony of Nature, so that ease and comfort may be wrenched from her; but such elevated feelings and aspirations as love, abnegation, and brotherhood must not be invoked for the production of riches. They are wholly out of place. Love must no more be a speculation than labour a sacrifice or appetite a right.

If every man in his own legitimate sphere of action were free to produce for himself, and if the tax of idleness were abolished, a spirit of fruitful emulation would inspire all workers, and the welfare of one would not spring from the poverty of another. What more than this could be desired?

But the chief objection to Communism is that it destroys responsibility, and consequently sacrifices either justice or liberty. Justice, in its practical sense, means giving to each his due, *cuique suum*. To each according to his merit and work, is a very old maxim, which the consciences of all nations have ever accepted. It is the very principle of responsibility, and the basis of the moral law. If thou doest well thou shalt reap thy reward, if evil thy punishment, for these are the sequels of thine own actions, good or evil.

It follows, then, that the fundamental precept of social economy should be: "*To each worker his produce, his entire produce, and nothing but his produce.*" The great problem of social organization is to realize this formula of justice. If this were once applied, pauperism and *divitism*, misery and idleness, vice and spoliation, pride and servitude would disappear as if by magic from our midst. Communism entirely ignores these first principles, the perception and realization of which are the constant effort and crowning glory of civilization. Zeal or cowardice, cupidity or abnegation, it recognizes no difference. Each one has his work appointed him; one does it ill, another not at all—it matters not; meals are served to all alike, all are treated in the same way, the idle and the industrious; brotherly feeling is tender over such slight delinquencies. It is quite clear that with this system it is to a man's advantage to do as little work as possible, all his wants being attended to under any circumstances. Vice is rewarded and virtue sacrificed. Abnegation offers a premium to laziness.

When two persons, out of politeness, debate as to which shall not accept a service each is anxious to render the other, the less scrupulous will have the best of the generous contest. It is precisely the

same in Communism, which is the dominance of the weak by the strong, of the active and industrious, by the greedy and self-indulgent. Without responsibility morality becomes a word devoid of signification. How then is such a system as Communism to be maintained? There is but one way. Stringently to enforce the penal code, that is to say, arrange an entire scale of penalties and punishments, regulate all the actions of private life, divide the workers into brigades under the arbitrary orders of an overseer, or submit all the questions of produce to the general votes, to punish any wilful idleness; substitute, in fact, for the incentive to work the fear of the gaol..

Instead of emulation and personal responsibility, constantly stimulating to increased vigour and activity, there would be then constraint in balance with indolence, disgust and weariness with law, and "fraternity" with justice. If you once do away with individual responsibility, society becomes one vast wheel, kept in motion by force. But, let us listen to what Stuart Mill says on this subject:

"The objection ordinarily made to a system of community of property and equal distribution of the produce, that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his fair share of the work, points, undoubtedly, to a real difficulty; but those who urge this objection, forget to how great an extent the same difficulty exists under the system on which nine-tenths of the business of society is now conducted. The objection supposes that honest and efficient labour is only to be had from those who are themselves individually to reap the benefit of their own exertions. But how small a part of all the labour performed in England, from the lowest paid to the highest, is done by persons working for their own benefit."

These statements of the eminent economist certainly possess a value which we will not contest; their application to the present system is undoubted, but they are no justification of Communism, which would merely extend the same lamentable defect that exists in our present social organization.

Moreover, at the present time, the ill-effects of the wages' system on the quantity and quality of work are considerably mitigated by the workman being closely overlooked by his master, whose interest it is to see that he works as well and as quickly as possible. When this superintendence is too difficult to be effectually carried out, work is done "by the job" instead; in this way the force of responsibility acts either directly or indirectly on the workman through the medium of the master. This is generally the case with most agricultural labour, with mines and small industries. It is quite true, as Mill observes, that there are very many cases in which the stimulus of private interest is not called into action. For instance, many functionaries and officials in large companies have a fixed stipend, in no way dependent on the way they do their duty. In such cases, it must of course be admitted, that the principle of responsibility is less direct in its action, and yet it seems to me that it has more influence than

in a Communist association. The superintendent of the labourers has the hope of rising to a higher post and of receiving higher wages; in addition to this he generally belongs to a class somewhat above the workmen under him, and he is thus better able to understand that his interest lies in doing his duty conscientiously; finally he knows that if he does not work well, he may be dismissed, and that he would thus lose a position superior to that of the great majority of those who have to live by their own exertions. All these stimulants to activity are lacking in Communism. The superintendent or overseer is not urged to display the utmost zeal in his power by any hope of better pay, or fear of losing what he already enjoys. True, he has a certain interest in the prosperity of society, his own being dependent on it, an interest which the hired workman has not; but this stimulus, which might be efficacious in a small communistic association competing with other contractors, would be of no possible avail in a universal association for governmental purposes, for there would be no proportion whatever between his disposition to neglect, and the benefit he could obtain from the addition of his personal produce to the general produce of some millions of co-associates. Nowadays, when a workman is idle he is dismissed; as the Communist workshop would comprise the whole country, dismissal would mean exile, a punishment so severe that it would probably be replaced by imprisonment. So that, not self-sacrifice, but the gaoler would be the pivot of the new state of society. I am of opinion, therefore, that Mill goes too far when he sums up his conclusion as follows:

“I consider that at the present time it is an open question as to what extent the power of labour would be decreased by Communism, and even whether it would be so at all.”

I believe, on the other hand, that at the present time it is perfectly certain that nothing but very fervent religious feeling can induce men to give up entirely their private interests and their own free-will for the benefit of society. The experiment has been made several times. Those who have made religious conviction the basis of the association have sometimes been successful; the others have invariably failed.

Communism is a protest against the existing order rather than a system of organization in itself. As we have seen, it owes its birth to an erroneous inference from the principle of fraternity or from that of equality, but in neither case does it offer any hope of a new social order. Real study of man's instincts is entirely lacking in its doctrines and precepts. It disdains to study because it only recognizes in our present state of society spoliation and injustice, and the order of things it dreams of is the exact reverse of what it sees. It troubles itself nought with the laws of production and distribution; they are unessential, and are to be entirely set aside. There is no

transition between the forests primeval and paradise, between the wandering savage and angels united in bonds of ineffable love. It does not understand the onward march of civilization, and fails to perceive the slow and arduous, but none the less sure and glorious, progress of reason.

The problem set by socialism—that is to say, by the science of society and civilization—is the following: Since men are equal by right, and possess divers aptitudes and inclinations, how shall the right of each to his means of production be secured to him, and how, at the same time, shall labour be stimulated by responsibility? In other words, in what manner should the association of mankind be so organized that equity may govern all social relations? Communism has not answered this question, because it has never even asked it. Its aspiration is generous, but it in no way solves the difficulty before us. Since Campanella, Communism has not made one step forwards, and since More, it has gone backward. Two thousand years ago it was at its zenith. Plato was its inspired advocate, and St. Paul its austere apostle; while the days of primitive Christianity were its period of religious enthusiasm, of daring proselytism, and of practical realization. Mr. Bellamy's Utopia, in spite of the charm of the pictures he draws, and the skill of his economic arguments seems to me inferior to More's.

Though I have thus pointed out some of the chief objections to Communism, I am well aware that they are not all equally important. But I think we may draw this conclusion from them, as a whole, that as long as men are such as they now are, and seem likely to remain for some time to come, generous minds may sigh for Communism as an enchanting picture of regenerate humanity, but that it is not in its present shape, a scheme suitable for men. In the sphere of economy it would snap asunder the spring of all work and effort, while in the judgment seat it would not respect justice, seeing that it fails to ensure to each the fruit of his labour. The second defect is more serious than the first, for there is just a remote chance that some sort of motive power might become developed in man, to act as a stimulus to production with the same force as does private interest; but men will never willingly submit to a system which rewards good and bad workmen alike.

The sole advantage to be gained by studying communistic programmes lies in the fact that they criticize with more or less eloquence and with a good deal of truth, the abuses of our social organization, and that they stir up an enthusiasm for reform.

If we may judge by the past it may safely be affirmed that the future is not for Communism. The system of property is rather making progress than losing ground; it has always had the advantage of possessing a principle of organization superior to that of Commu-

nism. Property will not perish ; but there will be gradual modifications in the manner in which it is held. It will become more and more a personal, and less and less an hereditary right. Every institution which is essentially stationary by nature, is condemned to disappear, sooner or later, because all things change, and more particularly the thoughts and faiths of men.

On the other hand, principles which form the necessary basis of society subsist always, being accounted for and justified by our very nature ; only they are gradually modified and perfected in the process of general progress. The relics of barbarous times disappear one by one as these principles draw nearer and nearer to the ideal of justice, growing more and more at each step into conformity with the laws of reason, and more and more favourable to the happiness of all. Such is, and has ever been, the destiny of property, as I have shown in my book, "Primitive Property." The laws with regard to it have always been, and still are, very different with different nations ; frequently they have varied very much with the same people, and it is perfectly certain they will suffer many more changes. None but the enemies of property would wish to restrict it within the limits of its present prescribed boundaries. Social institutions gradually become transformed, but they generally develop in a certain given direction, and according to fixed rules ; at all events during many consecutive centuries. It is therefore probable that property will become modified in the way I have indicated, and the changes which have already taken place allow of our foreseeing, in a measure, those which are likely to ensue. Property is becoming more accessible ; it is therefore probable that a time will come when all will share in it, as it is essential to a real state of freedom, and the true development of individuality that all should accomplish. It is also becoming more and more a reward of labour ; we may therefore reasonably believe that by-and-by that maxim, which is at once both the absolute negation of Communism and the most sacred justice, will receive due legislative recognition : To each the produce and nothing but the produce of his labour.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

DR. VON DÖLLINGER.

IT was in the month of May, 1870, that I first made the acquaintance of Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger. I was on my way to witness the decennial representation of the "Oberammergau Passion Play," which was then very little known in England, and of which I had promised Mr. Delane a description for the *Times*. It was the year of the Vatican Council, and Dr. Döllinger was the foremost figure in the opposition to the dogma of Papal Infallibility, which was then in debate. For this reason, and also because of his immense learning and of his great personal charm (of which I had heard from friends of his), I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I chanced to mention my wish to Mr. Gladstone, who at once kindly offered me an introduction, and gave me, at the same time, an interesting account of his first meeting with Dr. Döllinger twenty-five years previously. I called on Dr. Döllinger in company with a friend who bears a not very distinctively Welsh name. On greeting him, Dr. Döllinger said: "You are Welsh," and went off forthwith into a most interesting digression on the unsuspected traces of Keltic origin which still survive in the language and nomenclature of persons and places in England. His mind was a wonderful storehouse of knowledge on a vast variety of subjects, and the knowledge was so well digested and assorted that it was ever at his command. He was a great linguist and an omnivorous reader in the literatures of Europe and America, as well as of ancient Greece and Rome. And his acquaintance with men was as various as his acquaintance with books. Hardly any man of note passed near Munich without calling—not always with an introduction—on the great German theologian and scholar; and many made long journeys on purpose to see him. He was not a good correspondent; indeed, he could not have been. He was the

recipient of an immense number of letters, from Royalties downwards ; but he never allowed his correspondence to interfere with his hours of study, and his letters therefore, though numerous in the aggregate, were sparse to individuals. He preferred to write in German, but wrote fluently in English, French, and Italian. He read Spanish with ease, but I do not know whether he wrote or spoke that language.

A man may be highly intellectual and wonderfully learned without being necessarily a good talker. It is impossible to define a good talker, for the accomplishment is infinitely various. There are divers styles of good talking, each excellent in its way, and there are men who excel in more styles than one, of whom the late Mr. Robert Browning may be given as an example. In general society his conversation was so light and sparkling, so full of anecdote and repartée and breezy fun, that admirers of his poetry who met him for the first time were sometimes grievously disappointed. They had pictured to themselves a man of austere and dignified mien, who spoke like his poems, instead of which they met a very cheery, well dressed, old gentleman whose speech was by no means oracular, but was, on the contrary, an excellent specimen of good dinner talk. But Browning could talk in a very different strain when the opportunity presented itself. I remember a summer evening, two years ago, when, after retiring from the dinner-table, he started a discussion on the doctrine of evolution, from which the conversation passed to Plato's Dialogues ; and Browning's conversation was so brilliant and stimulating that the hours sped on without reckoning ; and when we thought it was verging upon midnight we found that it was already the dawn of another day. Browning, so far from feeling tired, playfully proposed that we should continue the discussion till breakfast.

To this class of talkers Dr. Döllinger belonged. He seldom dined out ; but he once did me the honour of dining with me in the Four Seasons Hotel, Munich, to meet some friends of both sexes, including the present Vicar of Leeds and Mrs. Talbot. He charmed the ladies, young and elderly, with the brightness and lightness of his conversation, and with his familiarity with topics which they had supposed must have been beneath his notice. He was full of humour, and I have never known a man who had a keener sense of the ridiculous, or laughed more heartily. But there was no malice in his humour ; like sheet-lightning, it irradiated without hurting the objects on which it played. I can confirm Mr. Gladstone's experience in affirming* that I never heard Dr. Dollinger speak an unkind word even of those whom he might reasonably have regarded as his adversaries. Archbishop Scherr, of Munich, was a personal friend of Dr. Döllinger, and was at first one of the opponents of the dogma of Infallibility. At the railway station of Munich, as he was starting to attend the Vatican Council, he

* See Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Speaker* of Jan. 18.

assured Dr. Döllinger that in the event (which the Archbishop thought improbable) of the dogma being proposed in the Council, it should have his determined opposition. For a time the Archbishop took his place among the minority of the Council, but he yielded at last, and excommunicated Dr. Döllinger for not following his example. Yet I never heard Dr. Döllinger speak bitterly of him. On the contrary, he made excuses for him; urged that he had acted under pressure from Rome; pleaded that he had more piety than strength of character; and declared that he was bound to act as he did, or resign his See. To illustrate the Archbishop's *esprit exalté*, which subordinated his judgment to his religious emotions, Dr. Döllinger one day told me the following anecdote, on the authority of Archbishop Scherr himself. When the Archbishop received information from Rome that he was to be presented with the Archiepiscopal Pallium on a given day, he immediately began to prepare himself for this great honour by devoting the interval to retirement and religious exercises. The Pallium is generally, but not invariably, made by the nuns of one of the Roman convents from the wool of lambs kept on purpose—a fact which added to the honour of the gift. On the stated day, the Archbishop's servant announced the arrival of the messenger with the Pall. The Archbishop expected a special envoy from the Vatican and a formal investiture sanctified by the Papal benediction, instead of which there walked into his presence a Jewish banker with a bundle under his arm, out of which he presently produced the Pall with a bill for £200. Keenly as Dr. Dollinger entered into the humour of the story, he really told it as an illustration of the Archbishop's simplicity of character, and by way of excusing his conduct in excommunicating himself. "To him," he said, "the dogma presents no insuperable difficulty, and he cannot understand why it should present any to me. He bows to authority, and cannot see that authority has no more to do with historical facts than it has to do with mathematical facts." He was always prone to make excuses for the bishops who accepted the dogma of Infallibility—even for those who had been among its most prominent opponents at the Vatican Council. He showed me once a letter from one of the latter, in which the writer—a distinguished prelate—declared that he was in sad perplexity. He had proclaimed the dogma, he said, while still remaining in the same mind in which he had opposed it at the Council. "But what could I do?" he asked. "Can one be in the Church and be out of communion with the Pope? Yet can it be right to proclaim what one does not believe? Such is my dilemma, and it has made me so unhappy that I have thought of resigning my See. On reflection, I have chosen what I consider the safest course." "Allowance must be made for these men," said Dr. Dollinger. "Habit is second nature, and their mental attitude has been so invariably that of unquestioning

obedience to Papal authority, that when they have to choose between that authority and allegiance to what they believe to be historical truth, their second nature asserts itself, and they yield."

On a subsequent occasion, I asked Dr. Dollinger if he thought the Bishop of Rottenburg (Dr. Hefele) would end by accepting the dogma. The case was in one way a crucial one. As an authority on the historical bearings of the question, Hefele was the best equipped man at the Council. His masterly "History of the Councils" is accepted as the standard authority on all hands. Not only did he oppose the dogma at the Vatican Council, but during the sitting of the Council he published, through the Neapolitan press, a pamphlet against it, basing his opposition on the example of Honorius as a test case. Perrone, the great theologian of the Roman College, and a strong Infallibilist, has laid it down in his standard work on "Dogmatic Theology," that if only one Pope can be proved to have given, *ex cathedra*, a heterodox decision on faith or morals, the whole doctrine collapses. Hefele accordingly took the case of Honorius, and proved that this Pope had been condemned as a heretic by Popes and Ecumenical Councils. Pennachi, Professor of Church History in Rome, replied to Hefele, and Hefele returned to the charge in a rejoinder so powerful that he was left master of the field. If therefore Hefele, so honest as well as so able and learned, accepted the dogma, it was not likely that any other bishop of the minority would hold out. "He must yield," said Dr. Dollinger to me, three months after the prorogation of the Vatican Council, "or resign his See. His quinquennial faculties have expired, and the Pope refuses to renew them until Hefele accepts the decree. At this moment there are nineteen couples of rank in his diocese who cannot get married because they are within the forbidden degrees, and Hefele cannot grant them dispensations." "But since he denies the Pope's infallibility," I asked, "why does he not himself grant the necessary dispensations?" "My friend," replied Dollinger, "you forget that the members of the Church of Rome have been brought up in the belief that a dispensation is not valid without these Papal faculties, and a marriage under any other dispensation would not be acknowledged in society." The event proved that Dollinger was right. The quinquennial faculties are a tremendous power in the hands of the Pope. They are, in fact, Papal licences, renewed every five years, which enable the bishops to exercise extraordinary episcopal functions that ordinarily belong to the Pope, such as the power of absolving from heresy, schism, apostasy, secret crime (except murder), from vows, obligations of fasting, prohibition of marriage within the prohibited degrees, and also the power to permit the reading of prohibited books. It is obvious that the extinction of the quinquennial faculties in a diocese means the paralysis in a short time of its ordinary

administration. It amounts to a sort of modified interdict. And so Dr. Hefele soon discovered. The dogma was proclaimed in the Vatican Council on the 18th of July, 1870, and on the 10th of the following April Hefele submitted. But he was too honest to let it be inferred that his submission was due to any change of conviction. He deemed it his duty to submit in spite of his convictions, because "the peace and unity of the Church is so great a good that great and heavy personal sacrifices may be made for it." Bishop Strossmayer held out longest of all; but he yielded at last, so far as to allow the dogma to be published in the official Gazette of his diocese during his absence in Rome. Nevertheless, he remained to the last on the most friendly terms with Dr. Döllinger, and it was to a letter from Dr. Döllinger that I was indebted for a most interesting visit to Bishop Strossmayer in Croatia in 1876.

To some able and honest minds Dr. Döllinger's attitude on the question of infallibility is a puzzle. His refusal to accept the dogma, while he submitted meekly to an excommunication which he believed to be unjust, seems to them an inconsistency. This view is put forward in an interesting article on Dr. Döllinger in the *Spectator* of last January 18, and, as it is a view which is probably held by many, I quote the gist of the article before I try to show what Dr. Döllinger's point of view really was :

"There was something very English in Dr. Döllinger's illogical pertinacity in holding his own position on points of detail, in spite of the inconsistency of that position on points of detail with the logic of his general creed. He was, in fact, more tenacious of what his historical learning had taught him, than he was of the *a priori* position which he had previously assumed—namely, that a true Church must be infallible, and that his Church was actually infallible. No one had taught this more distinctly than Dr. Döllinger. Yet first he found one erroneous drift in the practical teaching of his Church, then he found another, and then when at last his Church formally declared that the true providential guarantee of her infallibility extended only to the Papal definition of any dogma touching faith and morals promulgated with a view to teach the Church, he ignored that decree, though it was sanctioned by one of the most unanimous as well as one of the most numerous attended of her Councils, and preferred to submit to excommunication rather than to profess his acceptance of it. And then later he came, we believe, to declare that he was no more bound by the decrees of the Council of Trent than he was by the decrees of the Council of the Vatican. None the less he always submitted to the disciplinary authority of the Church, even after he had renounced virtually her dogmatic authority. He never celebrated mass nor assumed any of the functions of a priest after his excommunication. In other words, he obeyed the Church in matters in which no one had ever claimed for her that she could not err, after he had ceased to obey her in matters in which he had formerly taught that she could not err, and in which, so far as we know, he had only in his latter years taught that she could err by explicitly rejecting the decrees of one or two General Councils. . . . When she said to him, 'Don't celebrate mass any more,' he seems to have regarded himself as more bound to obey her than when she said to him, 'Believe what I tell you.'"

Dr. Dollinger would not have accepted this as an accurate statement of his position. He would have denied that the dogma of Infallibility "was sanctioned by one of the most unanimous" of the Church's Councils, and would have pointed to the protest of more than eighty of the most learned and influential bishops in the Roman Communion, whose subsequent submission he would have discounted for reasons already indicated. And he would have been greatly surprised to be told that it was as easy to obey the command, "Believe what I tell you," as the command "Don't celebrate mass any more." I remember a pregnant remark of Cardinal Newman's to myself at the time of Dr. Dollinger's excommunication, of which he disapproved, though accepting the dogma himself. "There are some," he said, "who think that it is as easy to believe as to obey; that is to say, they do not understand what faith really means." To obey the sentence of excommunication was in no sense a moral difficulty to Dr. Dollinger. He believed it unjust and therefore invalid, and he considered himself under no obligation *in foro conscientie* to obey it. He did not believe that it cut him off from membership with the Church of Rome; and he once resented in a letter to me an expression which implied that he had ceased to be a member of the Roman Communion. He submitted to the sentence of excommunication as a matter of discipline, a cross which he was providentially ordained to bear. It involved nothing more serious than personal sacrifice—submission to a wrong arbitrarily inflicted by an authority to which obedience was due where conscience did not forbid. "Believe what I tell you" was a very different command, and could only be obeyed when the intellect could conscientiously accept the proposition. To bid him believe not only as an article of faith but as an historical fact what he firmly believed to be an historical fiction was to him an outrage on his intellectual integrity. For let it be remembered that the Vatican decree defines the dogma of Papal Infallibility not merely as part of the contents of Divine revelation, but, in addition, as a fact of history "received from the beginning of the Christian faith." It challenged the ordeal of historical criticism, and made thus an appeal to enlightened reason not less than to faith. To demand belief in a proposition that lies beyond the compass of the human understanding is one thing. It is quite another matter to demand belief in a statement the truth or falsehood of which is purely a matter of historical evidence. If Dr. Dollinger had been asked to believe, on pain of excommunication, that Charles I. beheaded Oliver Cromwell, the able writer in the *Spectator* would readily understand how easy submission to an unjust excommunication would have been in comparison with obedience to such a command. But to Dr. Dollinger's mind the proposition that Charles I. beheaded Oliver Cromwell would not be a bit

more preposterous, not a bit more in the teeth of historical evidence, than the proposition that "from the beginning of the Christian faith," it was an accepted article of the creed of Christendom that when the Roman Pontiff speaks to the Church *ex cathedra* on faith or morals, his utterances are infallible, and "are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." He was firmly convinced of the contradictory of that proposition, and while he remained of that mind how could he have honestly professed his acceptance of the dogma? The appeal was not to his faith, but to his reason. It was, as he said himself, like asking him to believe that two and two make five.

But there is an ambiguity in the word "infallible," and the writer in the *Spectator* uses it in a sense in which Dr. Dollinger never accepted it, either before or after the Vatican Council. In the most Roman period of his life he was no believer in the Ultramontane doctrine of infallibility, whether of the Pope alone, or of the Pope as head and organ of the Church collectively. The Ultramontane view is that bishops are not witnesses of the faith handed down among their flocks from generation to generation; but that by consecration they are admitted to the *ecclesia docens* as doctors and judges, and are thus entrusted supernaturally with the custody of the true faith. So that when they assemble in Ecumenical Council they are not witnesses of the traditional and immemorial faith of their flocks, but of the faith as it came to them supernaturally in the line of their consecration. Dr. Dollinger never held that view. To him the infallibility of the Church had always meant a *consensus* of historical testimony. The function of bishops in an Ecumenical Council was to bear witness severally to the faith handed down in their dioceses. If there was moral unanimity in this testimony, it was held to afford decisive proof that the doctrine thus attested was part of the original deposit. But Councils had to deliberate as well as to bear witness; to track error to its lair and expose it as well as to testify to the truth; and it was therefore believed that the promise to "guide them into all truth" was not personal to the Apostles, but was made officially through them to the Church at large. It was not enough, for instance, at the Council of Nicæa that the bishops there assembled should have each delivered the traditional doctrine of his See on the subject of our Lord's divinity. For Arius did not deny the divinity of Christ in express terms. He disguised his denial of it by sophistry so subtle that it required uncommon skill and dexterity to refute him; and it was illuminating guidance of this kind that was promised to the Church, not an infused grace at the consecration of each bishop for the purpose of endowing him with the custody of the faith.

Others again, like Joseph de Maistre,* have explained Papal infallibility as if it merely meant the power of giving a decision which is final and from which there can be no appeal; the same in the spiritual order that sovereignty is in the civil order. The infallibility defined in the Vatican decree is different in kind from this. The infallible decisions of the Roman Pontiff are said to be "irreformable." This is a fundamental distinction. In civil government the sovereign power for the time being has supreme jurisdiction over the past as well as over the present. It can reform and revoke past decisions as well as lay down the law for the present. The analogy suggested by De Maistre therefore breaks down on the threshold of the argument. Nor is this all. There never was a time when Dr. Dollinger admitted the irreformability of any ecclesiastical decisions, be they Papal or Conciliar. He always held that one Œcumenical Council could review and amend (as indeed some did) the acts of another.

Moreover, the Vatican definition declares that the *ex cathedrâ* decisions of the Pope are not only "irreformable," but are so "of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." According to Cardinal Manning,† this means, and indeed it is the obvious meaning, that "the whole Episcopate gathered in Council is not infallible without its head. But the head is always infallible by himself. . . . This divine assistance is his special prerogative depending on God alone." The Vatican definition therefore "ascribes to the Pontifical acts *ex cathedrâ*, in faith or morals, an intrinsic infallibility; and, secondly, it excludes from them all influx of any other cause of such intrinsic infallibility." "I need not add," says the Cardinal, "that by these words many forms of error are excluded: as, first, the theory that the joint action of the Episcopate congregated in Council is necessary to the infallibility of the Pontiff; secondly, that the consent of the Episcopate dispersed is required; thirdly, that if not the express at least the tacit assent of the Episcopate is needed. All these alike deny the infallibility of the Pontiff till his acts are confirmed by the Episcopate," "which is to deny his infallibility as a privilege of the primacy, independent of the Church which he is to teach and to confirm."

This is the doctrine which Dr. Dollinger was required to believe, not as an article of divine truth revealed to the Fathers of the Vatican Council, but as an article of faith always held "from the beginning."

* "L'un et l'autre expriment cette haute puissance qui les domine toutes, dont toutes les autres dérivent, qui gouverne et n'est pas gouvernée, qui juge et n'est pas jugée. Quand nous disons que l'Eglise est infallible nous ne demandons pour elle, il est bien essentiel de l'observer, aucun privilège particulier; nous demandons seulement qu'elle jouisse du droit commun à toutes les souverainetés possible qui toutes agissent nécessairement comme infallibles; car tout gouvernement est absolu; et du moment où l'on peut lui résister sous prétexte d'erreur ou d'injustice, il n'existe plus."—*Du Pape* c. i. pp. 15-16.

† "The Vatican Council and its Definitions," pp. 90-92.

How was he to believe it consistently with his historical convictions? How was it reconcilable with the facts of history—with the fact of General Councils, for example? If the Roman Pontiff, as teacher of the Church, is infallible when he speaks *ex cathedra* on faith or morals, why were Councils summoned at all to decide what the Pope could have decided independently of them? Why the long sessions and heated disputations of Nicæa, Chalcedon, Ephesus, and the rest, if the Pope could by the *fiat* of his infallible prerogative have settled the matter at once? In those days of difficult and dangerous travelling and precarious postal communication, to withdraw the bishops of Christendom for months from their Sees was a serious evil to the Church at large. Would it have been incurred without necessary cause? And where was the necessary cause if the Pope could decide the matter infallibly of himself, “and not from the consent of the Church”? Nay, why was the Vatican Council called to declare the Pope’s infallibility, if infallibility belongs intrinsically to his office by lineal heritage from Peter? Why proclaim as a new dogma what is declared to have always been a necessary article in the *credenda* of the Church? And why did the Church for eighteen centuries, by its appeal to the General Council, practically deny the Pope’s alleged prerogative of settling all controversies on faith or morals “independently of the Church”?

These are specimens of the questions which Dr. Döllinger found barring his way to belief in the Vatican dogma. I have often heard him say that there were several objections to the dogma which were singly decisive against it, to say nothing of the cumulative force of the whole mass. Like Hefele, he regarded the case of Honorius as alone conclusive. And indeed it is not easy to see how that objection can be removed. The attempts that have been made to surmount it have really increased the difficulty. Cardinal Manning, for example, uses two arguments,* one of which misses the point of the objection; while the other, in saving the infallibility of Honorius, virtually surrenders that of the Popes who condemned him. Even suppose we admit, he argues, the fall of Honorius, what then? Does “one broken link destroy a chain,” while “two hundred and fifty-six” remain intact? “I would ask, then, is it science, or is it passion, to reject the cumulus of evidence which surrounds the infallibility of two hundred and fifty-six Pontiffs because of the case of Honorius, even if supposed to be an insoluble difficulty”? “One broken link” does undoubtedly destroy a chain on which anything hangs as completely as if every link in the series were broken. Perrone, as we have already seen, says positively that only one error committed by a Pope in an *ex cathedra* pronouncement would be fatal to the doctrine of Papal infallibility. His words are: *Si vel unicus ejusmodi error apprehenderetur, apparent omnes adductas probationes in nihilum redactum iri.*

* “The Vatican Council,” pp. 116-118.

The strength of a chain is proverbially in its weakest link. If that is broken, all that hangs on the chain falls to the ground.

But Cardinal Manning's own view is that Honorius needs no defence. His language is "entirely orthodox, though, in the use of language, he wrote as was usual before the condemnation of Monothelism,* and not as it became necessary afterwards. It is an anachronism and an injustice to censure his language used before that condemnation, as it might be just to censure it after the condemnation had been made."† Let us see what is involved in this argument. Being appealed to by the Monothelite Patriarch Sergius, of Constantinople, Honorius adopted and sanctioned in a public document the technical formula of the Monothelites, and pronounced it a dogma of the Church. His letter is extant in Greek and Latin, and his words can bear but one interpretation. Confessing our Lord's Incarnation, he asserted that He had one will only, and denied that He had two. For this Honorius was condemned and excommunicated in a Council (A.D. 680) admitted as Œcumenical in East and West. Two subsequent Councils repeated the anathema, and every succeeding Pope down to the eleventh century, in a solemn oath at his accession, gave his adhesion to the Council which condemned Honorius, and pronounced an anathema on that Pope as an abettor of heresy. In other words, a series of Popes, for more than three centuries, publicly admitted that a Council can sit in judgment on a Pope, and condemn him for heresy; and in particular that Pope Honorius was justly condemned for heresy. Individual Popes, moreover (Leo II., for example), denounced Honorius as a heretic in very energetic language. If, then, "it is," as Cardinal Manning tells us, "an anachronism and an injustice to censure his [Honorius's] language," the anachronism and injustice have been committed by three General Councils and a multitude of Popes. To save the infallibility of Honorius, therefore, is to sacrifice that of the Popes who condemned him as a heretic. I do not see a way of escape from that dilemma. I know, on the other hand, that the case of Honorius presents no difficulty to sincere, able, and learned believers in Papal infallibility. I cannot understand their state of mind, and they will probably consider me too biassed to appreciate their reasoning. But Dr. Dollinger's natural bias was in favour of believing what the Roman Church taught; and it was not without a painful wrench that he faced excommunication rather than profess belief in what he believed to be untrue.

The controversy on Papal infallibility naturally forced Dr. Dollinger to reconsider his position generally, and the conclusion at which he arrived was that no Council could be received as Œcumenical, conse-

* Cardinal Manning would find it hard to prove that the Monothelite language of Honorius was ever common among orthodox theologians.

† "The Vatican Council," p. 223.

quently as binding on the whole Church, since the last Council recognized as Œcumenical by both East and West. That opened up a number of questions which he set himself to study with the ardour and diligence of a man who knew the magnitude of the task and the precarious tenure of a life which had already passed its threescore years and ten. He began to re-study ecclesiastical history afresh from the earliest ages, in order to trace the genesis of the cardinal errors which have afflicted the Church and done so much harm to the Christian religion. It is to be hoped that he left materials for his monumental work in so forward a state that some of his disciples may be able to arrange them for publication. His plan was to apportion certain collateral and illustrative subjects to the investigation of scholars working under his own guidance, while he reserved for his own pen the unravelling of the Papacy along the whole course of its development. How completely he had reconsidered his whole attitude on ecclesiastical subjects will be apparent from a bare and crude sketch of a treatise on the Church, which he wrote down for me five years ago, with the expression of a wish that I would undertake it in conjunction with some eminent men, English and German, whom he named. Mr. Gladstone had often expressed to me the wish that a new and revised edition should be published of Palmer's "Treatise on the Church of Christ"—a book which Cardinal Newman, since he became a Roman Catholic, has characterized as the ablest exposition of the position of the Church of England that has appeared since the Reformation. At last I undertook to edit a new edition of Palmer's book, and consulted Dr. Dollinger. He agreed in Mr. Gladstone's and Cardinal Newman's opinion of Palmer's book. "English theological literature," he wrote, "possesses nothing comparable to it, or which could replace it. The study of such a work should be an indispensable requisite for every candidate for Holy Orders." The lines on which it was proposed to bring out the new edition of Palmer's work are indicated in the following extract from a letter which Mr. Gladstone wrote to me on the subject :

"What I want to have, on the basis of Palmer's book, is a setting forth, according to the methods which theological science provides, of the *Civitas Dei*, the city set on a hill, the pillar and ground of truth, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, *fortsetzung der Fleischwerdung*, exhibited not as against Nonconformists, nor even principally as against the aggressive Church of Rome, but as a positive dispensation, a form divinely given to the religious idea, which challenges with authority, but agreeably to reason, the assent of the rational and right-minded man, in competition with all other claimants on that assent. I want some solid scientific work, which shall set up historical or institutional Christianity to take its chance in the *mêlée* of systems, dogmatic and undogmatic, revealed and unrevealed, particularist, pagan, secular, antitheistic, or other, which marks the age. Having spent more than fifty years of adult life [this was written some years ago] in this *mêlée*, I find the method I describe the most rational of all, and I wish that there should be a text-book of it for

the help of doubtful or uninstructed minds. Also that this text-book, founded on the principle I have described, should apply the principle, for the benefit of Englishmen, to the case of the English Church, under the shadow of which our lot is providentially cast."

After some progress had been made in the revision of Palmer's book, it was found that parts of it would have to be entirely rewritten, and much of it, which events—particularly the Vatican Council and its consequences—had rendered obsolete, would have to be omitted. While this was going on I often went to Munich to consult Dr. Döllinger. He was so kind as to give me a room in his library for study, close to that in which he sat himself; so that he was always at hand to help me. While thus engaged one day, five years ago, he advised me to content myself with a revision of Palmer up to date, and devote myself, with the aid of some scholars whom he named, to the composition of an entirely new book. In the course of the afternoon he handed me a rough sketch of the kind of book which he thought would be useful, filling up the sketch, to some extent, during a long walk in the environs of Munich. I reproduce the sketch here literally as Dr. Dollinger gave it to me:—

GENERAL OUTLINE.

Matters to be treated more historically than systematically and polemically:—

Periods (*a*) A.D. 324; (*b*) A.D. 680; (*c*) Middle Ages, down to the beginning of the thirteenth century; (*d*) the time of developed scholasticism, when the authoritative works were written by Papal commandment, or imposed as binding law by the Popes and the religious Orders—Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus; (*e*) the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries till the dawn of the Reformation, 1517; (*f*) the Council of Trent; (*g*) the period of Jesuitical domination; the changes in dogma, morals, and general spirit of the Church, introduced by that Order.

Consequently seven successive surveys of the state of dogma. The date of the rising of each new dogma can generally be fixed very accurately.

Doctrine of *development*, as it is taught by the Fathers and the scholastics (principally Vincentius Lirinensis and Thomas Aquinas), to be carefully distinguished from Newman's system.

Doctrines, where the change is particularly momentous and fraught with far-reaching consequences—

1. Authority of the Bible and Tradition.
2. Penitence and Absolution (attrition or contrition).
3. Making marriage a Sacrament, and consequently entirely and exclusively a matter of Papal legislation.
4. The all-engrossing worship of the Blessed Virgin.
5. The virtue of *faith*, as it is taught in the New Testament (justifying faith), changed into an act of passive and blind obedience to the Church, or rather (since 1870) to the Pope.
6. The great change of the doctrine of *grace* by Augustine and the canons of the Eleventh Council of Orange; whereas the Greek Church preserved the ancient doctrine.
7. Change in the idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist. (Compare Johnson's work and that of Benedict XIV. *De Missa*).

Original independence of National Church. The Church of *Armenia*—of *Persia*—of *Abyssinia* (*Æthiopia*)—(it has never been in communion with Rome and the Western Church); the Church of *Ireland* (*Culdees*), which was independent down to the time of St. Malachy, in the twelfth century; the old *Scotch* Church (*Columba*); the *African* Church—the *Spanish* Church, where the subjection to Rome was introduced from France at the end of the eleventh century, by means of the monks of Cluny.

The changes in doctrine and practice since the fifth century are mainly hierarchical, calculated to make the Laity more dependent on the services of the Clergy, and to increase and multiply gifts, offerings, taxes.

Blind obedience to the Church, developed in its perfection by the Jesuits, and perverting conscience and moral judgment.

Institutions directly immoral or grossly superstitious:—

- (1) The Interdict, based on the idea that the Hierarchy can punish the innocent instead of the guilty.
- (2) Ordeals (direct intervention of God in human judicial trials) countenanced, consecrated by the Church.
- (3) The extension of Exorcism to cases of all kinds, generally confounding any case of mental disease, lunacy, or uncommon malady with demoniacal possession.

Changes in doctrine:—

- (a) Chiliasm or Millennium doctrine of Wordsworth, showing the toleration of the Primitive Church.
- (b) The fall of Satan and the demons. The earlier doctrine* of the Fathers of the second and third century was rejected, and a new one (fall by pride) introduced towards the end of the fourth century.
- (c) Change in the doctrine respecting the authority of Councils (St. Augustine, Gregory of Rome). St. Augustine said that one Council could correct another. Gregory compared the first four Councils to the four Evangelists, and negatived the competency of one Œcumenical Council to amend another.
- (d) Change respecting the worship of angels, fables and lies (apparition of St. Michael, &c.) by which it was established.
- (e) Change respecting the state of souls after death, visible even now in the Roman Missal. A state of peace (*requies, refrigerium*) changed into a state of cruel torture by fire. Immense influence of the fables told by Gregory of Rome.
- (f) Change respecting the rite of anointing the sick.†

Dr. Dollinger was penetrated with the conviction that the great obstacle to the spread of Christianity was the divided state of Christendom, and he gathered together in Bonn, in 1874 and 1875, representatives of the Oriental, Anglican, and American Churches, together with representative Nonconformists, to discuss in a friendly way the differences which divided them. Want of space forbids my going into that episode of Dr. Dollinger's busy and fruitful life. Those who were present, as I was, at the second Bonn Conference can never forget the tact, learning, courtesy, intellectual resource and agility, and exuberant vitality of its venerable President, Dr. von

* "The earlier doctrine" was that the fall of the angels was due to sensuality, "Sons of God," mentioned in Gen. vi. 1-4, being angels

† *I.e.*, the change from anointing with a view to recovery to anointing *in extremis*, where there is no hope of recovery.

Dollinger. He was then seventy-one years of age, but there was not a man among us more alert in body, and none half so alert in mind. On the last day of the Conference he delivered an address on the main questions which divide Christendom. It was a marvellous exhibition, both intellectually and physically. He spoke for five hours—three hours before luncheon and two hours after luncheon. He never used a note, and never hesitated. He stood all the while in the middle of the room, and looked as fresh and vigorous at the close of his address as if he had been doing nothing in particular. He was a man of splendid *physique*: slim, wiry, with what Mr. Gladstone has aptly described as a “thatch” of hair, which began to show streaks of grey only within the last few years. He was a very early riser—at five A.M. till the last few years. He breakfasted at eight, and dined at one; after which he touched nothing. He was hard at work in his study, when not receiving visitors, till about four or five in the afternoon, when he took a long walk, and charmed any one who had the privilege of being his companion with his conversation. He seldom studied after his return from his walk, and went to bed early. I am disposed always to think well of a man of whom children and animals are fond. I don’t think I ever took a walk with Dr. Dollinger without being touched by the sight of children running out of cottages or from the fields to greet him with smiles and kiss his hand; and I noticed more than once the friendly terms on which he seemed to be with animals. He spent some weeks in every year at the Tegernsee, close to his friend and whilom pupil, Lord Acton, and I believe that he kept up to the last his early habit of having a good swim daily, whenever the opportunity presented itself. Though sanctioning the public ministrations of the Old Catholics, he never took any part in them. I believe that he obeyed his excommunication strictly, leaving himself in the hands of God, and accepting with resignation the chastisement that had been inflicted on him, unjust though he deemed it. Ecclesiastic as he was, he was eminently a man of the world—a keen politician, interested in social and literary subjects, and, in a word, sympathetically concerned in all that touched the interests of humanity. He was emphatically a man whom it was difficult to know without loving.

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

THE RESULTS OF EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE WITH THE AFRICAN.

ONE of the most remarkable features of the century has been the phenomenal interest displayed in all things African. One dramatic surprise has followed another, and each new tale has seemed more romantic than anything heard before. The popular imagination has been touched by the varied story of the Dark Continent to an unprecedented extent. It has been a story which has appealed in trumpet tones to the philanthropist as well as to the mere lover of adventure, to the merchant as well as to the geographer, and to the Christian missionary eager for the spread of Christ's kingdom as well as to the patriotic politician anxious for his nation's aggrandisement.

Frightful wrongs to be wiped out, deeds of high emprise to be achieved, virgin countries to be commercially exploited, valuable scientific discoveries to be made, myriads of people steeped in the grossest idolatry, and regions more or less capable of colonization, where no civilized flag floats—these are some of the varied elements which have thrown a glamour and fascination over Africa, and taken men's minds captive.

People are ever most easily swayed by that which touches the feelings and imagination, and to these Africa has been appealing in ever new and startling ways for nearly a century, causing Christendom to tingle with its name. Not the least interesting feature of the public interest shown in the Dark Continent is the apparently unselfish form it takes. The very atmosphere is electric with schemes, religious, philanthropic and commercial, for the exclusive benefit of the negro. From a thousand platforms and pulpits rises a clamour of voices, in which we hear with never-ending iteration the popular watchwords of the day: civilization, progress, the good of the negro, legitimate commerce, conversion of the heathen, and other high-

sounding phrases, all having relation to the good things to be done for the African.

The company promoter equally with the private trader freely sprinkles his prospectuses or his conversation with glowing accounts of the great benefits which the African is to derive from further intercourse with commercial Europe. We are told to picture as the result—the negro clothed and in his right mind, alternately sitting at the feet of the missionary and of the trader; learning from the one the truths of a higher and better life, and from the other acquiring the arts of civilization.

We never hear now of the trader who goes to Africa with the merely selfish object of making his fortune. Each and all have become “pioneers of civilization,” thinking only of the native first, and of self afterwards. Imbued with these notions as to the aim, character, and results of our mission, we daily burn incense to our noble selves and ask the world to remark the glorious work we have accomplished. We speak as if the good to the native had been enormous, and our intercourse with him an unmitigated benefit and blessing. We look back with pride to our sacrifices in the suppression of the slave-trade, and point to our West Coast settlements as centres of secular light and leading, to our numerous missionary stations as stars twinkling in the night of heathendom with a heaven-sent light, to the returns of our trade, increasing with every new entrance to the heart of the country, as showing the spread of our beneficent influence.

We see clearly that the work of other nations has been pernicious in the extreme, that they have been brutal in their dealings with native races, and have thought only of their own sordid interests and national aggrandisement—all in marked contrast, we think, to our own aims and methods. That they resent this, however, may be seen in any daily paper, each being equally well convinced of the purity of its motives and the disinterestedness of its ends.

Among no people have the magic words, progress and civilization, been more persistently used than among the French. It has been in their interests, too, that the Germans have levelled every town on the East Coast, and bespattered the ruins and the jungles with the life-blood of their inhabitants. It was under their banner that Major Serpa Pinto advanced up the Shiré and slaughtered the Makololo, who did not perceive he came for their good. In fact, it is the same with all the European nations. Whatever has been done by them in Africa, has been at the dictates of civilization and for the good of the negro, while, as if not content with that, more than one leader of African enterprise, on looking back over his blood and ruin marked path, has seen the evidence of a guidance and support more than human.

But we must not suppose that this spirit of philanthropy, Christian chivalry and altruism, of which we now hear so much, is of entirely

modern growth, and that the good of the African was never thought of previous to our day. Quite the contrary, in fact. It was the Portuguese who alike instituted African exploration and Christian enterprise among the natives. Early in the fifteenth century they commenced that marvellous career of discovery which stopped not till they had crept with ever-growing boldness and experience to the southernmost point of the continent, and, rounding the Cape, pushed on to the conquest of the Indies. But it was a career inspired by no mere sordid motives. The desire to do noble and worthy deeds, to extend the Portuguese empire, and with it the kingdom of God, were the underlying exciting causes. Each new discovery of heathen lands gave a new impetus to the vigorous missionary enthusiasm of the time, till it rose to a pitch never surpassed.

No outward bound ship was complete without its complement of ardent missionaries vowed to the cause. At the close of the sixteenth century almost the entire coast-line of the Zambesi regions, during the glorious period of Portuguese expansion, was Christian and civilised.

African Association, whose object was the exploration of the interior of the continent, which till the end of last century had lain an almost absolutely unknown land to Europe. Their first successful man was Mungo Park, and to him belongs the honour of pioneering the way, and starting that marvellous series of expeditions, the last of which is even now filling the daily papers.

The end of last and the beginning of this century was a period fraught with great things for the future of Africa. It saw not only the abolition of the slave-trade and the commencement of the exploration of the continent, but also the landing of the first Protestant missionaries. It seemed, indeed, as if Europe was determined to pay off the moral debt it had incurred.

Traveller followed traveller, each more eager than the other to open up the interior of the continent. Ninety out of the hundred expeditions failed, but there was no dearth of results. In each one's instructions Africa to commerce and industry was mentioned along with exploration.

from such sources, and I cannot share this rose-coloured view. Over the whole of East Central Africa, from north of the equator to Mozambique, from the Indian Ocean to the Congo, and along the whole of the West Coast from the Gambia to the Cameroons, I have been enabled to see for myself the nature of those effects, and to draw my own conclusions. The result has been, as it were, to put a pin into the beautiful iridescent bubble I had blown for myself in common with the rest of the world, from the materials supplied by the ignorant, the interested, the colour-blind, and the hopelessly biased.

Taking a bird's-eye view of the whole situation in time and space, so that each factor may assume its proper relative position and proportion, I unhesitatingly affirm in the plainest language that, so far, our intercourse with African races, instead of being a blessing, has been little better than an unmitigated curse to them. A closer and more detailed examination reveals many bright points in the night-like darkness, full of promise undoubtedly, and capable of bursting into sunlike splendour, but as yet little more than potential, mere promise of the may be—not of what is, or has been.

These are strong statements, and require confirmation. If true, what can possibly have caused this frightful miscarriage of the noblest aspirations of a Christian people? The answer is simply, the nature of our commerce with Africa in the past and present. To the slave-trade, the gin-trade, and that in gunpowder and guns may be ascribed the frightful evils we have brought upon the negro race, beside which the good we have tried to achieve is hardly discernible.

We have already seen with what high and noble objects the first Portuguese explorers set forth on their career of conquest and discovery. Their motto might be said to be for God and King. Only too soon, however, the lust for gold followed that of conquest. The people who had gone forth to the reaping of souls soon commenced a harvest of a very different kind. As early as the year 1503 they despatched their first batch of human beings to work in the Spanish plantations of South America. Once started, the traffic grew by leaps and bounds. By 1511 the Spaniards had joined in the profitable business, though there were not wanting enlightened men who fought consistently against it as alien to the Christian spirit. Among these was Cardinal Ximenes, the regent during the minority of Charles V. The French Government, with Louis XIII. at its head, was duped by assurances that the main object of the traffic was to facilitate the conversion of the poor Africans to Christianity, and, thus imposed upon, gave its sanction.

Queen Elizabeth, more incredulous, even after being assured that the traffic was for the welfare of the negroes, and for the most part rescuing them from a cruel death, while they themselves were eager to emigrate

to happier lands, expressed her concern lest any of "the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, declaring that it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon its undertakers."

The slave-trade was thus not started in absolute ignorance or absence of a consciousness of its frightfully criminal nature. Enlightened opinion was against it, but it was an opinion easily hoodwinked and overruled, and, once started, the trade increased at an enormous rate.

For quite three hundred years the unfortunate natives were treated as wild beasts intended for the use of higher races. As wild beasts and things accursed they were shot down in myriads that others might be enslaved and transformed into the beasts of burden, hewers of wood and drawers of water of Europeans. The whole land was transformed into an arena of murder and bloodshed that our markets might be supplied, our plantations tilled. Chiefs were tempted to sell their subjects, mothers their children, men their wives; tribe was set against tribe, and village against village. Between Portugal, Spain, France and Britain many millions of people were transported to the American plantations. Before that number could be landed in America several millions more must have succumbed *en route*, and untold myriads been shot down in the raids in which they were captured.

Twenty millions of human beings probably under-estimates the number of killed and captured for European gain, and his was not the most fortunate fate who lived to become a slave. For him was reserved the spectacle of slaughtered relatives and a ruined home; for him the slave-path, with all its horrors—chains, the slave-stick, the lash, the killing load and toilsome march, the starvation fare, and every species of exposure and hardship. For him also were all the horrors of the middle passage in European ships, and but slight was the improvement in his experiences when, knocked down in auction to the highest bidder, he was transferred to the plantation.

It may be urged that this is now an old story, that the slave-trade is a thing of the past, and that we at least, as a nation, have atoned for our participation in it by enormous sacrifices of money.

If compensating the slaveholders means atonement, then we may rest in peace. But where is the compensation to Africa for the frightful legacy of crime and degradation we have left behind? Where is the reparation and atonement for the millions torn from their homes, and the millions massacred, for a land laid waste, for the further warping of the rudimentary moral ideas of myriads of people, and the driving of them into tenfold lower depths of savagery than they had ever known before?

answer, it will no doubt be said that "legitimate commerce" replaced the vile traffic in human flesh and blood. Still the same story—legitimate commerce—magic words which give such an attractive glamour to whatever can creep under their shelter—words which have too often blinded a gullible public to the most shameful and criminal transactions. There are still those who believe that every trading station, once the slave-traffic was stopped, became a beacon of light and leading, beneath whose kindling beams the darkness of heathen barbarism was bound to disappear. The truth of the matter is that, taken as a whole, our trading stations on the greater part of the West Coast of Africa, instead of being centres of beneficent and elevating influences, have been in the past disease-breeding spots which have infected with a blighting and demoralizing poison the whole country around. They have been sources of corruption where men have coined money out of the moral and physical ruin of the nations and tribes they have supplied.

What has been the character of this so-called legitimate commerce? It consisted, to an enormous extent, of a traffic in vile spirits and weapons of destruction—the one ruining the buyers, the other enabling them to slaughter their neighbours. It is a trade which commenced in congenial union with that in slaves. In exchange for Africa's human flesh and blood, the best England could give was gin, rum, gunpowder, guns and tobacco. With these combined we intensified every barbarous and bloodthirsty propensity in the negro's nature, while arousing new bestial appetites calculated to land him in a lower depth of squalor and degradation.

With the stoppage of the slave-trade the gin-traffic only received a more powerful stimulus. To its propagation all the energies of the traders were devoted. For spirits there was already a huge demand, and it was increasing out of all proportion to the taste for better things. It required no exertions on the part of the merchants to set it agoing, and once started it grew and spread of itself without any danger of its stopping. The profits, too, were enormous and certain, because the appetite for drink had to be assuaged, no matter what the price. Yet in all conscience the pleasures of intoxication are not expensive in West Africa. Over the doorway of hundreds of traders' houses might be hung the signboard of Hogarth's picture, "Drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence," only the "clean straw for nothing" would have to be left out. With the traffic in useful articles it was entirely different. To push it was a slow and laborious task, and the profits were uncertain, which did not suit men who wanted to make money rapidly.

The result of this state of matters is that the diabolical work commenced by the slave-trade has been effectually carried on and

widened by that in spirits. I for one am inclined to believe the latter is producing greater—and what are likely to be quite as last evils than the former. The spirit traffic has a more brutalizing effect. It more effectually blights all the native's energies, it ruins his constitution, and, through the habits it gives rise to, his lands are left as desolate as after a slave raid.

What are the most characteristic European imports into West Africa? Gin, rum, gunpowder and guns. What European articles are most in demand? The same. In what light do the natives look upon the Europeans? Why, as makers and sellers of spirits and guns. What largely supports the Governmental machinery of that region? Still the same articles.

The ships which trade to Africa are loaded with gin out of all proportion to more useful articles; the warehouses along the coast are filled with it. The air seems to reek with the vile stuff, and every hut is redolent of its fumes. Gin bottles and boxes meet the eye at every step, and in some places the wealth and importance of the various villages are measured by the size of the pyramids of empty gin-bottles which they erect to their own honour and glory and the envy of poorer districts. Over large areas it is almost the sole currency, and in many parts the year's wages of the negro factory workers is paid in spirits, with which they return home to enjoy a few days of fiendish debauch.

Outside such towns as Sierra Leone and Lagos, which, thanks to special circumstances, form small oases in the wild wastes of barbarism, not the slightest evidence is to be found that the natives have been influenced for good by European intercourse. Everywhere the tendency is seen to be in the line of deterioration. Instead of a people "white unto harvest" crying to the Churches, "Come over and help us"; to the merchant, "We have oil and rubber, grain and ivory—give us in exchange your cloth and your cutlery"; or to the philanthropist, "We are able and willing to work, only come and show us the way"—in place of such appeals, the one outcry is for more gin, tobacco, and gunpowder. To walk through a village on the Kru Coast is like a horrible nightmare—the absolute squalor of the huts, the uncultivated lands—the brutality and vice of their owners, is without a parallel in the untouched lands of the interior. There, women and children, with scarcely a rag on their filthy besotted persons, follow one about eagerly beseeching a little gin or tobacco. Eternally gin and tobacco, hardly the slightest evidence of a desire for anything higher.

Our West African settlements instead of being, as they should, bright jewels in the crown of England, are at this day—thanks to our methods of dealing with them—standing monuments to our disgrace. Everything tending to the elevation of the unhappy people who inhabit them has been blighted. We have done everything in

to suppress all habits of industry and stop the development of the resources of the country. We have made sure that no tastes, no varied wants, should be aroused. The result is now in the backward condition of the settlements, and the fact that the West Coast negro has been transformed into the most villanous, treacherous, and vicious being in the whole of Africa.

That a similar downgrade result is likely to be the outcome of the opening up and exploration of East Africa is only too apparent. Some three years ago, in lecturing on Africa and the liquor traffic, I had occasion to draw a happy contrast between the beneficial results on the East Coast under the Mohammedan rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the deleterious effects of European rule on the west side of the continent. Since that time a great political change has come over the Eastern region. The Germans, after shamefully setting aside the rights of the Sultan, have commenced their civilizing career. Towns have been demolished and hundreds of lives sacrificed. Our mission stations and all the carefully nurtured germs of thirty years of unselfish work have been more or less blighted.

It would be something if we could think that we had seen the worst; but we cannot forget that the Germans are almost the sole manufacturers of gin, that their merchants are quite as keen to make money as ours, while considerably behind us in their views as to native rights; and when, in addition, it is remembered that at the Berlin Conference it was the Germans who strenuously opposed the prohibition of the liquor traffic on the Congo and the Niger, we cannot by any means be hopeful of their future action in their newly acquired territories.

It is indeed almost certain that, as soon as they have pacified the natives by means of copious blood-letting, they will continue their work of civilization by the introduction of the gin-traffic which the late Mohammedan ruler prohibited. They will find a ready market; for palm wine has already inoculated the inhabitants with a taste for intoxicating liquors. In a few years the work of the Fatherland will be made manifest to the world by a great development in the value of the imports to their new conquest, which, to those who can read between the lines, will be a measure of the rate at which the ruin and demoralization of the natives is proceeding.

As a nation we have a moral duty laid on us to prevent this same European crime. We ourselves assisted the Germans to take the Sultan of Zanzibar's territories, and therefore we are in some measure responsible for what they do. In East Africa there is no vested interest in the trade to consider. As yet it has got no footing. There is not even any demand for it. It would be well if some action could be taken which would ensure that it never did get a footing. If the Germans are wise they will not sacrifice the future well-being of their

new settlements to any consideration of present and immediate results. But that is almost too much to expect: Certainly we have seen nothing in the past methods of the Germans to make us hope for better, and, unhappily, we cannot come to them with clean hands to ask for their advice.

It may be urged that in this survey of the results of European intercourse with the African I am only showing the dark side of the picture. Perfectly true, because there is no bright one as seen in the bird's-eye view I have been taking. What is a missionary here and there compared with the thousand agents of commerce who, with untiring and unscrupulous industry, dispense wholesale the deadly products in such great demand? What is a Bible, or a bale of useful goods, in opposition to the myriad cases of gin, the thousand guns which compete with them? What chance has a Christian virtue where the soil is so suitable for European vice—where, for every individual influenced for good by merchant or missionary, there are a thousand caught up in the Styx-like flood of spirit-poison and swept off helplessly to perdition?

It would, however, be presenting an entirely misleading picture of the situation were I to restrict myself to the distant and general prospect. As already said, a closer and more detailed examination reveals many bright points in the night-like darkness. Of these, none scintillate with a more promising light than the enterprises of the Christian missionary. And yet, however promising for the future, when we look around and see with what rapid strides the emissaries of Islam have made their influence felt throughout the whole of the Central and Western Soudan, and left the mental and spiritual impress of their civilization upon the natives, we cannot but sadly wonder at the comparatively small headway that their Christian rivals have made against the sodden mass of heathendom. As compared with the progress of Mohammedanism in Africa, Christianity in these lands has been practically at a standstill. Wherever Mohammedan seed has been sown there it has taken root, and there it has remained to flourish with a vigorous grip of the soil which nothing can destroy. The same cannot be said of Christian seed: it has ever been as a delicate exotic, difficult to plant, more difficult to rear, and ever requiring outside support and watering.

What, then, is the secret of this discouraging state of matters? It cannot be for lack of good men and true. Of such there have been hundreds—men who have been possessed with the very highest ideals of duty, and who have literally burned out their lives in the ardour of their missionary enterprise.

The explanation is simply this: Mohammedanism has succeeded because of its elasticity and its adaptability to the peoples it sought to convert. It has asked of the heathen negro apparently so little,

in reality, so much, considering what he is; for in that little germ of a great spiritual revolution. In fact, it is in a manner because of its very inferiority as a religion—looked at from our standpoint—that it has succeeded; and because it has just presented that amount of good which the negro could comprehend and assimilate. Moreover, the Mohammedan missionaries have been like the natives themselves—men who spoke the same language, lived the same life.

On the other hand, the Christian worker has accomplished so little because he has tried to do so much. He has seldom comprehended the problems he has had to face. His education has rarely been adapted to the work before him, and, filled with much enthusiasm and ardour and more erroneous ideas, he has gone forth too often to do little more than throw away his life with but small result to the cause he has at heart.

The missionary, as a rule, has ignored the fact that men's minds can only assimilate ideas in proportion to their stage of development. He acts as if he could in a single generation transform a being at the foot of the ladder of human life into a civilized individual, and raise a degraded heathen at a stroke to the European spiritual level. Filled with such beliefs, he has ever attempted, in defiance of all common sense, to graft Christianity in its entirety upon undeveloped brutish brains. Instead of taking a lesson from his successful Mohammedan brother-worker in the mission-field, and simplifying the presentation of the Gospel truth, he has generally done his best to stupefy his hearers with views and doctrines which have been beyond their spiritual comprehension.

It has rarely occurred to him that he had better, like the Mohammedan, sow one good seed which will grow and fructify, and strike deep and permanently into the life of the negro, than a thousand which only remain sterile on the surface.

Before any great advance will be made in the Christian propaganda in Africa, a total revolution in the methods of work must be accomplished. Surely the time has come when professorships for the preparation of missionaries should be founded, so that men might be sent out properly armed for the conflict, instead of leaving them, as at present, to enter the mission-field not knowing what they have to face, imbued with the unworkable traditions of bygone times, and hampered by the unsuitable theological training for the ministry which they have received among a civilized people, and which in Africa is worse than useless.

Once the negro is attacked in the right spirit, and with a suitable choice of weapons from the Christian armoury, I venture to predict even more splendid results to Christianity than has ever marked the progress of Islam. For the negro, with all his intellectual deficiencies, is naturally a very religious individual. In his present helplessness

and darkness he gropes aimlessly about after an explanation of his surroundings, and finds but slight consolation in his stocks and his fetishism and spirit-worship. That he gladly adopts a lofty conception is shown by the avidity with which he accepts as his Allah—the one God of the Mohammedans. We cannot be too quick in entering the field in opposition to the religion of Islam, however great may be its civilizing work among the natives, or splendid beneficial influence in raising up a barrier against the devil's flood of drink poured into Africa by Christian merchants. For unhappily its ultimate results belie the promise of its initial stages among the lower levels of humanity, if we are to judge from Morocco and other Mohammedan empires; and we have only too good reason to fear that what in the present is a great blessing to myriads of negro people in the Central and Western Soudan, may become a deplorable curse to the generations of the future.

In view of these facts—namely, that our intercourse with Africa has been almost one long career of crime and shame, fraught with direst consequence to a whole continent of people, and, in addition, that our various missionary enterprises have not accomplished the amount of good which might reasonably be expected of them—one might be tempted to ask, ought we not to retire altogether, and leave Africa and the African alone? To such a question I should answer most emphatically, No. We must not, if we could, and we ought not even if we would. We have laid ourselves under an overwhelming load of debt to the negro which centuries of beneficent work can never repay. We have not made reparation and atonement for the evil we wrought with the slave-traffic. The hydra-headed beast—the gin and weapon trade—is still continuing its ravages, still bringing new territories under contribution. We brought the monster into being, and ours is the duty to give battle to it, and rest not till we have not only checked its desolating career, but slain it outright.

Here is indeed a gigantic task, which we, as a Christian people, cannot shirk. It would be well if we heard less about high-sounding impossible schemes for the suppression of the present Arab slave-trade, and more practicable proposals for the stoppage of our equally ruin-working commerce in spirits and weapons of destruction. Let us stop our pharisaical trumpeting from the house-tops over the pounds we spend for the conversion of the heathen, while our merchants continue to make fortunes out of their demoralization. Instead of talking of retiring with our enormous gains—a proceeding which would only be in harmony with all our dealings with the natives—conscience calls aloud that we should put ourselves in sackcloth and ashes, and set about sweeping our commerce and our politics free from the iniquities by which they have hitherto been characterized. That accomplished, we have before us the still more mighty task of undoing the evils pro-

and during the last three centuries, and inaugurating the real work of civilization—religion, working hand in hand with no hypocritical mis-believe “legitimate commerce.”

Justice might indeed join hands with such as demand our withdrawal from Africa were there no indication on our part of a consciousness of wrong-doing—of a desire to reform where we have erred, to retrace our steps where we have gone astray. But already on all sides there are signs of hope—signs of the approach of a brighter day and of better things for the negro. The national conscience is awakening—men's eyes are being opened to the real character of our doings in the Dark Continent. Societies have been formed, vowed to the suppression of the worst evils, and are spreading their influence at a rapid rate. Governments are becoming more and more alive to their duty to the ignorant savages who have come under their rule, and are striving to check the liquor traffic where it has been established, and to absolutely prohibit it where no hold has yet been obtained. The sympathetic ear of the Houses of Parliament has been obtained, and Churches of all denominations are lending the weight of their influence to the good cause. Still better, merchants themselves are becoming alive to the fact that they are engaged in a business they ought to be ashamed of, and are seeking for a way of escape from the situation in which they have placed themselves. Public companies, too, armed with the powers of a Royal charter, are entering the field with enlightened views as to what their aims and objects should be. More especially do they take a stand against the further development of the ruinous traffic of which so much has already been said, apparently determined to restrict and finally extirpate the vile thing.

Of such we have no better example than the Royal Niger Company, which since it got its charter has started on a career bright with promise. The British East Africa Company is another which we may be sure will never soil its hands by any misdirection of its commercial dealings with the people under its rule.

As a bright spot in the black expanse of Africa, let me point with pride to what our Scottish merchants and missionaries are doing on Lake Nyassa.

There, hand in hand, commerce and religion are pursuing a common end. Filled with the noblest aspirations of their great pioneer, Livingstone, and the best characteristics of their native country, the band of Christian heroes have planted their flag on a rock, and, unfurling it to the breeze, have taken the helpless heathen under their protection in the name of Christ and humanity. Sword in hand, they have driven back the slave-raiding hordes in the north, and now they stand prepared to repel the equally desolating wave of Portuguese aggression which threatens them from the south. At such a crisis, it is our duty as individuals, as a Christian people, as a

nation, to see that that flag is never again lowered, and that who protect and gather round it are supported and encourage their glorious struggle.

In such facts we see clearly that the tidal wave of evil commenced to turn, and that a new and more beneficent current asserting itself. But, happily, not only commercially and politically are there signs of the approach of a brighter day.

It is gradually dawning upon Missionary Societies that the methods have not always been the most suitable for the work to be done. In this respect our Scottish Missions have also been taking the lead. They have sent of their best to carry on the difficult work. They no longer disdain the helping hand of the layman, but see in the artisan and the merchant co-workers in the same field. In every respect they have broadened the basis of their operations and grappled in a more modern and common-sense spirit with the question of Christian propaganda, and how best to come in touch with the undeveloped degraded nature of the negro. This spirit is likewise reflected in the communications to our missionary magazines. Throughout, these manifest a more vigorous and healthy tone, and are made up less of the weak milk-and-water demanded by spiritual babes and sucklings.

Thus, with missionary enterprise starting forth new armed on a more promising career of Christian conquest; with commerce purging herself of criminal iniquities, and joining with religion in the work of civilization, what may not be predicted of the future of Africa! Already the remotest corners have heard the glad tidings of the coming good—uttered in a still small voice perhaps, and possibly unheeded, uncomprehended—but bound to catch the heathen ear at last, and grow in form, in volume and in harmony, till they swell into one grand pæan and Christian hymn, which shall be heard in every forest depth and wide waste of jungle.

Then in the far distant future, Englishmen who shall be happily alive to hear that hymn, may indeed be able to speak of the beneficent results of European intercourse with the African, knowing that the sins of their fathers have at last been expiated, and the blot on the national honour wiped out.

JOSEPH THOMSON.

WAS JEHOVAH A FETISH STONE?

“ I DON'T see, therefore, how we can avoid the obvious inference that Jahveh, the God of the Hebrews, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God who later became sublimated and etherealized into the God of Christianity, was in his origin nothing more nor less than the ancestral fetish stone of the people of Israel, however sculptured, and perhaps, in the last very resort of all, the monumental pillar of some early Semitic sheikh or chief.” This is Mr. Grant Allen's conclusion, published in the *Fortnightly Review* (Jan. 1890). The opinions are trenchant, and, perhaps, if Mr. Allen proves his case, we may as well shut up the Book of the History of Religion. It is all stated here in a paragraph. You begin, in the very first resort of all, with a monumental pillar of a Semitic sheikh. Or rather, you don't, after all, begin with that, but with the ghost of the Arab sheikh himself, which sanctifies the pillar. Mr. Allen forgot to mention the ghost in his conclusion, but he had referred to him before. First, then, the ghost, next the grave-pillar sanctified by the ghost, then the pillar carried about in the ark as a portable fetish. Then (after or before that) the fetish recognized as the God of Abraham, then the God of Abraham etherealized into the God of Christianity; then, I may add, the God of Christianity sublimated into the “Unknowable” of Mr. Herbert Spencer, which, however, Mr. Frederic Harrison spells with a small “u.” Here is the whole history of Religion, unless we ask why one particular fetish stone, out of so many millions strewn over all the world, was etherealized (a process including pulverization) into a God like the God of Christianity. This too may, no doubt, be as readily explained by one of the fairy tales of popular Science as the development of the strawberry, or the aquatic habits of the water-ousel.

But the student of the History of Religion may not, after being satisfied that Mr. Allen's conclusions are unavoidable. Perhaps his friend Mr. Allen will permit me to show him how he "can easily avoid" drawing his obvious inference, or, at least, how other people can avoid it. For the inference is based on more than one conjecture of the most avoidable sort.

Mr. Allen's conclusions, as readers of his article will see, imply several propositions. One of these is that Mr. Allen knows what the ark of the Covenant contained, and that its contents were *not* that which the only accessible evidence declares them to have been. The ark did *not* contain the Tables of the Law (as in 1 Kings viii. 9), but it did contain "an object made of stone," and that object was "Jahveh." Again, Mr. Allen's conclusions imply the proposition that all worshipped or sacred stones were once ancestral grave-stones, or that their sanctity was derived from a real or supposed resemblance to ancestral grave-stones. Once more, if we are to agree with Mr. Grant Allen, we must believe that, when a "fetish" stone is found in certain relations with a god, the god derives his *origin* from the stone.

All these propositions are highly disputable, and, perhaps it may be shown, are not demonstrated by Mr. Allen. If we can show this, it will be quite easy for us to avoid drawing his obvious inference, and thinking that we know more about the origin of Jehovah than the most learned and "advanced" Biblical critics now believe themselves to know.

Now, what evidence have we as to what the ark really contained? We have 1 Kings viii. 9, "There was nothing in the ark, save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb." Either we must accept this evidence, or admit that we know nothing about the matter. The evidence, let it be admitted, is understood to be neither very ancient, nor very authentic. But, if we suppose it to be false, then it must go; we have no business to choose the part of it which suits Mr. Allen—namely, the existence of stone in the ark, and to reject the statement that there were two stones, containing the Decalogue. This mode of treating legends, admitting what we like and discarding what we dislike, has been criticized sufficiently by Mr. Grote, in his chapter on Greek Heroic Legend. Again, if Mr. Allen is right, then surely all the traditions, by many critics allowed to be old, about the Decalogue and the two tables of stone must have been invented, and inserted in Scripture, to account for the discovery of two stones (not one) in the ark. These are mere guesses: we may, to be brief, admit or reject the evidence, but we deal in pure guesswork when we say the author of 1 Kings viii. 9 told the truth when he said there was stone in the ark, but invented a pious fraud when he said there were *two* stones, inscribed with the "Ten

However, Mr. Allen's guess is not, probably he does not put it as being, original. He has "great allies" to whom he does not appeal. Thus Kuenen says, "Was the ark really empty; or did it contain a stone, Jahveh's real abode, of which the ark was only the repository? This we do not know, although the latter opinion, in connection with the later accounts of the Pentateuch, appears to us to possess great probability." But Kuenen adds that "we cannot draw any entirely safe conclusions." * He elsewhere remarks that "Jahveh was worshipped in the shape of a young bull." "Bull-worship was really the worship of Jahveh." † Thus a god was worshipped as a young bull, who probably had his abode in a stone.

Wellhausen again observes that, if there were stones in the ark, they probably served some other purpose than that of writing materials, and says that "the ark of the Covenant, no doubt, arose by a change of meaning out of the old idol." ‡

I make Mr. Allen a present of these confirmatory conjectures by eminent scholars. M. Renan's guess is that the ark "contained objects of general interest," that it was a small portable case, holding the best things in the Israelitish collection. These opinions are all mere "shots," and are of no historical value; or, as Kuenen mildly puts it, "not entirely safe." This part of the argument, then, is peculiarly perilous.

We next examine Mr. Allen's theory that all sacred stones have been grave-stones, or were worshipped because sanctity attached to them from their resemblance to stones sanctified as grave-stones.

Here the controversy would have been easier if Mr. Allen had consulted and given references to original authorities. But his examples of stone-worship are mainly taken, as he acknowledges, from works by Mr. Herbert Spencer, by Mr. Tylor, and by myself. Now, to omit references makes easy reading, and perhaps easy writing, but it does not permit a student to correct his author, if that author chances to overlook important facts in his context. It is really impossible to know about these obscure matters, as far as they can be known at all, without taking trouble, and working, as it were, at first hand. To myself, Mr. Allen's whole argument seems vitiated by the doctrine that "the origin of all which is most essential in religion" is derived "from ghost-worship and ancestor-worship." Mr. Allen thinks that this has been brilliantly demonstrated by Mr. Herbert Spencer. Not even by Mr. Tylor, I think, has any such demonstration been really and convincingly made. I am not persuaded that even the *germs* of a belief in the *supernatural*, still less of the essential in religion, arise in ghost and ancestor worship, or in any other single source whatever. The bane of those studies is the exclusive

* "The Religion of Israel," vol i. 233, London, 1874.

† Ibid. p. 235.

‡ "History of Israel," p. 393, Edinburgh, 1885.

belief in single "keys of all the creeds." These are only opinions which anthropology has led me. But my opinions have, at least, to certain details of stone-worship, the support of Mr. Tylor. "The ideas with which stone-worship is concerned are *multifarious*," says, "and the analogy"—the analogy which suggests the conjecture that stones, like menhirs, cromlechs, and so on, were worshipped as representatives or embodiments of gods—"may be misleading." To "multifarious" ideas and practices I am loth to assign one single origin; but Mr. Allen would trace them all to the worship of ghosts or ancestors.

He begins by thinking it unnecessary to prove that the erection of an upright stone is one of the commonest modes of marking a place of burial. The "prehistoric savage" "erected a pillar over the tumulus of a dead chief." That depends on whether the prehistoric savage had any chief, and whether he practised earth burial. But head-stones are certainly very commonly erected over tombs. The question is whether the peoples who now worship stones, or who did of old worship stones, also always erected pillars over their dead.

Common as the practice is, if Mr. Allen is to show that stone-worship arose from ghost and grave-worship, he must prove that stone-worshippers do, or once did, bury their dead under such stones. Now Lucian remarked long ago that "the Greeks burn their dead; the Persians bury them; the Scythians eat them, and the Egyptians mummify them;" no head-stone being needed in three cases out of four. Some savages carry the bones of the dead about, some devour the dead, some, as Apollonius Rhodius tells us, hang them in bags from trees, some expose them on platforms; some, like the ancient Hebrews in Genesis, bury them in the walls of caves, some embalm them and set them up in the temples, some sink them in the sea.*

Mr. Herbert Spencer quotes many cases of burial in caves, in huts, in houses, on elevated platforms, under sheds, and so forth. The sheds, huts, houses, become temples, he thinks. But it is plain that, in many cases, head-stones are not needed nor used, and yet the people who do not bury under head-stones worship stones, as we shall see. Whence did those stones gain their sanctity? It may be alleged that, at some period, all stone-worshipping races buried under head-stones, but that needs proof, which is not offered.

Are there no *instantiæ contradictoriæ* of people who bury under head-stones, or under pillars of wood, yet worship no pillar nor stone, on one hand, or worship stones, and yet do not erect them over graves? Mr. Allen does not touch this essential question; his theory absolutely

* Garcilasso de la Vega, "Com. Real.," i. 56; Apol. Rhod. iii. 202; "Legends of Hawaii," p. 59; "Among Cannibals," Lumholtz, p. 278, where burial in the earth is also used; Pietschmann, second part of his "History of Phœnicia," in Oncken's "Alte Geschichte."

demands, as preliminary, a study of burial customs, but no such study is offered. Want of room may have hindered him from examining and presenting the evidence in detail; yet such a presentation seems necessary. For example, some Australian tribes erect sculptured pillars, yet I never heard that they worshipped pillars. Mr. Allen himself states that the Samoans mark the grave by a little heap of stones, a foot or two in height, but the stones which (among other things) the Samoans worship are Fongo and Toafa, two oblong smooth stones, on a raised platform of loose stones. Here it is rather the platform of loose stones than the smooth oblong stones which ought to be sacred, if the sacredness be derived from marking a place of burial. Or can it be shown that the Samoans once buried their dead under oblong smooth stones? *

However, stones often mark a place of burial, undeniably, and when victims are sacrificed at the tomb "their blood is constantly smeared on the head-stone or boulder that marks the spot." Here, again, we have no reference to original authorities as to the diffusion of this custom, whether wide or restricted. But "after a time the grave and the stone get to be confounded together, and the place itself comes to have a certain sacredness, derived from the ghost which haunts and inhabits it." Mr. Allen now quotes Major Conder's theory of *menhirs* "erected as memorials and worshipped as deities," and of *dolmens*, *cairns*, and *cromlechs* in similar case. We have marked Mr. Tylor's more cautious warning against misleading analogies. But stones answering to three at least of the four classes—*menhir*, *dolmen*, *cairn*, *cromlech*—assuredly existed in ancient Canaan, and are often named in the Old Testament. We shall examine later the part they play, or may be supposed to play, in the legends, the history, the ritual, and the religion of Israel.

Mr. Allen now advances some cases of stone-worship. The Samoan example of the two oblong stones, parents of the Rain God, has already been mentioned. In the case of the tall coral sandstone of the Augustine isles, Mr. Allen does not tell us whether the islanders erect such *stelæ* over graves, and he is as indifferent to the burial customs of the stone or slab-worshipping Gilbert Group race. Goddesses there are flat slabs; does any such corresponding difference appear in the grave-stones of men and women in the Gilbert Group? Or do the people of the group erect stones over graves at all? Among the Khonds each god has a stone under the tree in the village. Do the Khonds place head-stones on graves?

In Peru, stones were placed "to represent the penates of households and the patron deities of villages." How did the Peruvians bury their mummied dead? Mr. Allen does not tell us, but Garcilasso says "they embalmed their Ynca's body so as to keep it with them, and not to

* Mr. Allen quotes Mr. Turner, without name of book cited, or note of page.

lose sight of it." * No stone was needed here. In Fiji the gods and goddesses "had their abodes or shrines in black stones, like smooth round mile-stones, and there received their offerings of food.† Mr. Allen takes this from Mr. Tylor, who takes it from Williams's "Fiji and the Fijians."‡ Mr. Williams gives a sketch of a stone named Lovekaveka, "the abode of a goddess for whom food is prepared." The sketch may be consulted by the curious, who will see the real nature of the stone at a glance. Assuredly it is not sepulchral. The Fijians, moreover, do *not* bury their dead under stones like this, but under small houses with roofs from three to six feet high.§ This prevents the grave from being defiled, "for a Fijian burial-ground is usually a very filthy"—instead of being a very sacred—"place." Some are buried in temples for this reason. Such are the graves of chiefs. Common people have graves edged round with stones, or with a stone at head and foot. It is open, of course, to Mr. Allen to argue that all graves were originally thus marked; hence the worship of stones in Fiji. But this is conjectural.

In all these cases Mr. Allen never once proves that the people who worship stones employ similar stones to mark resting-places of the dead. If they *do*, he should not spare such an important link in his argument; if they do not, it would only be fair to mention this gap in the evidence. One may doubt whether he ever asked himself the question. Let me now give an example of a stone-worshipping people who do *not* use head-stones. The Hawaiians deposit the bodies of their dead in caves, but the bones of chiefs and kings were usually destroyed or hidden lest they should be made into fish-hooks or arrow-heads for shooting mice, by their enemies. Some were thrown into the sea, others concealed in caves after partial cremation. In the royal tombs which do exist are probably few royal bones. The bones of one great chief were eaten, after being pulverized. The stones which are worshipped are brought from a certain beach in the south of the island. They are believed to propagate their own species. A selected stone is taken by its owner to the athletic sports. If the owner wins his race, the stone is admitted to be a god. If he fails, he throws it away, or makes it into an axe-head. There is, perhaps, little trace of ancestor-worship here, not more than in the superstition which leads burglars to carry a piece of coal in their pockets, "for luck." In Hawaii, then, I find no head-stones, but plenty of worship of stones which never stood over graves.||

Mr. Allen next remarks, very pertinently, that when certain stones had once become sacred (from their position, as he thinks, of sepulchral monuments), other stones resembling those might come to be regarded

* "Com. Real.," i. 93. † Williams's "Fiji," i. 220. ‡ London, 1858. § *Op. cit.* i. 192
 || "Legends and Myths of Hawaii" By His Hawaiian Majesty, Kulakaua, Preface (quoted) by Hon. R. M. Daggett. New York, 1888, pp. 41, 59.

“being themselves divine as containing an indwelling ghost or deity.” This is very probable. But he is not really aided here by Mr. Turner’s story of a fish-shaped stone prayed to by fishermen, a yam-stone made into a god of yams, and so forth. A simpler explanation suits these instances. The New Caledonians bury stones like yams, with the yam roots to fertilize them. The Zunis regard any pebble which distinctly resembles a bird, or beast as a god which will bring luck in hunting that game. It is a case of *similia similibus*: like affects like, a very common idea in early thought.*

If this view be accepted, ghosts, ancestors, and head-stones of graves have nothing to do with the adoration of yam-shaped, fish-shaped, and bird-shaped pebbles. Thus we may assuredly find many examples of stone-worship which need not be derived from ancestor-worship. Little but confusion comes of the desire to trace multifarious phenomena to one single origin. Mr. Allen would work back to his favourite origin by supposing, as we have seen, that the ghost and the grave lent the first sanctity to certain stones, and then that other stones were sympathetically affected by this attribute. Sanctity among stones was “catching,” so Mr. Allen gives a few examples of worshipped stones “where no immediate connection with any particular grave seems definitely implied.” This reads as if, in most of his earlier instances, a connection between the holy stones and some particular grave *had* been “definitely implied.” But we have seen, on the other hand, that there was not even an attempt made to prove any such connection in the examples chosen from Samoa, St. Augustine Island, the Gilbert Group, among the Khonds, in Fiji, and so on, while the Hawaiian case was an *instantia contradictoria*. There was among all these but a single mention of grave-marks, the tiny cairn in Samoa, where not cairns but large oblong stones were said to exist among other objects of worship. Thus Mr. Allen’s new cases of worshipped stones, “where no connection with any particular grave is implied,” so far are much on a level with his other cases. “The Dacotahs † pick up a round boulder, paint it, and then, addressing it as ‘grandfather,’ make offerings to it, and pray it to deliver them from danger.” Here Mr. Allen is gratified by the trace of ancestor-worship in the term “grandfather.” But that may be a mere “honour-giving name.” Do the Dacotahs, as a matter of fact, worship their grandfathers, and do they place round boulders, capable of being “picked up,” on the tombs of their dead? This ought to have been looked into. As a rule, the Red Indian tribes erect wooden pillars, carven with the totems of

* Mr. J. J. Atkinson gave me the New Caledonian case. The Bureau of Ethnology in Washington publishes coloured copies of the Zuni pebble gods, and one, an eagle, the gift of Mr. Way, is in my own collection. It should be fed with meal and powdered hells at certain intervals, but does not “get its meals regular.”

† Tylor, i. 147; Schoolcraft, ii. 196; iii. 229.

the dead man reversed. But do they worship those *stelæ*? Mr. Allen notes that where sticks, not stones, mark graves, as among the Siberian Samoyedes, sticks are more worshipped than stones. By parity of reasoning this should be so, too, among the Redmen of the carved and heraldic grave-post, and in Australia. But Mr. Allen does not enter on that subject. There is a difficulty in accepting even the theory that "all the European sacred stones are cromlechs, dolmens, trilithons, or menhirs," and thus are sepulchral. These stones undeniably retained a sanctity in Christian times; but was that a fresh development of folklore, or did folklore retain the exact ritual of heathendom? The latter is, no doubt, the more probable theory, as a rule; but superstitious beliefs, if not sanctity, are attached by folklore to the stone arrow-heads, or elf-shots, which, in the heathen times, when they were made, had no more magical value than a bullet has to-day.

Again, Mr. Allen himself mentions two European sacred stones—the stone of Scone in the coronation-seat, and an Irish fetish, worshipped as late as 1851—which are neither menhirs, nor dolmens, nor cromlechs, nor trilithons, which cannot be shown to have had any historical connection whatever with graves and ghosts. Nor is any such connection proved by the Fijian idea, that boulders have sex, and beget pebbles. The animation and human character of *everything* is part of early belief; and it would be rather hasty to derive that belief from ghosts and graves, though the attempt has been made. Mr. Allen now speaks of sacred stones which have been carried about like the stone "Jahveh" of his theory, in tribal migration. We know that the Israelites carried the "bones" (or the mummy) of Joseph, as the English carried those of the Hammer of the Scotch, and as Australian blacks carry the remains of their kinsfolk. Of course, if you carry the bones of a man, you do *not* carry his head-stone too; it were superfluous. Nor, again, is a tolerably large grave-stone very portable, though, if Mr. Allen is right, and if the inner stones of Stonehenge were brought "into Britain from the Continent," the objection from weight of course falls to the ground, and I do not in any case insist on it. Whether the "fancy Fijian stones," carried to a certain Samoan isle, were once grave-stones, there is nothing to show. That sacred stones of some kind may be and have been carried about is, however, certain; that they ever were head-stones of graves, there appears to be no proof; it is an inference of Mr. Allen's.

As to the coronation-stone of Scone, we only know it in its present shape. Emphatically it never could have been a head-stone, but I will grant that, for all I know, it may have been a chip of an old block which was once a head-stone. That is merely matter of conjecture. Had Israel, like Scotland, a coronation-stone? Mr. Allen appears to think so, because (2 Kings xi. 14) Jehoshaphat, at his coronation, "stood

y the pillar as the manner was." This was in Solomon's Temple. Does Mr. Allen think that a pillar, in a temple of Solomon's date, necessarily answers to a menhir, or other ancient sepulchral stone? This is precisely the kind of text where an instinct warns a man to consult the original. Now the Hebrew word for a sacred pillar-stone is *Massēbah*. But the word used for pillar, where we read that the king "stood by the pillar," is *ammūd*. Clearly enough the king was at the inner end of the Temple court, facing the people, and he took his stand by one of the two famous decorated bronze pillars which Hiram of Tyre made for Solomon and erected in the porch of the Temple (1 Kings vii. 15). Mr. Allen, of course, may argue that these decorative bronze pillars, eighteen cubits high, were derived, in the long run, from *menhirs*, or from grave-stones; but he should not confuse two totally different Hebrew words, representing two utterly different things.

Mr. Allen now reaches another province, where he finds matter which, in itself, I consider quite fatal to his theory. He remarks, with truth probably, that the sacred stones of a backward religion often get themselves (if I may say so) built into the edifice of a later religion. Thus, certain sacred stones, in Greece, were "Hellenized," as he puts it, and had a new meaning attached to them, perhaps by help of a divine name of Greek religion, as the title of Zeus Cappotas, *e.g.*, was given to a boulder which may have been worshipped before the worship of Zeus was introduced; or, as Mr. Allen prefers to put it, developed. We cannot now tell which of those expressions is correct in each instance. Again, "Islam has adapted the Kaaba" (*sic*), "the great black stone of the Holy Place at Mecca."* Precisely; but even Mr. Allen does not assure us that Allah "had his origin" in this black stone! Why, then, should he assume that, even if the ark contained a stone, and was the sanctuary of Jehovah, therefore Jehovah was developed out of the stone?† The recognition of the *Caaba* by Mohammed was really, due to local patriotism and policy. He got Mecca on his side by reserving for it religious privileges to which it owed its wealth and importance. It is easy to see that the ancient worshippers of Jehovah, like the Prophet of Allah, might have made a similar concession to a powerful tribe, even if Mr. Allen could demonstrate that a sacred stone was really carried abroad in the ark. Jehovah would no more necessarily be, in that case, "an ancestral fetish stone in origin" than Allah was, in origin, a black stone at Mecca.

We now come to the sacred stones which undeniably existed in Canaan. What‡ Mr. Allen calls the *menhir* or pillar, is the Hebrew

* M. Renan has the same illustration.

† It may seem pedantic to object, but the reason for writing *Kaaba* is not obvious. Our old spelling is *Caaba*, the received spelling is *Ka'ba*.

‡ Compare Kuenen's "Religion of Israel," i. 390; *scil.* in pre-prophetic times. Kuenen has argued that Abraham was not originally a stone god.

Massēbah, often rendered "image" in our version. For *cairn* also there is a Semitic name. But that any of the Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arab. words for "altar" means a *dolmen* is not known to scholars. Gilga probably means a stone circle. Mr. Allen calls it a great Stonehenge. About the *cairn* at Mizpah, Mr. Allen says it was "doubtless a sepulchral monument." Of this there is no proof at all, we cannot go behind the Hebrew tradition (Gen. xxxi. 46); and, if Mr. Allen knew Scotland well, he would know that cairns are erected for many various purposes, not only for sepulture. M. Renan attributes this custom to the Touaregs. Cairns may be, and often are, shepherds' landmarks; again, they may commemorate, like a *cairn* by the way-side near Clattering Shaws in Galloway, the scene of an event not three years old. The "Jehovist" priests, as Mr. Allen oddly calls them, *may* have "Jehovized" old pillars and cairns in Canaan, by explaining them as memorials of patriarchal history, or, like other cairns and obelisks, they may really have been memorials. It is not true to say that the oldest legends in Syria regard holy places as graves. The converse is the case; it is the characteristic of *modern* legend to change ancient sanctuaries into graves of saints. The old heathen sanctuary of Ashtarothe Carnaim has for 1500 years been honoured as the grave of Job. On the other hand, when Genesis tells us that Jacob set up a pillar on the grave of Rachel, Mr. Allen asks us to think this an attempt to "Jehovize" an early sacred stone. How can he know? The stone may have been a head-stone of a grave, whether of Rachel or not is not the question. Rachel is not an historical character, but the eponyma (and possibly an old goddess) of the house of Joseph. The Jehovization, if any, consists in making the sacred stone of a goddess into the grave of a human ancestress.

There were, at all events, many sacred stones in Canaan. They were parts of Canaanite religion, and when the Israelites conquered the country these stones were adapted into the local worship of Jehovah. Jahveh, says Mr. Allen, "would tolerate no other sacred stones (*sic*) within his own jurisdiction." Kuenen, on the other hand, remarks that "the Jahveh worshippers deemed it unnecessary to assume a hostile attitude towards the stone and tree worship." In truth there were different "attitudes" in the long history of Hebrew religion. Kuenen holds that, even so long ago as the invasion of Canaan, many Israelites were above the belief that the sacred stones were either gods, or dwellings of gods. Thus Mr. Allen thinks Samuel's stone of victory, Ebenezer, was "originally worshipped before proceeding on an expedition" (1 Samuel viii. 12). Kuenen, on the other hand, scouts the idea that "such a man as Samuel ascribed his victory, not as Deborah, for example, ascribed hers to Jahveh, but—to some stone-deity or other." How this harmonizes with Kuenen's

sea that Jehovah's real abode was probably a stone, I know not.* However, the Canaanite stones were early admitted, more or less perhaps under protest, into Israelite worship.

Thus Hosea says that the people of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without pillar (*Massēbah*) (Hosea iii. 4). These pillars were censured when Exodus, perhaps in the ninth century B.C., was written, but nobody denies that Israel had copiously assumed them into Jehovah's cult. These stone pillars were no more than the symbols of the presence at the sanctuary of a god who was not himself a stone-god, any more than Zeus or Apollo was a stone, because a stone lay in his temple courts.

Such stones may have existed at Gilgal, and probably did, but Mr. Allen puzzles one when he says that Jehovah was "domiciled" there. When the very oldest Hebrew poetry allots a dwelling to Jehovah, that dwelling is Sinai, as in the Song of Deborah.† To be brief, sacred stones existed, survivals of Canaanitish times, in many holy places of Jehovah. They were offensive to what we may call the Puritanism of the reforming prophets. But they no more meant that Jehovah was "domiciled" in them, there and nowhere else, than Huitzilopochtli was domiciled in "the Maypole in the Strand," itself an offence to Puritanism. The prevalence of the opinions of the prophets led to the destruction of these sanctuaries as heterodox, in the reign of Josiah: they had been sanctuaries of Jehovah, but not orthodox sanctuaries.

We now come to Mr. Allen's remarkable theory that "Jahveh was an object of portable size . . . for he was carried from Shiloh in his ark." He seems, if I do not misunderstand him, to entertain another odd theory, that, in ancient belief, Jehovah was not only in the ark, but was *nowhere else*. He is, as it were, even more eager for one single place of worship of Jehovah, namely, before the ark, than the Hebrew compilers of what Wellhausen calls "the Priestly Code," and considers later than the Captivity. Mr. Allen quotes texts where David, dancing before the ark, is said to "dance before Jahveh," at Kirjath-jearim. But, while the ark lay at Kirjath-jearim, Samuel and the people "poured forth water before the Lord" at Mizpah. Mr. Allen apparently must allow that "Jahveh" could be in at least two places at once, a difficult feat for a "portable object" to accomplish (1 Samuel vii. 6). However, Mr. Allen is convinced that Jehovah himself was at "first personally present in the ark that covered him." To be sure this is inconsistent with the frequent sacrifices to Jahveh where the ark was *not*, and where, therefore, in

* Kuenen, *op. cit.*, i. 394.

† It is true that M. Maurice Vernes disputes the antiquity of the song. Renan's "Hist. Israel," i. 193, Judges, v. 4; *Revue de l'Hist. des Rel.*, xix. 1. p. 66.

Mr. Allen's opinion, Jehovah could not be, which meet us, in the Bible, at every turn.

We have shown that, whatever was in the ark, Jehovah was distinctly not confined to that sanctuary, but rather dwelt in Sinai, and could manifest himself where he pleased. Places where he was believed to have manifested himself were chosen as sanctuaries, were often marked by sacred stones, and were spots of sacrifice, and of meeting between man and God, just as the ark, also, was a place of meeting, a portable chapel of high sacredness. All this does not prove that a stone, still less a grave-stone, was in the ark. Even if such a stone were there, it need no more be the origin of Jehovah than the *Caba* was the origin of Allah, or the stone of Delos the origin of Apollo.

Readers of Mr. Allen's essay will have observed that he says nothing about Semitic burial customs. Did the oldest Semites place stones of the sacred sort, or others, over the graves of their sheikhs? We know little or nothing about this. Herr Pietschmann, in Oncken's "*Allgemeine Geschichte*" (Abt. 175, pp. 206, 207), is a partisan, so far, of Mr. Allen's. He believes that Phœnician sacred stones were originally grave-stones, anointed that the oil might comfort the ghost below, a favour later extended to gods, when they were evolved from ghosts. But did Phœnicians use such burial-stones? That Herr Pietschmann hardly proves. We don't know at all what the oldest graves in Phœnicia were like. Those we do know are simply bins cut into the walls of caverns (pp. 196, 197). Small houses were built over earth-graves where caverns did not exist, or a tree, a fountain, a high rock was chosen, and the dead interred near that natural monument. With Herr Pietschmann's guesses about ghosts or gods in these trees or rocks we have nothing to do. The theory of the head-stone, and why it was oiled, is a mere "shot." The Phœnicians are not shown to have buried under head-stones at all. Mr. Allen will find, if he cares, a more serviceable ally in Goldziher's "*Mahomedanische Studien*" (p. 239). Goldziher, like Mr. Allen, is a Spencerian. He remarks that the Arabs adored stone pillars, called *Ansâb*, and he quotes from heroic Arab poetry a passage in which Mu'awija, in an address to a dead man, swears "by the offering I made at thy black *Ansâb*." Here pillar and grave-stone bear one name, and that, late as it is, is all the evidence (with what else Goldziher infers) that I can lend Mr. Allen. M. Renan remarks that the heathen nomad Arabs used to leave their *Ansâbs* behind them, to be worshipped by the next occupiers of the district. But the bearing of all this on pre-Mosaic Israel is remote.

I have now examined Mr. Allen's contention. I have tried to show that, as to what really was in the ark, we know nothing, unless we accept the evidence of 1 Kings viii. 9. I have endeavoured to prove

that Mr. Allen has not demonstrated sacred stones to derive their sanctity from their places as grave-stones. "How such a conception" (the presence of the Godhead at the sacred stones) "first obtained currency is a matter for which no direct evidence is available, and which, if settled at all, can only be settled by inference and conjecture."

I have given examples to prove that stone-worshipping races are not shown to use head-stones, as a rule, and that races who use posts do not worship them. Finally, I have alleged that the presence of a sacred stone, in the cult of a god, by no means proves that the god was, in origin, a stone. On the whole, perhaps the conclusion is that we may "easily avoid" Mr. Allen's inference that Jehovah was, in origin, a grave-stone, especially as, even according to Mr. Allen, stone-worship is a degradation from the certainly more ethereal worship of an ancestral spirit.

The truth is that abundance of belief exists to-day. Mr. Allen, who believes in his own theory or romance of Jehovah, must have plenty of faith, and perhaps it is unkind to assail it by critical methods, and to shake, it may be, the creeds of people who take their theology from the magazines. Few of them, however, will read a dull pedantic essay which asks for facts, and they will prefer a facile reliance on an article not strong in those hard uncomfortable objects.†

ANDREW LANG.

* Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," p. 188.

† Mr. Allen might reply to me, *in quoque*, on the strength of a line in my "Myth, Ritual, and Religion" (ii. 83), where Jehovah is said to have been "borne in his ark," like Huitzilopochtli. But the remark was a blunder of memory, since corrected. Jehovah, in the only evidence we possess, sits on the Mercy Seat, between the Cherubim. For the Tabernacle, Mr. Allen might find, if he looked, a very curious savage analogy, which would, I am sure, delight him, and which is "a point not seized by Germans." In connection with stone worship, it is interesting that in an article, "An Infancy," by Miss Ingelow, in *Longman's Magazine* (February 1890), she declares that, as a child, she believed in the animation of all stones: the "animistic" state of mind surviving in her earliest attempts at thought.

TITHES.

THE removal of an abuse, like the drawing of a rotten tooth, is always postponed until the misery occasioned by it has become absolutely unendurable. For some time past there have been signs that the tithe system as at present existing in England and Wales is trespassing on the extreme limit of public tolerance; and the futile effort of the Government last Session to grease the wheels of a rusty machine has only served to put in clearer light its absurd incongruity with the national life of to-day. English rural life is embittered; Wales is driven almost to the verge of rebellion; and the muttered incantation of "law and order" will have just as little effect on this side of the Irish Sea as on the other. What with rent, tithe, rates and taxes, farmers have too much to pay on their present profits; and until the burden is lightened, either by increasing their income or lessening the demands on them, any short and easy method of recovery will only make matters worse. Why the Home Secretary should suppose recovery through the County Court to be a more agreeable process than recovery by the tithe-owner's bumbailiff, it is difficult to understand. The former process looks more respectable certainly; but, like the silken cord supposed to be conceded to aristocratic gallows-birds, it chokes them all the same. It is easier to comprehend the reason for taking the rent-charge direct from the landlord; but if the farmer is not aware that he himself will have still to pay it indirectly, with a probable charge for commission, he is even simpler than we thought him. The proposal to reduce the tithe proportionately to any fall in prices and in rent sounds reasonable only so long as we ignore the real nature of the settlement accepted by landlords in the Commutation Act. This has been shown with admirable lucidity by Earl Grey, who speaks now with unique authority. Tithe redemption, though approved by

as good a Liberal as Mr. Herbert Gardner, means after all an investment by the landlords, on which they will look for a return in higher rents. The only other solution short of the diversion of the tithe to relieve other burdens on agriculture—in other words, disendowment of the Church—would be the conversion of the tithe rent-charge into land. That is to say, every estate or holding might be made to yield up a portion sufficient to pay the present rent-charge on the whole of it. These plots would thus become the absolute property—so far as that is possible in the case of land—of the present tithe-owners. If to such a solution there could be added a provision against alienation, there is very much to be said for such proposal from the point of view of the land-nationalizer.*

The above proposals are enumerated now only for the purpose of indicating the scope of the present paper. With the mysteries of the origin of tithes I have nothing whatever to do. There they are: *elles y sont, elles y restent*. I am conservative enough to be "dead against" their abolition. In fact, they can't be abolished even by an Act of Parliament. The only question is, who is to get them? It will be well to establish this point before returning to deal more in detail with the above alternative solutions of the tithe problem?

Many farmers and some of their friends demand a reduction of tithe under the impression that they—or, as they put it, agriculture—would get the benefit. But except to the possible extent of a merely temporary relief, while certain leases are running out, this is of course impossible. For the owner will get the highest rent he can for his land; and if that land is relieved from any public burden hitherto borne by it, of course it may be expected to yield to the landlord an additional amount at least equal to this relief. Since 1836, the tithe has ceased to be a reserved quantity of produce, and has become a reserved amount of rent. It no longer pretends to be a tenth of the produce; it is avowedly and by legal definition a charge on the rent. The general practice, according to which the tenant pays the tithe, has disguised this fact, and deluded many farmers into the notion that they are oppressed by greedy clergymen. But the truth of course is that the farmer pays his rent in two portions, one of which goes to the tithe-owner and the other to his landlord. If he pays £20 to the former and £80 to the latter, his real rent is £100. But because he is in the habit of paying the two amounts separately, he calls the latter alone his "rent," and supposes the £20 paid to his parson, or other tithe-owner, to be something over and above his rent. Then, not unnaturally, in hard times there rises into his confused brain a notion that if those Liberationist

* To prevent misinterpretation it should be said that the present writer only accepts that position *plus* the Ten Commandments—and the Beatitudes as well: "*Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.*" It is mainly because the present holders are *not* meek, that they are not likely to inherit it much longer.

fellows had their way it would be left entirely to his "voluntary principle" to pay or withhold his dues to the Church, and hence he would sit so much easier. I have been told by a rural magnate that nothing would "fetch" agricultural labourers, and even farmers, like an appeal to the country on the disendowment of the Church. But if it is on grounds like the above that they favour such an issue, their political support would be based on illusion. Still, if the tithe were devoted to some form of public expenditure which is now paid out of rates or taxes, the farmer would obviously be a gainer to that extent. Thus, in the above supposed case of a farm yielding £80 rent and £20 tithe, if the latter were diverted to purposes of existing local expenditure, the farmer would still have to pay his tithe, but he would quite save the amount in rates. Whether even in that case the landlord would take it out of him in additional rent is a question rather beyond the scope of the present discussion. The point to be fixed now is the indisputable fact that the tithe rent-charge is not an addition to the rent, but a part of it; and that whoever may get it the tithe absolutely cannot be abolished so long as rent is kept up at all. In other words, accepting the ordinary theory of agricultural rent, the tithe represents part of the "excess produce beyond what would be returned to the same capital if employed on the worst land in cultivation." We may of course change the name of this part of the "excess produce." We may taboo the word tithe, and think we have abolished the thing. But that would be a delusion. The "excess produce" would still go to some one; and that part of it now called tithe would still be paid. This is what I meant by saying that tithes cannot be abolished even by an Act of Parliament.

This is, perhaps, not generally disputed, though sometimes through want of clear apprehension the logical and inevitable consequences are ignored. But a plea is put in on behalf of farmers that, owing to the unexpected working of the Commutation Act, the amount of the tithe rent-charge has become excessive. Thus we are told of farms on which the tithe is nearly equal to, or in some instances even greater than, the part of the rent paid to the landlord. But why should this be thought so very dreadful? Is there not another side to it? Surely a good Liberal like Mr. Herbert Gardner might find some comfort in the reflection that the landlords, by a deliberate and carefully considered act of their own, have consecrated so large a portion of their annual revenues to the public service. Take, for instance, the cases mentioned by Mr. George Baylis, of Wyfield Manor, Newbury, in a letter to the *Daily News* of January 18th. I reproduce here his exact figures, only slightly altering the titles at the head and adding a fourth column of totals:—

NAME OF FARM.	Acres.	Rent paid to Landlord, 1889.	Rent-charge paid to Tithe-owner, 1889.	TOTAL RENT.
Knighton Farm, Shrivenham	950	£200	£166	£366
Chapel Farm, Leckhampstead	326	142	108	250
Penclose Farm, Winterbourne	398	144	148	292
Sparsholt Farm, Sparsholt	350	110	74	184
Maidenhatch Farm, Bradfield	230	79	61	140
Lower Bowden Farm, Pangbourne	95	21	29	50
Pounds Farm, East Garston, about	350	Nil	90	90
	2699	£696	£676	£1372

The first thing that strikes us in looking at this table is that the total rent, as shown in the fourth column, inclusive of the reserve charge called tithe, is remarkably low. The average is very little above ten shillings an acre. Even if we exclude Pounds Farm, which is said to pay nothing at all to the landlord, still the average rent of the rest is under eleven shillings. Now if we remember that King Charles I., when anxious to become chief speculator in Vermuyden's project for draining the Fens, based his calculations of profit on the assumption that reclaimed land would pay thirty shillings an acre as rent,* there is something almost humiliating in the confession that the soil of famous Berkshire should now be worth nearly two-thirds less than that rent. Of course King Charles was a very sanguine man, and his calculations were often wide of the mark. Still, after deducting a considerable percentage on that account, it does appear odd that there should be such a contrast between that estimate of land snatched from the tide and the present rents of royal Berks after two centuries and a half of national progress. One almost fancies that many an Irish farmer would think himself very well off indeed if he could get land as good at twice the rent. For the land of these farms, as I am informed on good authority, is not at all bad. I am told it is not well adapted to permanent grasses, and therefore does not lend itself readily to the general tendency to substitute meat for corn. And of course these are, as a general rule, the only alternatives possible to the imagination of the British farmer. But as a matter of fact, on these very farms the part of the rent paid to the landlord used formerly to be very much larger, in some cases twice or nearly thrice as much as the "total rent" set forth in the above table.

I may be told that such rents were obtainable only before the repeal of the Corn Laws, or at any rate before the full effect of that beneficent measure was felt. Be it so. But after all it does seem puzzling to an urban ignoramus like myself that good land within forty or fifty miles by rail of the greatest centre of population

* Sir William Dugdale; "History of Embankment and Drainage."

on earth should not be able to yield produce-value of a pound an acre more than the worst land in cultivation. Nay the margin between it and the worst land able to return a bare sustenance to the cultivator is little more than half that. It is, as we have seen, scarcely more than ten shillings, including the part of rent paid as tithe. Well, surely there must be something wrong here. Perhaps the farmers take too narrow a view of the capacities of their native soil when they can conceive of nothing it will produce but bread, beer, or beef. Perhaps they are too contemptuous of the Channel Islanders who, happy in Home Rule and small. ownerships, adapt their agricultural practice to the necessities of their position. Perhaps old-fashioned leases or estate regulations, obstructive of scientific methods, are not so obsolete as we are sometimes told they are. Perhaps sporting traditions, shared by farmers as well as landlords, are not quite consistent with highest agricultural art. Our Aryan progenitors, when they passed from the grade of savage hunters to that of rude cultivators, would appear to have kept a considerable spice of their barbarous instincts; and their children have ever since been endeavouring, with indifferent success, to unite in themselves the wild hunter and the quiet farmer. Thus, an urban ignoramus would naturally think that the purpose of a fence is effective enclosure, with the least possible encumbrance of the land. But those who know better tell me that the two main purposes of a fence or hedge are to afford shelter to game and an easy and safe jump to horsemen. To set up a barbed wire fence is as wicked as to shoot a fox; and in maintenance of such rules of morality boycotting is a virtue.* However, I am of course incompetent to discuss such questions. I only mention them as illustrating the baffled perplexity felt by some of us when we are assured that good English land within fifty miles of the greatest market in the world cannot be made to yield twenty shillings' worth per acre of excess produce beyond that of the poorest land in cultivation. Taxes and rates afford no explanation whatever. For in estimating the former we have no

* I note in the *Daily News* of February 4, a summary of a letter received by the editor from Mr. T. Halls, of Colville Hall, White Roding, describing "his experiences on the day of the first meet this season, when from 250 to 300 riders came across his farm. A large proportion having no nerve, they concentrated upon a weak place in his fences, and here waited for each other like a flock of sheep to get over; the consequence being that the young wheat and clover at the spot was 'trampled out of existence.' Only the other day five of these timid riders forced one of the farm gates off its hinges and broke it up, so that it will require to be replaced by a new one." Of course we are told that the Essex farmers have no objection to genuine hunters, but only to Cockney impostors. If that is true, it only shows that the Essex farmers have not read Darwin's chapter on the "Struggle for Existence." If they had they would be aware how very slight are the causes which may involve life or death in a severe competition. At any rate, they might know that the pound weight which sinks a swimmer's nose six inches under water is, for all practical purposes, equal to the hundredweight which would sink him six fathoms. The genuine hunter may be lighter on the land than the Cockney impostor, but too heavy for all that.

right to exclude indirect taxation ; and if it is included, we shall find that, taking all public charges together, French and American farmers have heavier burdens to bear than ours, and yet their business is profitable.*

But for the purpose of this argument, we do not need to determine whether the low rentable value of English land under free trade is the fault of sporting owners or slavish cultivation. Whatever be the truth on that point, and whether the depression be permanent or not, it is obviously the duty of those who regard the nation as ultimate landowner, to keep a firm grip on that part of the rent which was accepted in 1836 as an equivalent for tithe. The present application of the rent-charge ought not to be allowed to obscure this duty. The greater part of it goes to the national Church, of which no reasonable, consistent, or constitutional definition can be given, except that it is the English nation considered ecclesiastically. Another part of the rent-charge goes to certain great semi-ecclesiastical colleges ; and the remainder is absorbed by lay impropiators, who have their property by descent or purchase from chartered robbers of churches. But, as Lord John Russell said, in introducing the Bill of 1836, in any case "it is the property of the nation, though participated in by individuals."†

The subtle exceptions taken by pedantic scholars to this broad assertion are clever quibbles rather than serious objections. It may be true that until the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commission there was no common fund. It is true that tithes, glebes, and ecclesiastical estates of all sorts are legally the property of corporations, sole or aggregate, having local existence and perpetual succession. It is equally true that Epping Forest is vested in the London Court of Common Council. But every one knows that this is merely a convenient method of holding the lands in question for public use ; and if I were to deny that Epping Forest is national property because it formally belongs to the corporation of London, I should have just as much pedantic justification as any of the ecclesiastical scholars referred to. Nay, more, the tithes and lands belonging of old to ecclesiastical corporations have been handled by Parliament in a mode that has never been paralleled in cases of municipal property. We have never seen property of the City of London conferred on Birmingham or Manchester on the ground that the shifting of population necessitated such a transfer. But the possessions of ecclesiastical corporations have been handed about from north to south, and from east to west, just as occasion has required. The corporations

* It may be said that they pay no rents. But the exception is by no means universal ; and even where it exists, the land has a money value on which interest is paid, very often to mortgagees. Take even the extreme case of a Western American farmer who gets virgin land at a nominal price. Even in this case the expenses of clearing, fencing, and building, together with labour at treble the rate paid in England and the cost of carriage, heavily handicap the farmer.

† Hansard, vol. xxxi. col. 194.

called the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the corporation impersonated in the Rectors of Doddington and Stanhope,* have had many thousands of pounds deducted from their annual incomes for the purpose of enriching poorer corporations, without the least regard to local contiguity.

Of course this has been done in due legal form under direction of Parliament. But the moral justification for the changes effected was obviously a recognition by the public conscience that the incomes of these local corporations were in the nature of a trust for national objects, and might righteously be redistributed in accordance with changing national needs. It is useless to object that the new applications of the property were still ecclesiastical. That has not been entirely so in Ireland. And even apart from the precedents we have for the diversion of ecclesiastical property to secular uses, our reply to the pedantry about ecclesiastical corporations is amply sufficient. We are accused of vulgar ignorance for talking about ecclesiastical tithes as national property. With a smile of conscious superiority our critics tell us that they are the immemorial property of local corporations. On this we observe that in point of form our critics are irreproachably correct; but in point of fact the Legislature has never hesitated to redistribute, re-apply, and generally to hand about the property of these corporations as public convenience might dictate. In other words, Parliament has treated such funds as available for the nation as a whole. There is no possible justification for such a course except that, morally, though not technically, they are national property.† And we prefer being substantially right, though technically wrong, with Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. W. H. Smith,‡ rather than technically right and substantially wrong with Lord Selborne.

The main points insisted on hitherto are these two: first, that ecclesiastical tithe is a part of rent; and next, that it is public property. Before going farther, it is necessary perhaps to say a passing word on the tithes held by private impropiators. Such property is a historic scandal. Of course, I do not mean that it is any disgrace to the present owners. But it is a survival from those bad old times when true kingship was dead, while democracy was not yet born, and when, to use the slang of the modern market, national affairs were "cornered" by limited companies of Court parasites. Still Sir William Harcourt had clearly the advantage in a recent

* These livings were formerly worth £7306 and £4843 respectively. They have been reduced; the former by three-fourths (roughly), the latter by two-thirds, and the income applied elsewhere.

† Technically, there is not a shred of national property in existence. The nearest approach to it is Crown property. But even that is not technically but only morally, practically, and substantially the property of the nation. The truth is there is no form known to the law by which the nation can hold property, except by vesting it in the Crown or some corporation, sole or aggregate.

‡ At the opening of the debate on the Address (February 12) both of the latter statesmen spoke of tithe as "national property."

encounter with certain critics who challenged him to show why impropriated tithes are not to be considered national property equally with ecclesiastical tithe. They were national property once, but they were alienated, and they are so no longer, except in the sense that the land itself which yields them is in the last result the nation's. It may, indeed, be fairly argued that national property conveyed away contrary to public policy by an irresponsible and unscrupulous monarch ought to be resumable on easy terms. It is difficult to conceive of any moral objection, to an Act declaring that on the decease of the unborn heir to the youngest now living expectant successor, such property shall revert to the nation. But the difference between the lay impropiator and the ecclesiastical holder is obvious. The former has heirs with legal expectations; the latter has not. The former receives the tithe on no conditions whatever, except such as are imposed on all honest citizenship; the latter receives them on condition of performing certain public functions. The former is a private individual; the latter is a corporation—in most cases a corporation of one person, but still an official corporation. The former can sell or mortgage his tithe; the latter cannot. The former, unless under a private testamentary arrangement, holds the property in trust for no one but himself and his heirs. The latter is entrusted during good behaviour with the property to maintain him in the discharge of public duties. These differences are palpable and fundamental, and they are not lessened by the smart rejoinder that Parliament is just as able to disendow the former as the latter. Of course it is; or to enact that, either or both shall be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But though both forms of property are equally subject to Parliamentary omnipotence, there may be moral grounds for the exercise of that omnipotence in the one case which do not exist in the other. And that is all for which we contend. For my part, I should very much like to see impropriated tithes resumed by the nation. But I respect and sympathize with the national sentiment which, on the whole, is against committing new crimes for the purpose of redressing old ones.

Yet though for such reasons a broad distinction must be drawn between the two classes of tithe-owners, it is certain that, as in 1836 so in the future, any legislation that touches the mode of estimating or of collecting tithe will necessarily affect both classes. And this, perhaps, is a sufficient guarantee to the clergy, even if they had no other, that the value of tithe will not be violently or directly reduced. The descendants of sixteenth-century Church robbers are not as powerful as their forefathers. Still they are quite strong enough to resist being robbed in their turn. In further consideration, however, of the alternatives that have been suggested as a remedy for present troubles, I leave the lay owners out of account. It is in the public interest I shall plead, and with this they are not concerned.

Whatever may be the cause of the difficulty found even by Berkshire farmers in paying tithe, their case is mild indeed compared with the friction, agitation, and passion stirred up in Wales. For here the purposes to which ecclesiastical tithe is devoted aggravate the objections felt to claims considered excessive. The position is so different in the Principality from what it is in England, that the Welsh farmers will probably be far more difficult to appease than their English brethren. And we need not wonder at it. The only matter for wonder is the long patience with which they have endured the arrogant claim of a small minority of their countrymen to have their clergy and worship paid for by a reserved rent-charge on Welsh land. With the sufferings recently endured by the clergy, as the victims of a bad system, we may well sympathize. But the sympathies of their own adherents ought to be shown in something more than words. It is of no use to blame the Welsh farmers, who have been taught by Parliamentary neglect that they must expect no reform till they make the present law unworkable. These men have a genuine grievance. They have talked about it, argued about it, and petitioned about it long enough. They now say they will stand it no longer; and we shall find once more that "force is no remedy." Meanwhile rich Anglicans would do well to put their hands into their pockets on behalf of the Welsh clergy. For it is tolerably certain that the burden of their support will never be peacefully borne by the land again. But it does not follow, because the clergy are to cease to receive tithe, that it should be made over to the landlord. Yet let the Welsh farmers bear in mind that this is just what would happen if the tithe were nominally abolished. They would find that though the name was gone the thing remained. Only it would go into the landlord's pocket instead of the parson's.

The cases of England and Wales are different then in this respect, that in the former there is no sharp and urgent pressure for the secularization of tithe, while the latter will not be pacified without it. But as tithe will continue and will have to be collected in both, there remain some questions interesting to both alike. These questions affect the value of tithe, its mode of collection, and possibilities of farther commutation or transmutation. All farmers and some landlords say that the Act of 1836 has worked quite differently from the expectation of its framers, and has given to the tithe-owner much more than they intended. They therefore claim a re-assessment, which of course is to effect a reduction. It is odd to find landlord and tenant agreeing in this, since their motives are so different. The landlord wants to get more rent, and the tenant wants to pay less. It is certain that the effect of a reduction, were it possible, would disappoint one of them; and I rather think it would be the

tenant. But against these two appears the tithe-owner, and declares that he is worse used than either. He surrendered in 1836 any possibility of substantial increase in the value of his property, and accepted in return a legal guarantee that it should never be less than the net average received during the seven years previous to the Act. The reason for expressing the amount he was to receive in terms of wheat, barley and oats, was not, as too often supposed, an agreement that his income ought to fluctuate with the fortunes of the farmer. On the contrary, Earl Grey, a living witness of what took place at the time, tells us that it was believed a septennial average of these corn values would be more stable than the value of gold. One hundred sovereigns might have less or more purchasing power in twenty years' time. But if the hundred sovereigns were first turned into three equal portions of wheat, barley, and oats at the average price of 1829-1835, and this corn was then converted into money at the average price of 1850-1856, it was believed that the tithe-owner would get the same value. "Thus," said Lord John Russell, when introducing the Bill, "the tithe-owner would receive payment according to the fluctuation in the value of grain, *which must be taken to represent the fluctuation in the value of money.*"* The words I have italicized are obviously the key to Lord John's intention, though the former part of the sentence might appear to justify another view. He thought that the one fluctuation would neutralize the other: and so the tithe would retain approximately the same purchasing power. Under the operation of this rule, the tithe-owner's hundred pounds have at times risen above par; the value is, however, now about 22 below par; and the owner is a disappointed man, not less loud in his complaints than the farmer.

Both landlord and farmer are eloquent on the disastrous effects, so far as they are concerned, of Corn Law repeal. They say it has permanently brought down landlords' rent, and that the rent-charge ought to be reduced in like proportion. To this the tithe-owners reply that, as a matter of fact, the rent-charge has been brought down 22 per cent., and as they were promised stability of value in return for obvious sacrifices, it would be unreasonable to ask them to take less. The farmers fortify their demand by asserting that in 1836 no one expected the repeal of the Corn Laws; and that if it had been thought possible, provision would have been made for a re-valuation. But they are mistaken. For Hansard's columns show that the possibility of Corn Law repeal was several times mentioned during the debates, and that neither Lord John Russell nor Sir Robert Peel was disturbed by the prospect. Mr. Lennard, member for Maldon, said, as reported:—

"No provision was made for that period, if ever it should arise, when the

* Hansard, vol. xxxi col. 195.

Corn Laws should be repealed, and when those lands which were cultivated as corn lands, in consequence of the monopoly given by those laws, should be thrown out of cultivation. In fact, it allowed for no future modification of the rent-charge."*

He mentioned lands, seven or eight miles from London, which were paying tithes of thirty to forty-two shillings an acre. In view of the intolerable burden that would be felt if the Corn Laws were repealed, he moved an amendment giving an opportunity for re-valuation at the end of each decennial period. Now surely in that House, elected by ten-pounders in towns, and fifty pounders or freeholders in the country, agriculture and the landed interests had a preponderant representation. Yet so coldly was the amendment received that it was withdrawn. In the House of Lords a still more remarkable incident occurred. The Archbishop of Canterbury, having an eye to future enclosures of commons or waste, wanted to insert a clause giving the Church a share of the land in lieu of tithe. The proposal was reasonable enough, if for Church we read nation. But Lord Ashburton was very angry at the suggestion.

"It was a much greater hardship on the landowners," he said, "to be called on to pay tithe for lands which might go out of cultivation than for the tithe-owner to be deprived of tithes for lands which might hereafter be enclosed. . . . He knew in many cases, particularly if there should be any alteration in the Corn Laws, that it would be to the interest of owners of land to give up land altogether to the tithe-owner rather than pay tithe for it."

The last words should be noted by landowners who think their fathers made a bad bargain over tithe-commutation. With his eyes open to this possibility, Lord Ashburton did not think it necessary to oppose the Bill.

On the whole the tithe-owners seem to have the best of it when the subject of dispute is the present value of tithe. But there are other parties to the issue, or rather I should say there is one party, of far more importance than all other disputants put together; I mean the nation. If, as Lord John Russell said without contradiction from Sir Robert Peel, tithes were national property, then the tithe rent-charge remains national property, and we are bound to take care that it is not diminished. To prevent misunderstanding, it is perhaps necessary to repeat that this claim on the tithe as national property is independent of any opinion one way or the other as to the propriety of its present application. Those who think that the best application of this national property is to the support of a particular Church, equally with those who think this the very worst use—apart from immoral applications—to which it could be put, must surely desire that this public estate shall be kept intact. Its pecuniary value cannot be estimated accurately until we get the return of ecclesiastical revenues ordered on the motion of the late Lord Addington, then Mr.

Hubbard. But we ought to protest against any re-assessment which would reduce the total amount. Without objecting to the possible correction of local anomalies in the distribution of the burden, we may doubt whether landowners or farmers would care for this if it did not involve a reduction in the proportion of estate-tithe to estate-rent. If, however, that is allowed, it may be impossible to get compensation by raising the proportion on other estates where it is abnormally low. The result would almost certainly be a reduction in the value of the public property for the benefit of landholders; and against this the stewards of the nation are bound to protest.

The doctrine of contract, often pressed unfairly by the rich and strong against the poor and weak, may very justly be upheld against the land monopolists who agreed to commutation. In the plenitude of their power, when politically omnipotent, they agreed, for the convenience of themselves and their tenants, to give certain perpetual rent-charges on their lands in consideration of release from an annoying and irritating claim to tenths of the produce. They obtained a handsome bonus for doing so. The value of tithe was, on the whole, immediately reduced, and they were excused henceforward from paying tithe on their own improvements. With their eyes open to all contingencies, including the probable repeal of the Corn Laws, they concluded that they would make a good bargain if they surrendered for ever to the public service a carefully defined rent-charge in lieu of tithe. In such a case contract certainly is sacred; and we ought to hold them to their bargain. If the rent-charge has come to bear a larger proportion to the remaining balance of rent than they expected, this may or may not be their own fault; but it is certainly not the fault of the nation. It is perfectly preposterous that the public should be asked to surrender their part of the rent because the landlords prefer sport to agriculture. If the farmers support them in their old-world barbarism, let the farmers look to them for the needful reduction in rent. But don't let them ask the public to acquiesce in a reduction of public revenue. The soil of this country properly treated must surely be capable of supplying some of our home wants, such as fruit, fresh vegetables, flowers, poultry, eggs and butter. It is all very well to ridicule urban ignorance of rural business. But at present we have the law on our side; and I venture to hope it will not be altered to the disadvantage of the public estate. The landlords must be content with what is left after the tithe rent-charge is paid; and if they say it is not worth while to keep their estates on such terms, let them act on Lord Ashburton's suggestion and surrender them. At any rate they might agree to such a reform in tenure and conveyancing as would enable them to sell land as readily as railway shares.

Provided that the whole value of tithe is retained for public use, the mode of collection has but a secondary interest. There can be no

objection to making the landlord pay it directly, instead of indirectly as at present. Indeed, many landlords do so now, and, I presume, find no difficulty in repaying themselves. The tenant in such instances simply pays the whole rent to the landlord instead of dividing it between the latter and the tithe-owner.

Tithe redemption is open to the objection that it increases the danger of dissipating the public estate. So long as it consists in a rent-charge we know where it is ; but I doubt whether any one knows where all the money has gone that has been spent in redemption. Certainly, from a radical point of view, it appears desirable that where the public have their hands in they should stick to their hold on the land. Besides, one does not see what agriculture is to gain by it. If a landowner spends £100 in redeeming £4 annual rent-charge, he simply puts the latter into his pocket instead of passing it on to the tithe-owner. The land pays no less than before, and the farmer is not in the slightest degree relieved. The idea of agricultural relief through tithe redemption seems to ignore the fundamental truth that landlord's rent *plus* tithe rent-charge equals the whole economic rent of the land. To lessen the latter is to increase the former ; and though the landlord might find the investment a good one, the farmer would be no better off, and the public would lose as above suggested.

There is more to be said for the proposal to accept on every estate of sufficient size a portion of land equivalent in annual value to the rent-charge on the whole. This would form a considerable national estate in the management of which land-nationalizers might hereafter try their principles before adventuring on a greater scale. But there are obvious difficulties on the other hand. Small estates could not well be treated in this way, and would still have to pay their tithe rent-charge. We should not, therefore, get rid altogether of the existing friction. It may also fairly be maintained that a rent-charge uncomplicated with troubles of management is a much more convenient form of public property in land than the immediate ownership of the soil would be. When the above method of accommodation was suggested in 1836, the objection felt on both sides in Parliament was that it would not be safe to entrust so much land to ecclesiastical corporations. The nation which stands ready to resume the property now in the hands of these corporations would have to manage it by officials or boards. These would probably be as ill adapted as ecclesiastical corporations to such management as is involved in immediate ownership. On the whole, we may agree with Mr. Henry George, in considering that a pecuniary burden on land is a better form of public property than immediate ownership.*

* This is my interpretation of the "single tax" theory. Tax the land, he says, up to its full annual value, but leave the immediate ownership in private hands. That is, the nation knows what to do with the ground-rent, but would not know what to do with the land.

Finally, there is the suggestion made by Lord Bramwell in a letter to the *Times*, that if the landed interest rues the bargain of 1836, the only fair way out of it is to restore the *status quo ante*, and begin again *de novo*. Abolish commutation, he says in effect; and try how you like that. The suggestion has all the shrewd humour characteristic of his lordship's clear insight and racy utterance. It is a well-merited *reductio ad absurdum*. It awakens us to an apprehension that the system of tithing produce belonged to an old world which has passed away, and is dead beyond recall; while the principle remains that a portion of the return from land belongs to the community. But those who kick against the perpetuity of the burden, would do well to observe that other features of the old world are passing away besides the titling of corn, or of "mint, anise, and cummin." The weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and truth are impressing the public conscience more than they used to do. Judgment pronounces the Church establishment to be an anachronism, as well as a gross failure and a caricature of Galilean Christianity. Mercy bewails the lot of our poorest poor as a shame to our civilization, and pleads that the community's ancient share in the returns of the land should go no more to bishops, or chapters, or priests, but to the refinement and culture and comfort of common life. No doles, miscalled "charity," can effect this. But the employment of four millions a year in schools, people's palaces, and means for popular recreation, could do much. And truth declares that the depression of agriculture is no necessary result of free trade, but the inevitable consequence of a land system unadapted and unadaptable to the social and commercial life pursued by unshackled commerce. If land could be bought, sold, and transferred as easily as Consols; if rural England were less a rich man's playground and more a poor man's farm; if every occupant of land were absolutely free to make the best of it, had the same rights as in Ireland, and were wise enough to sacrifice game to crops; if delicately tilled soil and trim fences could be secured against the trampling and breakage of mounted Goths; if every future farmer had some years' scientific training and practice; if the needs of towns were studied, and obstinate bucolic habit compelled to adapt itself to the markets of the nineties instead of the markets of the 'teens; and if railway companies were forced to give rapid, sure, and cheap carriage for produce without partiality or favour—the land of this country would be well able to pay all and more than the charges laid upon it. Therefore I hold that radical reform, and not juggling with the bargain of 1836, is the true solution of the Tithe Question.

J. ALLANSON PICTON.

A PLEA FOR THE PUBLISHERS.

ABOUT two years ago I was induced to send forth into the world a book which, of course, would have been very much for the advantage of mankind in general—if it had been extensively read. My book was not a bulky one, nor a costly one; it was only a single volume, and its price was seven shillings and sixpence nominally. The venture has proved fairly successful; the number of copies sold runs into four figures; the sale is still going on; the critics are lenient where they are not laudatory. I have reason to be proud and grateful, and I am more than content.

But it so happened that, when I received my publisher's statement of account some few weeks ago, my friend, the Rev. Theodore Grump, was paying me a visit; and Mr. Grump is a man with a grievance which he takes every opportunity of airing. Mr. Grump is a very learned man, and a somewhat prolific author. He has produced several volumes of great merit, volumes that are referred to and made liberal use of by second-hand compilers much more frequently than is generally known. Nevertheless, friend Theodore is not a popular writer, never will be, never can be; he has not by Nature the *knock*, and he has never been taught the *art* of writing attractively; his books are consequently "useful" and "valuable," but they do not sell, and their author is somewhat soured, and, as I have said, he lives now to air his grievances.

I have observed that when a man has published books which the public persist in neglecting, that man has not so much quarrel with the stupid and brutal millions who will not buy, as he has with the crafty and cunning band of robbers who will not sell. Unsuccessful writers are always passionately set against the publishers. On this particular morning, when I had carefully pocketed the cheque which

came to me, I tossed over the account to my reverend friend, who thereupon set himself to examine it. I thought he would congratulate me on my good fortune. Judge of my surprise then, when, instead of felicitations, I was startled by a storm of fierce invective and almost incoherent denunciation of my worthy publisher in particular, and of all publishers that ever lived in the general. I was really so carried away by the torrent of Mr. Grump's eloquence that I fairly lost my breath, and could only stammer for want of words. But when it came to this pass, that Grump challenged me to make a bet of half a crown with him—he loudly protesting that my “precious successful book,” as he contemptuously called it, had not paid my expenses in pens, ink, and paper for the year—I really felt compelled to pull him up by resolutely asserting that he was talking nonsense.

On examination it turned out that Grump meant a great deal by his “pens, ink, and paper.” He meant not only stationery in the narrower sense, but he included all newspapers, reviews, magazines, and books which I had thought it more or less necessary to pay money for during the year 1889. Even so, I felt sure that he had greatly exaggerated my expenditure, and though I declined to make it a matter of wager, I there and then drew up a careful list of all such payments as might fairly come under the designation which my friend had made use of, and we spent an hour in making out the account.

I am bound to say that the result was a little mortifying. I found that the pursuit of literature, if tested by a comparison between the income derived from my successful volume and the expenditure upon *pens, ink, and paper* during the past year, had proved a somewhat costly luxury. It was certainly proved that I was some pounds out of pocket by indulging in the pleasures of reading and writing. The balance was clearly on the wrong side. I confess to a feeling of mortification, which was not lessened when I found that Mr. Grump was jubilant. If there is one speech more insulting and provoking than another when a man is smarting under the sense of defeat and disappointment, it is that maddening and diabolical reproach—“I told you so!” Grump kept on repeating this again and again, till we almost came to a downright quarrel, till, in fact, I was so irritated, that I declined to listen any more to his furious denunciations of booksellers and publishers. I brought our dispute to a close at last, by protesting that I could no more bring myself to believe that all the publishers in the nineteenth century were swindlers, than I could believe that all the clergy of the fourteenth century were fools and hypocrites; and that if I could believe either one or the other of these assertions, I should find life not worth living.

The truth is that friend Grump had taken an unfair advantage of me in this wager of his, and had dexterously managed to have a trot

upon his favourite hobby by resorting to a not uncommon sophistical artifice. He granted that my book had brought me a profit, but inasmuch as all the profit had been spent before it arrived, therefore he quietly assumed that there was no profit at all—the volume had not paid for “pens, ink and paper.” The inference to be drawn from that statement is not so obvious as at first sight might apprar.

There are some intellectual employments which require a very small stock in trade. A mathematician, for instance, may pursue his investigations, even into the higher branches of pure science, with very few books. But if a man be more than ordinarily interested in the great problems of history and all that they involve and have an irrepressible hankering to know what is being discussed in his favourite subjects, he *must* keep himself in touch with the thought and discoveries of others. If he be a dweller in a great city he has clubs and libraries, newspapers and periodicals, books and maps, almost at his elbow, to say nothing of the living men whom he may consult with at any hour. But if he be a dweller in the wilderness he must count the cost of having literary tastes, and that cost he will have to pay in coin of the realm. I hold it to be simply impossible for a very needy man to keep pace with the historical research of our time if his lot be cast in a country village. Any man who has lost his heart to the Muse of history—even though he can in no sense claim to be an historian—is a man *with tastes*, and such a man’s “pens, ink, and paper” must needs come to a great deal in the course of the year. Such a man may be considered a fortunate one who can pay the reckoning by the profits of his own goosequill.

When I put forward this view of the case to Mr. Grump he would not have it; and he proceeded to assure me that the position he took up was founded upon a solid basis of principle, which he then and there proceeded to enunciate. On examination it appeared that he had a whole bundle of “principles” which he was anxious to put forward; but the principles appeared to me to be false and untenable at the best, and at the worst to be mischievous and immoral. But inasmuch as I find that Mr. Grump’s teaching has not been without its effect, that his “principles” are rather widely accepted, and that in some circles the evil of the discontented is apt to be at once accepted as the voice of the wronged, I feel myself moved to say a word upon the supposed grievances of authors, so far as such grievances are supposed to result from their dealings with their publishers.

Mr. Grump’s main assumption is that every book is a work of art upon which a certain amount of skilled labour has been bestowed, and that for that the labourer has a moral right to receive his reward.

To begin with, it must be remembered that there is good art and

bad art, and that the *amount* of labour expended upon this or that performance is no measure of the value of the work produced. It may be almost laid down as a rule, that the stupid man—the bad artist—in proportion as he is deficient in great ideas, will in that proportion spend himself upon elaboration of details, so attempting to conceal feebleness and poverty of thought by wrapping it up in mere verbiage. It is the very essence of bad art to attempt to make up for want of quality by increase of quantity. The clumsy literary artist is the author who gives his readers ten pages to get through when one page would do as well, or better. Because a book has given me a great deal of trouble to write, it by no means follows that I deserve to be paid for my work by the hour.

In the second place, the market value of a work of art is determined by the demand that exists for it. You can no more command a return for the fruits of a large expenditure of toil than you can command a heavy crop—not to speak of a high price—by increasing the bulk of seed sown over a given area. A book may be a good book—an excellent book in its way—but the question is, does any large section of the public want it? If not, then you have missed your mark. You have made a bid for the support of the great hosts of readers; the response is given against you, and, whether your rejection and disappointment is due to the bad taste of the community or not, the fact remains the same.

But when you have written your book, you either mean to give it away or to make merchandize of it. If you choose to print it for private circulation you will not need the help of a publisher. But in the other case two courses are open to you: you may sell it outright, or you may let it out for hire, just as you may deal with an estate or a house—that is, you may sell the freehold, or you may give a lease of it, for a consideration, to a leaseholder.

If you sell your property for a lump sum, what further concern have you in it? The purchaser having paid you the price agreed on may keep it to himself for his own delight and amusement, or, if he thinks fit, he may so deal with it that only a limited and privileged few shall enjoy a sight of it. At any rate, you have no voice in the matter. When a man has spent the best part of his life in laying out ornamental grounds and planting belts of choice trees round the mansion that he built in his youth, it must be very annoying to see the next owner cutting them all down; but the place no longer belongs to him, and there is no more to be said. If, on the other hand, you do not sell your work of art, but only let it out to hire, again your interest in your property is strictly limited by the terms of the agreement which you have entered into. You make your bargain with your eyes open, and you accept the offer made you, because, at the time you closed with it, it was the best offer you could get.

The bargain as between an author and his publisher is one that is perfectly well understood. It is a compact entered into between a craftsman with more or less skill and productive faculty, but very little else, and the capitalist who is ready to enter into a speculation, and find a market for the craftsman's wares. Mr. Grump, in his lofty and magnificent way, says it is a compact in which one side contributes brain-work and genius, and the other side provides money, nothing more. Is that quite a true way of putting it? Is there no brain-work needed in the management of a great publishing business? Are authors, *as a class*, distinguished for anything that may be called genius, even in the loosest acceptation of that word?

But the agreement with which we are now concerned is undoubtedly based upon the understanding that a book having to be published, the publisher is called upon to supply all the capital, to take all the trouble of throwing the book upon the market, and to bear all the loss if the venture proves a failure.

What does the author contribute? His literary "work of art," which he may be said to let out for hire to the capitalist, who hopes to make his account by printing it and selling it. The terms on which the author lets out his manuscript, in nine cases out of ten, are either that he shall receive a *royalty*, or fixed payment, on all copies sold; or half the net profits of the venture—accounts being made up periodically according to agreement. If he have bargained for a *royalty*, the author gets his payment on sales, whether the book has yielded a profit to the capitalist or the reverse. If, on the other hand, he has bargained to receive *half-profits*, the capitalist still takes all the risk. The worst that can happen to the author is that there is no profit balance to divide. The *royalty* system is so obviously fair and reasonable that there is no need to say much about it. The *half-profits* system, however, I have again and again heard loudly declaimed against in very strong language. I have never but once published a book on the system of half-profits. When I did so, I received on two editions, which were sold in three or four years, about fifteen pounds, which was a great deal more than I deserved. The third edition, of which the publisher, on false information, was induced to print a very large number of copies—entailed a heavy loss, which fell entirely upon the unlucky capitalist. That is my experience of half-profits. To this day I cannot help feeling certain qualms of conscience when I think of that transaction; but I have never returned that fifteen pounds, and if I had offered to do so, I am quite sure that my publisher, being an honourable and high-minded man, would have refused the offer with something like indignation. I had done my part, he had done his. Either through an error in judgment, or from mere ill-luck, the accounts showed a loss. So much the worse for the loser; but by the compact, whatever it was, an honest man would abide.

It seems to be forgotten by many authors that a manuscript is not a *book*. Before it becomes what we now understand by a book, it has to be printed, to begin with ; before its very existence can be made known to possible purchasers, it has to be advertized in some way or other ; it has to run the gauntlet of reviewers in the press ; it has to be introduced to the world, and distributed among the retail trade. All this means expenditure, and all this expenditure of capital falls upon the publisher, and upon him alone.

The author, meanwhile, sits passive—sits and waits. He does nothing, he can do nothing. His self-respect and modesty—if he have any—forbid him from “pushing the sale” of his volume. He leaves all this to the publisher. The paper and the printer’s bill, the cost for advertisements, the distribution of presentation copies, the commission of salary paid to *travellers*, the rent for storage of the unsold stock, all these and the like affect him not one jot, and he is immensely indignant that these matters all appear in the account, together with a not unreasonable charge for commission on money advanced. He never thought of all this. His calculations were of the simplest and most innocent character. An edition of his volume, limited to 1000 copies, will cost to print, say £200—that is, four shillings a copy ; 800 copies are sold at ten shillings a copy. Profit £200. His share, therefore, £100, and a potential profit of £50 by-and-by. Lo ! to his dismay, the printer’s bill stands at less than half the sum total of the expense incurred in bringing the volume into the market ; and instead of his share yielding him £100, he finds that he has to content himself with less than a fifth of what he deluded himself into expecting. And yet, what right had he to indulge in his golden dream ? Did he suppose that the book-merchant was so romantic and quixotic and philanthropic an enthusiast that for the honour and glory of introducing some unknown writer to the reading public, he, the publisher, was eager to become the aforesaid writer’s banker, and to begin by allowing him to overdraw his account ?

I will not enter into certain questions of fact which I am not qualified to discuss—such as the difference between the real and supposed profits realized by publishers as a class ; or as to the amount of capital embarked in the book trade, and the percentage paid upon that capital all round. This kind of inquiry, and the statements put forward on one side or the other, seem to me to be very like drawing a red herring across the scent. The main issue is surely a plain one. Are our contracts to be binding upon us so long only as we find it profitable to ourselves to keep them, but as soon as we discover that what we sold yesterday is worth more to-day, are we at liberty to repudiate the bargain, and throw our bond into the fire ?

When I hear authors and literary men, who ought to know better, express themselves in the reckless way in which some of them do

against the capitalists, on whose support and co-operation they depend and must always depend, for getting name and fame, at any rate at the outset of their career; when, too, I reflect upon the meaning of the assumptions to which they commit themselves, and the tendency of those assumptions, which they are doing their best to win acceptance for—I am tempted to ask myself, “Are our moral instincts getting feebler? Are we losing our sense of honour? Is our respect for the sacredness of plighted troth on the wane? In the ethics of the future will it appear that no engagements need be binding which any one of the contracting parties may find it to his advantage at any time to break?”

The profession of literature is a very noble profession; I do not presume to call myself one of its members. I could never gain a livelihood by my pen; but they who have to any extent the ear of the reading, and therefore, presumably, the more thoughtful public, are answerable to God and man for the way they use their large opportunities of usefulness, and he whose voice—for it is a voice—is listened to by the millions over all the world, has the burden of a tremendous responsibility upon him, the weight of which he can, by no means, relieve himself of. If they who ought to be the trainers of the national conscience are helping to confuse it, and helping others to believe that literary workers are *only* workers for hire, and determined on getting that, even at the price of broken faith and broken pledges—then there can be but a gloomy outlook for us all—the days of shame are at hand.

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ANGLO-CATHOLICISM—THE OLD AND THE NEW.*

THIS book may be described as a new series of "Tracts for the Times;" but the "Times" have changed, and with them the "Tracts." The noise of battle is not in the new as in the old; the writers have been born in the age of "sweet reasonableness," they do not indignantly address an apostate Church, or an impious State, but seek gently to succour a "distressed faith," loving the faith and pitying its distress. They believe that "the epoch in which we live is one of profound transformation, intellectual and social, abounding in new needs, new points of view, new questions, and certain therefore to involve great changes in the outlying departments of theology." The qualification is careful, but more easily made than applied; a change in the circumference of a circle changes the circle all the same. "Theology," it is confessed, "must take a new development;" but "a new development," though it be but of a single organ, affects the whole organism, all its parts in all their relations, internal and external. "To such a development these studies attempt to be a contribution." The writers are men of learning, piety, and sincerity, "servants of the Catholic Creed and Church," but they are also believers in evolution and in theology as a living science. The combination is excellent. "The Creed and Church" are the organism, the men are its living energies, the forces and conditions of the time are the environment; and if the thoughts generated in the environment penetrate, quicken and modify the energies of the organism, we may contentedly leave the new life to reckon with the old restrictions.

A book like this is suggestive of many things, especially of the

* "Lux Mundi. A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation." Edited by Charles Gore, M.A., Principal of Pusey House, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: John Murray.

changes that have happened within the last sixty years. In 1833 the first issue of the "Tracts" began, breathing the courage, defiance and furious despair of a forlorn hope; in 1890, the men who have replaced the old leaders are within the citadel, victorious, proposing their own terms of peace. The revolution has come full cycle round, which means the counter-revolution is at hand. It were a curious question, why, in what is fancied to be a critical and sceptical age, so extraordinary a revolution has been achieved. Perhaps this very critical scepticism has helped to achieve it. Sceptical are always credulous ages; the more radical the disbelief in things fundamental, the easier the belief in things accidental; where faith in God is hardly possible, acceptance of an ancient historical Church may be as agreeable as it is convenient. It belongs to the region of the phenomenal, it lives in the field of experience, and so men who think God too transcendental for belief may conceive the Church as real enough to be deferentially treated. The thing is perfectly natural: what has died to the reason may live all the more tenderly in reminiscence. Make a thing beautiful to such persons, and it becomes attractive, which is an altogether different matter from its being true or credible. But one thing is clear, the real cause of success has been faith; for victories are won only by men of convinced minds. In this case they have been mocked, ridiculed, and have looked ridiculous, but they have been in earnest, and have prevailed. Over them our modern Samuel Butlers have made merry, collecting the materials for a new "Hudibras," richer than the old in the grotesqueries of sartorial pietism, and the too consciously conscientious scrupulosities of the well-applauded martyr for a rite or a robe, only in this case the robe is not the livery of "the scarlet woman," or the deadly splendours of "the Babylonish garment," but the very garniture, the sacred and seemly vestments of the truth of God. The situation is full of exquisite irony; the delusion of the old hyper-Calvinist, who was sure only of two things, his own election and the reprobation of the immense multitude, becomes seemly and sane beside its modern parallel—the superb egotism which enables many excellent but most ordinary men to believe that their order, whose constituents are often selected and formed in a most perfunctory way, is necessary to the Church of God, and has command over the channels and the instruments of His grace. If Englishmen had their old sense of humour, the notion could not live for a single hour; and where humour fails, so coarse a thing as ridicule has no chance of success. For ridicule is the test of truth only to men who fear laughter more than God. Men like Samuel Butler see a very little way into the heart of things—nay, do not see the things that lie on the surface as they really are. The man who has a genius for caricature has a bad eye for character; he who is always in search of the ridiculous never finds the truth. So Anglo-Catholicism, if it is to be understood, must be

studied from within as well as from without, in relation indeed to the forces that created its opportunity and conditioned its progress, but also as it lives in the minds and to the imaginations of the men who have been its chiefs and spokesmen.

I.

The Anglo-Catholic revival may in its origin be said to have been the product of three main factors: Liberalism, the inadequacy of the old Church parties to the new situation, and the spirit of Romanticism in religion. The political conditions supplied the provocative or occasional cause; the inability of the existing ecclesiastical parties to deal with the emergency supplied the opportunity; while the Romanticist tendency in literature supplied the new temper, method, standpoint, order of ideas. Our remarks on these points must be of the briefest.

1. It is usual to make 1833, the year when the issue of the 'Tracts' began, the beginning also of the ecclesiastical revival, though for a few years before then the waters had been gathering underground. Liberalism just then seemed victorious all along the line, and had effected changes that were as to the English State constitutional, but as to the English Church, revolutionary. The Deists of the eighteenth century had died, though only to return to life as Philosophical Radicals, learned in economics, in education, in theoretical politics, in methods to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, though the greatest number was largely middle class, and the happiness was more akin to social comfort than moral beatitude. The Roman Catholics, just emancipated, were still suffering from the social proscription which in England is the worst sort of religious disability, and seemed a people with memories but without hopes, with illustrious names but without leaders, enfeebled by having lived so long as aliens amid their own flesh and blood. The Dissenters, strengthened by their recent enfranchisement, and as it were legitimated by the State, were demanding still ampler rights, freer education, universities that knew no Church, while also mustering and marshalling the energies that were largely to determine the march of reform. The Episcopal Church was the grand bulwark against Rome and stood in very different relations to the two forms of dissent, the Catholic and the Protestant: to the one it stood as became a bulwark, absolutely opposed; but to the other its relation was rather mixed: one Church party was, for theological reasons, sympathetic, but another was, for ecclesiastical reasons, at once tolerant and disdainful, feeling as to a superfluous auxiliary, which would exist and assist without either its existence or assistance being wanted.

The effect, then, of the political changes had been twofold: they had,

on the one hand, broadened the basis of the English State, made the terms of citizenship distinctively civil, and incorporated or affiliated classes that had hitherto been dealt with as aliens. But, on the other hand, they had worked for the English Church what can only be described as a revolution. For up till now it had been, and indeed still is, more easy to distinguish Church and State ideally than actually; the English constitution may be said to have recognized their formal difference, but to have affirmed their material identity. Parliament is in theory the English people assembled for purposes of legislation, the English Church is in idea the same people associated for the purpose of worship. The supreme legislative authority is one for both Church and State, our great ecclesiastical Laws are as regards source and sanction civil; our civil authorities appoint the men who fill our great ecclesiastical offices. Civil penalties follow the violation of ecclesiastical laws, and our ultimate ecclesiastical tribunals are all civil. The Act of Uniformity was passed and enforced by the civil power, and under it dissent was a civil offence punished by civil and political penalties. The same power determined at once the books to be subscribed, the persons who were to subscribe them, and the terms of the subscription. The practice was intelligible and logical enough on the theory that Church and State were, though formally different, materially identical; each was the same thing viewed under a different aspect, the civil legislature being at the same time in its own right also the ecclesiastical. So long as the theory even tolerably corresponded with fact the system could be made to work; but once Church and State ceased to be and to be considered as being co-extensive, the system became at once illogical, unreal and impracticable. Now, the Acts which emancipated the Catholics and abolished the Tests, declared that for the State dissent, whether Catholic or Protestant, had ceased to exist; that to a man as a citizen, it could no longer apply the categories of Conformist or Nonconformist; in other words, it might be a State with a Church, but had ceased to be a State that was or tried to be a Church. Nor did this change stand alone; it involved another more flagrant, if not so radical. Dissenters, Catholic and Protestant, had not only by the State been abolished for the State; they had been admitted to Parliament, and to all the functions of legislators. But as Parliament was the supreme Legislature for the Church as well as for the State, it happened that men whose distinctive note was dissent from the Church were, by a constitutional change which enlarged and benefited the State, invested with legislative authority over the Church they dissented from; and men the Church could not truthfully recognize as fully or adequately Christian, became by civil action and on civil grounds lawgivers for the very Church that refused them recognition. The anomalies in the situation were many; but to the State they were only such as were inseparable from

its progress out of a mixed civil and ecclesiastical society into a society purely and simply civil, while to the Church they were fundamental contradictions of its very idea as national, and as such ought to have been felt intolerable. And the inexorable logic of the situation soon became manifest. The Whigs were in the ascendant, with ample opportunity to gratify their traditional disbelief in Church claims and love of Church lands, especially as a means of creating a patriotic aristocracy. The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Revenues was appointed, the bishops were advised to set their house in order, and almost the half of the Irish Sees were suppressed. The outlook was not hopeful, and in the Church camp there was rage not unmingled with despair.

2. Within the English Church the old varieties of thought and policy prevailed, but all were characterized by the same unfitness for the new circumstances. The High Church was at its driest, the old chivalrous loyalties had become impossible, and unexalted by any new ideal its character had deteriorated. It was like an ancient dame whose pride is sustained by inveterate prejudices and the recollection of conquests in a time too remote to be pleasantly remembered. It had built on the royal prerogative; the divine right of the king had defined and determined the right of his Church to be the Church of his people; its authority within the State was a form of his, and men could not secede from the Church without being disloyal to the king. It was a perfectly intelligible theory, and as coherent as it was intelligible, but then its primary premiss was the king's divine right; once the premiss had been disproved or made impossible by events, the theory ceased to be either intelligible or coherent. But a life without reason is never a happy life: what obstinacy keeps alive demoralizes the obstinacy by which it lives, and so throughout a good half of the eighteenth century the High Church party hated the reigning dynasty, plotted treason in its heart, and was depraved by the treason it plotted. And when the reconciliation came, it came not by the theory being so modified as to suit a constitutional king, but by an attempted adaptation of the king to the theory. Now, a party out of harmony with the fundamental tendencies and principles of a State can never so live within the State as to be either an efficient or a beneficent factor in its development. The forces that make for change are forces it does not understand, and so cannot control. And so it happened that with the utmost will to resist, the High Church party was without either the strength or the faculty for resistance.

3. Of the Broad Church, only this need here be said: it was inchoate, perplexed, struggling out of its old formal latitudinarian policy into the new spirit, without, however, having found for its idea a form suitable to the century. The Evangelicals, on the other hand, seemed fuller of energy and promise, represented what might then

have been termed the type of religion most characteristic of the English people. On the intellectual side it was timid, *borne*, formal, closed. Its hatred of rationalism turned into fear of reason ; it lived within its narrow tidy garden, cut its trees of knowledge into Dutch figures, arranged its flower-beds on geometrical lines, but was careful never to look over the hedge or allow any wild seeds from the outer world to take root within its borders. Yet by a curious necessity the spirit of an age lives even in the strongest reaction against it, and to the formal rationalism of the eighteenth century the Evangelical revival owed its violently conventional theology, the foolhardiness which could represent the relations of God and man by a series of formulated and reasoned abstractions. But whatever may be said of its theology, the heart of its piety was sound ; it might be narrow, but it was deep and genuine. Men who did not know it took offence at its manner of speech touching the more awful mysteries of being, and sneered at it as *other-worldliness*. But no piety was ever more healthily and actively humane. Face to face with a corruption that might appal even the society of to-day, it pleaded for purity of manners and created a social conscience and moral shame where for centuries they had been asleep. In an age which knew no duty of rich to poor, or of educated to ignorant, save the duty of standing as far off as possible and leaving them in their vice and filth, passions and poverty, it awakened an enthusiasm for their souls, and a love for their outcast children which yet was so blended with love of their bodies and their homes as to coin the now familiar proverb, so characteristic of the then Evangelical faith, "Cleanliness is next to godliness." In a time when humanity was unknown in the prison, and a merciless law became even criminal in its dealings with the guilty, Evangelical, and indeed specifically Dissenting, piety began the more than Herculean work of reforming the prisons and Christianizing the law. In a period when the less civilized races were regarded only as chattels, or as means of replenishing the coffers or gratifying the ambitions or even the passions of the more civilized, the same piety, in spite of the mockery of clerical wits, and the scorn of the New Anglicans, who could not love the wretched "niggers" because they "concentrated in themselves all the whiggery, dissent, cant, and abomination that had been ranged on their side,"* in spite, too, of the antagonism of statesmen and of all interested classes, taught the English people to consider the conquered Hindu, the enslaved negro, the savage African or South Sea Islander as a soul to be saved, and so created in England and America the enthusiasm that emancipated the slave and created the rudiments of a conscience, if not a heart, in the callous bosom of English politics, and even in the still harder and emptier bosom of English commerce. Nay, Evangelical piety must not be defamed in the home of its birth ; it

* Hurrell Froude : "Remains," part i. vol. . p. 382

was the very reverse of *other-worldly*, intensely practical, brotherly, benevolent, beneficent, though somewhat prudential in the means it used to gain its most magnanimous ends. He who speaks in its dispraise, either does not know it or feels no gratitude for good achieved. Happy will it be for Anglo-Catholicism, which we may, in contradistinction to the Evangelical, term the sensuous and sacerdotal revival, if, once it has run its inevitable course, men can trace but half as much of human good to its inspiration. Great are the things it has achieved for the idea of the Church, for the restoration, which too often means the desecration, of churches, for the elaboration of worship and the adornment of the priest, but the final measure of its efficiency will be what it accomplishes for the souls and lives of men.

But two things disqualified the Evangelicals for adequate dealing with the emergency—their intellectual timidity and their want of any sufficient idea of the Church. These two were intimately related; their theology was too narrowly individualistic, too much a reasoned method of saving single souls, to admit easily, or without fracture, those larger views of God, the universe, and man, needed to guide a great society in a crisis, or, as it were, in the very article of revolution. They did not sufficiently feel that the Church was a sort of spiritual Fatherland, within which they had been born, through which they lived, for whose very dust they could love to die. The Evangelicals have often been described as the successors and representatives of the Puritans within the Anglican Church, but here they were their very opposites. The Puritan theology was remarkable for its high and catholic doctrine of the Church, so conceiving the sovereignty of the Redeemer that the body in which He lived and over which He reigned could never be dependent on any State or subordinate to any civil power whatever. The high Anglican rather than the Evangelical has here been the Puritan's heir, though the Anglican has lowered the splendid idea he inherited by giving it a less noble and a less catholic expression. It was the want of such a vivifying and commanding idea that lost the Evangelical the leadership of the Church in its hour of storm and crisis.

1. So far, then, it seemed as if the battle against vigorous and victorious Liberalism must be fought on the lines, abhorred of the old High Church, of the old latitudinarian utilities. Church and State were allies, their union was due to a contract or compact, by which the Church received so much pay and privilege, and the State so much service and sanction. To argue the question on this ground was to be defeated; there was no principle in it, only the meanest expediences, profits to be determined by the utilitarian calculus, with contract broken when profits ended. It was at this moment that Romanticism assumed an ecclesiastical form, and emerged, changed in name, but unchanged in essence, as Anglo-Catholicism.

Romanticism may be described as the literary spirit which, born partly in the frenzy of the Revolution, and partly in the recoil from it, executed in the early decades of this century vengeance upon the rationalism of the last. It was not English merely, but European; it had achieved great things on the Continent before it took shape here. In France it produced Chateaubriand, whose rhapsodical *Génie* was at once a *coup de théâtre et d'autel*, Joseph de Maistre and the idealization of the Papacy. In Germany, it blossomed into the Stolbergs and the Schlegels, who preached the duty of a flight from the present to the past, and believed that they preserved faith by indulging imagination; and through the school first of Tübingen and then of Munich, as represented by Möhler, it entered theology, furnishing Roman Catholicism with a new and potent apologetic and Anglican with a no less potent source of inspiration and guidance. Its characteristic was an imaginative handling of its material, especially mediævalism and its survivals, with a view to a richer and happier whole of life. Rationalism was an optimism which glorified its own enlightened age, and pitied the ignorance and superstition of the earlier men; but Romanticism was an idealism which wished to transcend the present it disliked, by returning, either with Wordsworth to a severe simplicity, all the more refined that it was so rustic and natural; or, as with Scott, to the gallant days of chivalry and the rule of the highly born and bred. All were subjective, each used a different medium for the expression of himself, but the characteristic thing was the self expressed, not the medium employed. The Lake poets sang in praise of Nature, but it was the Nature of the poet's dream, sleeping in the light that never was on sea or shore. Scott loved to picture the past, but his was the past of the poet's fancy, not the hard, grim world, where men struggled with existence and for it, but an idealized arena, where noble birth meant noble being, and only a villain or a hypocrite could lift a hand, even for freedom, against a head that was crowned. In this use of the imagination there was more truth but less reality than there had been in the cold and analytic methods of the previous century. Rationalism, for want of the historical imagination, sacrificed the past to history. Romanticism, for want of the critical faculty, sacrificed history to the past. What one finds in the elegant yet careless pages of Hume is a record of events that once happened, written by a man who has never conceived so as to realize the events he describes; what one finds in the vivid pages of Scott is a living picture of the past, but of a past that never lived. This is the very essence of Romanticism, the imaginative interpretation of Nature or history, but it is only the form that is natural or historical, the substance or spirit is altogether the interpreter's own.

II.

1. Now it was this Romanticist tendency that was the positive factor of Anglo-Catholicism. While the other two sets of circumstances supplied respectively the occasion and the opportunity, this gave the creative impulse ; it was the spirit that quickened. The men in whom it took shape and found speech were three—Keble, Newman, Pusey. Perhaps we ought to name a fourth, Hurrell Froude ; but he lives in Newman. He was the swiftest, most daring spirit of them all ; his thought is hot, as it were, with the fever that shortened his days ; his words are suffused as with a hectic flush, and we must judge him rather as one who moved men to achieve than by his own actual achievements. The three we have named were in a rare degree complementary of each other ; they were respectively poet, thinker, and scholar, and each contributed to the movement according to his kind. Keble was a splendid instance of the truth that a man who makes the songs of a people does more than the man who makes their laws. His hymns are a perfect lyric expression of the Romanticist tendency ; in them the mood of the moment speaks its devoutest feelings in fittest form. This was the secret of their power. They are without the passion of the mystic, the infinite hunger of the soul that would live for God after the God it cannot live without, the desire to transcend all media, win the immediate divine vision, and lose self in its supreme bliss ; rather are they the sweet and mellow fruit of "pious meditation fancy-fed," which loves means as means, feels joy in their use, in reading their meaning, in being subdued by their gentle discipline ; and which loves God all the better for the seemliness and stateliness of the way we get to Him. Keble learned of Wordsworth to love Nature, to read it as a veiled parable, or embodied allegory, spoken by God, and heard by the soul ; he learned of Scott to love the past, and seek in it his ideals. His love of God became love of his own Church, of what she had been, what she was, and, above all, of what she ought to be, of her ancient monuments, her venerable institutions, her stately ceremonial, her saints and her saints' days. And by his sweet, meditative, poetic gift he made what he loved seem lovely. What ecclesiastical polemics, parochial activity, and sacerdotal ritual never could have accomplished, his hymns achieved ; indeed, they not only made those others possible, but even necessary, creating for them that disposition, that readiness to receive, to learn, and to trust, which is, according to Newman, the greater part of faith. It is by sure instinct that the name of Keble has been seized as the name most typical of the Anglo-Catholic revival. He seized the prevailing sentiment, and translated it into a form at once poetic and religious, and by so doing turned a rising tide or tendency into the service of his party and his Church. But the secret of his strength may become the source of their weakness. The man

of pious and meditative fancy may evoke the historical spirit, and make the present beautiful in the light of an idealized past; but where the appeal is to history, scientific criticism becomes the ultimate judge and, though its judgments are slow, they are inexorable as those of God.

2. Newman was more rarely gifted than Keble, but his gifts though of a rarer and higher order, were less pure in quality. He had in a far higher degree the poet's temper, and more of his insight, creative genius and passion. It was his misfortune to be an ecclesiastic in a stormy crisis, and indeed to be of the crisis the foremost and characteristic polemic. He had a subtle and analytic intellect, but dialectical rather than speculative, discursive and critical rather than synthetic and constructive. He had more of the mystic's nature and intensity than Keble; the passion for God burned in his spirit like a fire, impelled him as by an awful necessity to the Infinite, yet divided him from it by a still more awful distance. He loved to seek everywhere for symbols of the divine, which would at once assure him of the Eternal Presence, and help him to gain more conscious access to it; yet he had the genuine mystic's feeling that all means were inadequate, and so divisive; as mediative they held the spirit out of the immediate Presence, and not only shaded but obscured its glory. Hence he had none of Keble's love of means as means; he had too much imagination to be satisfied with the sensuous seemliness, the Laudian "beauty of holiness," which pleased Keble's fine and fastidious but feebler fancy; what he wanted was to stand face to face with God himself, and to find a way to Him as sure as his own need for Him was deep and real. But to find such a way, never an easy thing, was to one situated and constituted like Newman peculiarly hard. For as deep and ineradicable as his passion for God was his scepticism of reason, which is, in the last analysis, the subtlest of all scepticisms as to God.* And it is the least tolerable, because the most paralysing, to the man with the spirit and temper of the mystic. To believe in God, yet to doubt His real presence in the reason, is to be impelled to imagine that what in man has most of God is also remotest from Him, and most completely out of His control; and so the inexorable logic of the situation forces the man, if he does not surrender his doubt of the reason, either to surrender all certainty and all reality in his knowledge of God, or to end the conflict by calling in some violent mechanical expedient, such indeed as Newman was slowly but irresistibly driven to adopt. Whence this sceptical tendency came in Newman's case is too large a

* This interpretation of Newman is admirably illustrated by Mr. Hutton, "Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith," pp. 78 ff. The conclusion was not intended, but is only on that account the more significant. "It is, I think, profound pity for the restlessness and insatiability of human reason, which has made him a Roman Catholic." But the "pity" is only the superficial expression of the deeper scepticism, which so doubts "God's Spirit as revealed in conscience and reason," as to require an infallible institution for their control.

question to be here discussed; but we may say he owed it, partly, perhaps mainly, to native intellectual qualities, partly, to his place in the reaction against Rationalism, and, partly, to an author he greatly loves to praise, who possibly represents the greatest mental influence he came under. Butler. The reaction against Rationalism was in Newman more a matter of imagination than of reason; and he hated and disowned its results without transcending its philosophy. As a consequence, he shared in the common inheritance of our modern English thought, that doubt of the reason which has become in the more consistent philosophies either a reasoned doubt, or, what is the same thing adapted to a positive and scientific age a reasoned nescience. And to the difficulties or antinomies of his thought Butler more than any man awoke him. The underlying or material idea of the "Analogy," what may be termed the theory of the correspondence of the physical and spiritual realms, especially when further qualified by the influence of Keble, gave indeed to Newman his grand constructive principle, the notion of the sacramental symbolism of Nature; but its formal and regulative maxim, "Probability is the guide of life," was more creative of disturbance and perplexity. For to a man of his temper, mental integrity, and theistic passion, as sure of God's being as of his own, it must have seemed a sort of irony to make such a maxim the judicial and determinative principle in a religious argument. It may be said to have formulated his master problem—How is it possible to build on probable evidence the certitude of faith? or, How, by a method of probabilities, can the existence, if not of necessary, yet of infallible truth, be proved? Indeed, Butler's probability, which was not without similar tendencies in his own case, determined the search which landed Newman in Papal infallibility.

We have, then, to imagine Newman, with his mystic passion, his philosophical scepticism, and his apologetical maxim, called to face the disintegrative and aggressive forces of his time. He could face them in strength only by maintaining his intellectual integrity, and from the antinomies of his thought there were only two possible ways of escape, either by a higher philosophy or a higher authority. And of these two each was exclusive of the other. If the way by philosophy had been chosen, then the process of reconciliation would have been immanent and natural, the antitheses of the formal understanding would have been overcome by the synthesis of the transcendental reason. But to choose the way of authority was to deny that any natural process of reconciliation was possible, and to seek to silence the inward dissonances by the sound of an outward voice; the deeper, of course, the dissonances grew, the more authoritative had the voice to be made. For many reasons—constitutional, educational, circumstantial, social—the philosophical way was not selected, and Newman

began his wonderful polemical career a mystic in faith, a sceptic in philosophy, a seeker after an authority able to subdue the scepticism and vindicate the faith. His power, studied in connection with his marvellous literary faculty and intense religious sincerity, is explicable enough, but, regarded as a question in philosophical criticism, it is more complex and difficult of analysis. No man has more thoroughly understood the men of his age; no man of genius ever less comprehended the problems of his time, or contributed less to their solution. It is remarkable, considering his immense productivity, and the range and kind of subjects he has handled, how few constructive principles, speculative and historical, can be found in his works. The critical philosophy he does not seem to have cared to understand. Modern criticism, as regards both principles and methods, he never tried to master, or even, objectively, to conceive. The scientific treatment of history is too alien to his spirit and aims to be comprehended by him. His one considerable historical work is but an overgrown polemical pamphlet—a treatise on the controversies of his own times disguised as a history. His “*Doctrine of Development*” is not original, and so far from being the equivalent of evolution is its antithesis and contradiction. It may be logic applied to dogma, but is not science applied to history. His most considerable, at once philosophical and apologetical work, may be described as a treatise on the necessity of the personal equation in religion: it ignores what is primary and universal in the reason that it may build on what is specific and acquired in the individual. But it is no paradox to say, those very elements of his philosophical weakness have been sources of his literary and controversial strength. The very severity of the conflict in his own spirit has given him the profoundest sense of any thinker in our day of the perplexities of living man—the bewilderingments of thought, motive, and conscience that come of limited and passionate being, bound by law yet in revolt against the law that binds it. Convictions the more strenuous that they were formulated in conflict and have been held amid controversies, internal and external, a piety that is nothing less than a genius for religion, an intense imagination, using the instruments of subtle dialectic, and clothing argument in speech of wondrous grace and force, have enabled him to address with unequalled, often irresistible, power men who could be reached most easily through the conscience or imagination. Such men he has awed, subdued, converted, though by a process that silenced or overpowered rather than convinced the reason. And the process he has pursued without is but the counterpart of the process he had before pursued within. Truth has never been to him so much an object for quest or question as for acceptance. Intellectual difference has been a sort of moral offence,

and he has reasoned as if the men who held the principles he hated must themselves be odious. Hence came what Blanco White called his "deceiving pride," and his resolute sacrifice of old friends to new views. Hence, too, the temper I will not call intolerant, but so severely and logically authoritative that, to quote Blanco White again, "he would, as sure as he lives, persecute to the death if he had the direction of the civil power for a dozen years." These are the invariable characteristics of the man who bases a faith of authority on a scepticism of the reason. Newman, with all that he stands for, represents the struggle of English empiricism to remain empirical, and yet become imaginative and religious.

3. But the scholar of the band was as notable in his own order as the poet and thinker in theirs. Pusey, indeed, was less a scholar than a schoolman, these two being distinguishable thus: the scholar loves learning, and uses it as an instrument for the discovery of truth, while the schoolman is a learned man who uses his learning as a means of proving an assumed or formulated position. The scholar studies that he may cultivate mind, develop and exercise the humanities; but the schoolman searches that he may find authorities to verify his axioms and justify his definitions. The scholar aims at objectivity, seeing things as they really were, how and why they happened, whither tended, and what achieved; but the schoolman is throughout governed by subjectivity, brings his system to history, and pursues his researches that history may be made to furnish evidence of the system he brings. Now Pusey had the making of a scholar in him, though he never became what he could have been. He had a susceptible, sympathetic, assimilative mind, combined with a certain largeness of nature that at once qualified him to understand man and distinguished him as a man men could trust. His famous "Inquiry into the Probable Causes of German Rationalism" admirably illustrates his mental qualities, especially the susceptible and assimilative. It is full of his German teachers,* their spirit, method, materials, though all has passed through a conservative English mind, wise and honest enough to defend a cause by being just to the cause opposed. But in Oxford, Keble and Newman superseded Tholuck, and Pusey passed from the scientific to a local and insular standpoint, the scholar became the schoolman. What he was to the new movement Newman has testified; he brought to it the dignity of high academic office and social rank, weight of character, counsel, judicial faculty and speech, the service of vast erudition, and reverence for the sources his erudition explored. He had precisely the qualities most needed to consolidate and guide the party. Keble's fancy had idealized the Church and its past, had made its worship poetical, had

* For what the "Inquiry" owed to Tholuck, and his judgment on the use made of his material, see Witte's "Das Leben Tholuck's," vol. ii. pp. 242, 243.

touched its services with fine and well-ordered emotion; Newman's genius had filled the Church with new meaning and new ideals, his eloquence had pealed through it like the notes of a mighty organ waking long silent echoes, and had kindled in men a new enthusiasm for their transfigured Church; and now Pusey's erudition came to search the Fathers and the Anglican divines for evidence that the new was the old, and based on venerable and invariable tradition. Keble was loved, Newman admired, but Pusey trusted. Keble moved in an atmosphere of reverence and emotion, difference in his case did not breed dislike; the very men who most disagreed with his theology were most subdued by his hymns. Newman was even more feared than admired; the men that followed doubted, uncertain whither he might lead, the men that resisted disliked, certain that he tended with increasing momentum whither they did not mean to go. But Pusey had Newman's strength of conviction without his dangerous genius; he was conservative not because sceptical, but because convinced; he loved his Church in the concrete, and he lived to prove that she embodied the "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*" On any dubious or questioned point he was ready to bring determinative evidence from his recondite lore; on any critical occasion he was no less ready to use the pulpit of St. Mary's as a platform for the issue of a manifesto. And so the movement others created Pusey controlled, and in his hands its character became fixed as a creation or Renaissance of Romanticism conditioned and tempered by scholasticism.

III.

1. To these men, then, the progress of events in literature and philosophy on the one hand, and in Church and State on the other, combined to set the problem: How can the Church be rescued from the hands of a State penetrated and commanded by "Liberalism," and be elevated into an authority able to regulate faith and conscience, to control reason and society. What Newman named Liberalism was a single force disguised in many forms, rationalism in religion, revolution or reform in politics, Erastianism and latitudinarianism in Church. It was the spirit of change, negation, disintegration, destruction. The Church must destroy it, or it would destroy the Church, and with it faith in God, godliness, religion. To save the Church, two things were necessary—to invest it with divine authority, and all the rights flowing from it, and to set it strong in its authority and rights over against the apostate State on the one hand, and the rebellious reason on the other. With sure instinct the New Anglicans began by assailing the Reformation. The Puritans had disapproved and opposed the royal authority, because it arrested and restrained the Reformation; but the Anglican hated the Reformation, because it had been effected by the royal authority.

In the old days, when the king reigned by the grace of God and through the zealous spirits of the Episcopal bench, the Anglican had loved the royal supremacy, and soundly punished the Puritan for denying it: but when in the process of constitutional change the royal became only the form or mask of parliamentary supremacy, which in its turn was but the instrument of the hated "Liberalism,"—then the Anglican became as convinced as the Puritan of the excellence of independency.* The secular arm in touching had wronged the Church, and while the men who did it and those who suffered it to be done were alike reproached, she was pictured as the gracious mother of peoples, with her heroic yet saintly sons, and clinging yet stately daughters about her, creating the literature, civilizations, arts, and whatever made life rich and beautiful, and remaining benignant, though forlorn, in the midst of a greedy and graceless posterity, blind to her beauty, and forgetful of her beneficence. But Newman touched a higher strair; his genius scorned to ask aid from sentiment; he called upon the Church to become militant and equip herself in the armour of her divine attributes. The State might suppress bishoprics, but bishops were independent of the State; they were before it, existed by a higher right, were of apostolical descent and authority, stood in a divine order which the State had not made and could not unmake. And as with the bishops, so with the clergy; their orders were sacred, inalienable, instituted of God, and upheld by Him. And their functions corresponded to their authority; to them had been committed the keys of the kingdom; they could bind and loose, and were by their commission empowered to act in their Master's name. In their hands too, and in theirs only, were the sacraments, and "the sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of divine grace." The sacred order was the condition of the Church's being, and the factor of its efficiency; where the authorized priest was not, the sacraments could not be; and no sacraments meant no Church, no life communicated by Baptism and maintained by the Eucharist. And the Church which ministered life by her sacraments, guarded, defined, and interpreted truth by her authority; for to the being and belief of the truth an authoritative interpreter was even more necessary than an inspired source. And this was to be found in tradition, not indeed as collected and preserved by Rome, but as contained in the Fathers, and as gathered from them by Anglican scholars and divines. Rome was corrupt, but Catholic; the Protestant Churches were corrupt and sectarian; but the Church of the

* It is instructive to see how similar ideas under similar conditions demand for their expression similar terms. Thus the earliest treatise from the High Church point of view on this subject is Charles Leslie's; the title runs "The case of the Regale and of the Pontificate stated, in a Conference concerning the Independency of the Church upon any power on earth, in the exercise of her purely Spiritual power and authority." This exactly reproduces the very idea as to the relation of Church and State held by those who were the ancestors of the later "Independents." Indeed, the Anglican "autonomy of the Church" is but the Puritan independency, or rather a single aspect of it, and the Presbyterian "Crown rights of the Redeemer."

Fathers was Catholic and pure, and after it the Anglican was fashioned, and tried to walk in its light and read the truth with its eyes. And so a proud, coherent, and courageous theory of the Church stood up to confront and dare the State; to rebuke it as of the earth, to speak to it as with the voice of heaven, to command it to revere and obey where it had thought it could compel and rule.

It is no part of my purpose to criticize the Anglican theory; it was the work of men who made an impassioned appeal to history, but were utterly void of the historical spirit. The past they loved and studied was a past of detached fragments, violent divisions, broken and delimited in the most arbitrary way. Their canon, "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*," they honoured in speech rather than observance; the "*semper*" did not mean "*always*," or the "*ubique*" everywhere, or the "*ab omnibus*" by all; but only such times, places and men, or even such parts and sections of times, places and men, as could be made to suit or prove the theory. Then, for an authority to be of any use in the region of truth, it must be authoritative, accessible, self-consistent and explicit; but this authority was not one of these things—it was only the voice of these very simple, very positive, unscientific, and often mistaken men. Their supreme difficulty, which broke down the transcendent genius of the party, was to get their own Church to speak their mind, and they were even less successful with the Fathers than with their Church. There is no more splendid example anywhere of how completely a professedly historical movement can be independent of historical truth. The Tractarians in this respect present a remarkable contrast to the Reformers. Calvin in his treatment of doctrine was nothing if not historical; the Tractarians in their treatment of history were nothing if not dogmatic. They were traditional but not historical, while the Reformers were historical but not traditional. The latter courageously, if not always thoroughly, rejected tradition and authority that they might reach the mind and realize the ideal of the Christ of history; but the former, with no less courage, tried to adapt the historical mind and bend the historical ideal to authority and tradition. Truth is patient, and suffers much at the hands of sincere men; but she always comes by her own at last.

2. What has been the result of the Anglo-Catholic revival? If the success of a religious movement is to be measured by its power to penetrate with its own spirit, to persuade and reconcile to religion the best intellects of a country, then even its most devoted advocates can hardly say that Anglo-Catholicism has succeeded. While at first championed by the greatest literary genius and master of dialectic who has in this century concerned himself with theology, it is marvellous how little it has touched our characteristic and creative minds; with these neither Roman nor Anglican Catholicism has accomplished anything. Take

the poets, who alike as regards period and place ought to have been most accessible and susceptible to the Catholic spirit and influence. Arthur Hugh Clough was educated in Balliol, and elected to a Fellowship at Oriel in the days when Newman reigned in St. Mary's, and is judged by the most competent of our critics to be "the truest expression in verse of the moral and intellectual tendencies of the period in which he lived." He is fascinated by Newman and held by him for a while, but only that he may learn how little there is behind the subtle and persuasive eloquence that can satisfy a mind possessed with the passion for veracity, and he is driven by the recoil into the anxious uncertainties where "the music of his rustic lute" lost "its happy country tone,"

"And learnt a stormy note
Of men contention-tost, of men who groan."

Matthew Arnold, son of a father who made England love breadth of view and truth in history, studied, learned, and suffered with the Thyrsis he so deeply yet so sweetly mourned, like him became a poet, jealous of truth in thought and word, and like him, too, "faced the problem and the men of the hour, but did not dare to trust as guides for the present men too credulous of the past to read its truths aright. Too well he learned the bitter moral of all their arguing, and concluded: "If authority be necessary to faith, then an impossible authority makes faith impossible," and he turned from Oxford to learn of Weimar—

"The need is everywhere,
Art still has truth, take refuge there."

William Morris, formed in the Oxford of a later day, when in the calm that follows conflict Anglo-Catholicism reigned, could find in it no satisfying veracious ideal of truth, of art or of life, and went instead to the wild Scandinavian and distant Greek mythologies for the forms in which to impersonate his faith and hope. Swinburne, who had the hot imagination that easily kindled to noble dreams of liberty and human good, could find no promise in the crimson sunset glories Anglo-Catholicism loved, and turned passionately towards what seemed to him the east and the sunrise. But it was not only those younger sons of Oxford who had in a measure "the vision and the faculty divine," that the new Catholic failed to touch; he touched as little the maturer and richer imaginations of the two men who will ever remain the representative poets of the Victorian era. Tennyson has been essentially a religious genius; the doubts, the fears, the thought perplexed by evil, by suffering, by a nature cruel in her very harmonies, by the presence of wicked men and the distance of a helpful God, the faith victorious in the very face of sin and death, certain that somehow "good will be the final goal of ill,"

have all received from him rich and musical expression. But his ideals are not those of mediæval or modern Catholicism; they may be clothed in forms borrowed from a far-off world of mythical chivalry; but it is not a priest's world, it is one of men all the more saintly that they are kings, warriors, statesmen, a world of fair women and goodly men. Browning, who was as essentially a religious poet as Tennyson, and indeed, though no writer of hymns, as a poet more profoundly, penetratively, and comprehensively religious than Keble, bears throughout in his sympathies, in his love of liberty, in his hopeful trust in man, in his belief in God as the All-loving as well as the All-great, who through the thunder speaks with human voice, the marks and fruits of his Puritan birth and breeding. But the sensuous seemliness of Anglo-Catholicism had no charms for him; it had too little spiritual sublimity, stood too remote from the heart of things, had too little fellowship with the whole truth of God, and all the infinite needs and aspirations of man. He had seen, too, the outworking of its ideas; had studied their action and character in history, and his curious lore and large experience helped him to many a fit yet quaint form in which to embody what he had discovered or observed. Browning more than any man has deepened the faith of our age in the Eternal, but he has also more than any man made us conscious of the evil of fancying that we can transmute our ephemeral politics and shallow symbols into the infallible and unchangeable speech of God.

3. This failure of Anglo-Catholicism to touch our higher literature is both remarkable and instructive. It has had and has its minor poets, a goodly multitude, but even their poetry has been mainly reminiscent and sentimental, not spontaneous and imaginative. Indeed, this has been its characteristic in all periods of its being; writers of hymns, quaint, devout, beautiful, melodious, it has always had, but never poets of the imagination; if it has ever taken possession of such, it has paralysed the poet in them, as witness Wordsworth and his ecclesiastical sonnets. In this stands expressed some of its essential characteristics. Within the rich and complicated and splendidly dight folds of the Spenserian allegories, there lives much of the brawny Puritan mind and purpose. The same mind and the faith it lived by made the noblest epic and the most perfect classical drama in the speech of our English people. No man will claim John Dryden as a religious poet, though he forced poetry into the ignoble strife of ecclesiastical politics, and made it the mean apologist of royal and papal designs. Deism lisped in numbers through the lips of Catholic Pope, and the Evangelical Revival inspired the gentle soul of Cowper to verse, always genial and graceful, and often gay. But Anglo-Catholic poetry measured by the Puritan is remarkable for nothing so much as its imaginative poverty, its inability to create a literature that shall adequately embody the true and the sublime. And this has its

parallel in the theology of the past half-century. Newman, of course, stands alone—Catholic still, but Anglican no more. Apart from him, what names represent the most potent forces in theology and the higher religious thought? Of all preachers, Frederick Robertson has most moved the mind and conscience of this generation; but though an Oxford man of the time when the Tracts were at their mightiest, he escaped from their toils with a rare love of reality, an abhorrence of all false sanctities, a dread of all violence offered in the name of authority to reason. Frederick Maurice was a personality of rare charm, with a soul ever turned towards the light, with a large range of vision, and a love of love and light that makes him the most mystical thinker of our century; yet his whole life was one sustained protest against the attempt to incorporate the religion of Christ in a sentimental and sacramental symbolism. There has been in our generation no writer in religious history so picturesque, no churchman so bold in speech and in action, so possessed of a broad and inclusive ideal of the national Church as Arthur Stanley; but he lived and died as the resolute antagonist of those Catholic schemes that so laboured to sectionalize the Church he loved. Of another, though lower, order was Charles Kingsley; but he was in his earlier period full of generous impulses, philanthropies, socialisms, quick and fertile at embodying his ameliorative dreams in attractive fiction; and he was possessed with what can only be described as a great terror lest the rising tide of sacerdotalism should drown what was most ethical and historical in the life of the English people. If Oxford has had within this period a scholar who could be named a Humanist, it was Mark Pattison. But, though he fell under the spell of Newman, and indeed for him the spell was never broken, yet to him the Catholic theory became ever more incredible and false, and the system ever more mischievous in its working, fatal to freedom, learning, and all the fair humanities. It may, too, be allowed to the writer to allude to one, though the grass above his grave is not yet green, who, of all recent Oxford men, most fulfilled the ideal of the scholar in theology, and applied in a spirit as reverent as it was thorough the scientific method to the history of ecclesiastical institutions. But there was no man who so strongly believed, or was so armed with proofs to support his belief, that Anglo-Catholicism was utterly unhistorical, as Edwin Hatch. It is needless to multiply names; it is not in literature nor yet in theology that the movement has hitherto achieved success.* Perhaps success here is not possible to it; the signal of victory would be the sign of decease.

* We do not forget distinguished names in connection with the Anglo-Catholic School. It has had, and still has, learned historians and men of fine literary gifts; but to have noticed these would have taken us beyond the limits defined by our problem.

IV.

But this has brought us face to face with another and no less interesting problem, or rather series of problems. How does it happen that the party that has been so active and so eminent in literature has accomplished so little in religion, while the party that has accomplished most in religion has been less eminent in literature? For two things seem manifest and beyond dispute—the decay, pointing to approaching extinction, of the Broad Church, and the revival and growing dominancy of the High. It may seem more dubious to say, a main condition of the success achieved by the High Church has been the literary activity and efficiency of the Broad; but, paradoxical though it may sound, this represents the sober historical truth. Why it has so happened is a question we must discuss in order to get a fuller view of the situation.

1. The same events that had occasioned the rise of Anglo-Catholicism determined the being of the modern Broad Church. The latter was due to an attempt to adapt the Church to the new conditions by broadening it as the State had been broadened. Its fundamental notion was not their ideal difference, but their material identity. The Broad Church has throughout its history been dominated, though not always clearly or consciously, by Arnold's idea, which was also Hooker's, of the coincidence and co-extension of Church and State. The idea is at once English and historical; it implies a far deeper sense than the other party possesses of the continuity of history and the unity of the institutions created and maintained by the English people both before and since the Reformation. The idea underlying the old legislation was right, but the legislation was in spirit and method wrong, calculated to defeat rather than fulfil its idea. What was necessary was to realize the idea by changing the legislation. Parliament had made civil rights independent of ecclesiastical tests; tests ought now to be so construed as to guard rather than invade religious freedom and ecclesiastical privilege. The Act of Uniformity had but created division and established variety; it was time to attempt, by an Act of comprehension, to legalize variety and create unity. The idea was thus through the State to reconstitute and reunite the Church, as by the State the Church had been broken and divided. Comprehension and relaxed subscription were to undo what uniformity and enforced subscription had done. The Broad Church was thus the very opposite of the Anglo-Catholic, while the one emphasized difference till it became independency, the other accentuated coincidence and relation till they became identity. The primary element in the one idea was, the English people constitute the English Church; the primary element in the other idea was, the Anglican Church constitutes the religion the English

people are bound to confess and obey. The one conceived the Church as national, able to be only as it included and was realized by the nation; the other conceived the Church as of divine authority, because of divine institution, able to fulfil its mission only by enforcing its claims. In the one case, not establishment, but incorporation with the State or Civil constitution was of the very essence of the Church as English and national; in the other case, control of the Church by the State was held to be alien to its very idea as a society divinely founded and ruled. The parties differed in their conception of the Church, but still more in their notion of religion. To the Anglican, in a very real sense, Church was religion, that without which religion could not be acceptable to God, or sufficient for man; to his rival the two were separable, religion inward, spiritual, a matter of heart or conscience; Church, a means for its cultivation, good in proportion to its suitability and efficiency. In polity and dogma, ritual and symbol, the Anglican could hardly distinguish between accidental and essential, all was of God, and all was sacred; but in all these things his opponent saw the creations of custom or law, to be upheld or dismissed as expediency or advantage might determine. In a word, to the one the Church was a creation of God, instituting religion, but to the other the Church was an institution of man, though religion an inspiration of God.

2. Now, these differences were radical, and determined in each case the mental attitude and action on all religious questions. The Broad Church attitude tended to become critical, acutely conscious of the inconvenience of a too positive mind, and institutions too authoritative to be capable of adaptation to the new conditions of thought and policy. Civil legislation was conceived as able to accomplish what was impossible to it, while the differences that divided, the agreements or affinities that united men were conceived more from without than from within, from the standpoint of the State rather than of the Church. Hence, there was superabundant criticism of things positive, the dogmas authority formulated and enforced, the institutions it created and upheld. The criticism struck the Evangelical most heavily, for his faith was of the fixed and frigid type that most invites criticism. The Pauline Epistles were translated into a speech and resolved into ideas that were not his; his theories of justification and atonement were assailed at once from the historical, exegetical, and speculative points of view; his doctrine of inspiration was discredited and made untenable, and his conception of the Church dismissed as arbitrary and insufficient. But to hit the Evangelical so hard was to do the utmost possible service to the Anglican. It disabled, pre-occupied, paralysed his most resolute adversary, thinned his ranks, blunted his weapons, deprived him of the convictions that give courage. Then the Broad Church criticism, while making no impression on

the Anglican, appealed to the sort of minds the Evangelicals had been most able to influence, surrounded them with an atmosphere, begot in them a tendency within and before which the old Evangelical formulæ could not vigorously live, and yet it did nothing to provide new homes or agencies for the generation and direction of religious life. The Broad Church is only the name of a tendency, but the Anglo-Catholic denotes a party, well officered, well led, disciplined, organized, and inspired by a great idea. The representative men within the former have all been marked by a certain severe individualism, they have attracted disciples, but have not formed schools. Arnold was a man of intense ethical passion, and to it he owed what we may call the most transcendent personal influence of our century; Maurice was a thinker seeking to translate Christian ideas into the terms of a Neo-Platonic idealism; Arthur Stanley was a charming irenical personality, fertile of schemes for reconciling our divided religious society; but neither they nor any of their allies had the enthusiasm of the sect. They loved a Church as broad and as varied as the English people, but would neither do nor attempt anything that threatened to narrow its breadth or harass it into a prosaic uniformity. And their positive qualities helped the Anglican even more than their negative. They loved liberty, used the liberty they loved, but preached toleration even of the intolerant. They were impatient of formulæ, but patient of aggressive difference; they resisted every attempt to restrict freedom, but encouraged attempts at its extension and exercise. Hence they helped at once to create room for Anglo-Catholic developments, and to lessen the forces of resistance. Their intellectual activity made the English mind tolerant to the most varied forms of belief and worship, which means that they prepared the way and the opportunity for the men who believed that theirs was the only form of divine sufficiency and authority.

V.

1. But while the Broad Church was thus securing for it an easier path and a freer field, the Anglican was gathering momentum and growing more missionary and theological. The Tracts had been mainly historical and ecclesiastical; only in a very minor degree doctrinal and religious. They had been more concerned with the archæology than the theology of the Church, but the work of Archdeacon Wilberforce on the Incarnation forced theology to the front, with most significant results. This work is an expansion of a section in Möhler's "*Symbolik*," which in its turn is an application of the Hegelian idea to the Catholic Church. The idea, indeed, is much older than Hegel, but its modern form is due to him. Schelling formulated the notion: the incarnation of God is an incarnation from eternity. Hegel expressed the notion in the terms of the philosophy of history; Möhler translated it into a

philosophy of Catholicism; and apparently its changeful career is not yet ended. It was said of Petavius that he so penetrated Catholicism with the Protestant spirit that his very apology was a victory for Protestantism; at least this much is true, that in handling dogma he was the liberal and his great Anglican opponent the conservative. Now if we substitute Hegelian for Protestant we may say much the same of Möhler. It is curious that the fundamental idea of Möhler was also the fundamental idea of Strauss,* with this difference: Strauss universalized, but Möhler sectionalized the idea. Strauss transferred the predicates of Christ to Man, conceived humanity as the Son of God, born of the invisible Father and visible Mother, eternal, sinless, feeble, suffering, dying in its members, but in its collective being risen, reigning, immortal, infallible, and divine. But Möhler restricted the divine predicates to the Catholic Church; it was the abiding incarnation of Christ, the Son of God continuously appearing in human form among men, with an existence ever renewed, a being eternally rejuvenescent. Strauss' notion expressed a consistent Pantheism, humanity was the incarnation of the divine, represented the process by which the impersonal All created persons, passed from subjective to objective being, and was realized in the realm of conscious existence; but Möhler's expressed what we may term an ecclesio-theism, which represented the Church as the form in which God existed for the world, and through which the world could reach God. The Church was thus conceived as arrayed in all the attributes and possessed of all the functions of the Son of God. The notion was audacious, and destined to achieve victories in a field Möhler had never dreamed of; it was adopted by Wilberforce, though stated without the sharp precision which distinguished Möhler. The incarnation is the central dogma of Christianity; Christ as incarnate is on one side the pattern and representative of humanity; on the other, the mediator between God and man—at once the one sacrifice for sin and the one channel of divine grace. The Church is His body mystical; to be united to it, is to be united to Him. It is, as it were, His organized presence, exercising his functions as Mediator and Saviour. It is impossible to tell "whether men are joined to Christ by being joined to His Church, or joined to His Church by being joined to Him. The two relations hang inseparably together." Hence the value of the sacraments, they "bind to Him," make us "participate in His presence," communicate to us His man's nature, incorporate us in His body mystical, "the renewed race" which He "has been pleased to identify with himself." They are, therefore, the primary and essential means of grace on which all others depend; they work our unity with the incarnate Son of God, and through Him with the Father.

* Möhler, of course, was the elder and earlier. The "Symbolik" was published in 1832, the "Leben Jesu" in 1835.

2. Now the significance of this work lies here, it supplied the movement with a dogmatic basis; placed it, as it were, under the control of a defining and determining idea. Most of the positions had been maintained before; what Wilberforce gave was a co-ordinating and unifying principle. This changed the whole outlook; the question did not need to be debated as one of Patristic or Anglican archæology; it had a philosophy; its reason was one with the reason of the incarnation. The Church was, as it were, the Son of God articulated in sacraments, explicated in symbols, organized into a visible body politic for the exercise of His mediation on earth. This dogmatic idea created the new Ritualism as distinguished from the old Tractarianism; and changed the centre of gravity from a dubious question in ecclesiastical history, discussed with learning, but without science, to a fact of faith or living religious belief. Ritualism may be described as the evangelical idea done into the institutions and rites of a sacerdotal Church. The idea remains, and is the same, but its vehicle is changed. To speak with Hegel, the *Begriff* is translated back into the *Vorstellung*, the spiritual truth is rendered into a sensuous picture. Ritual is dogma in symbol; dogma is articulated Ritual. Justification is as necessary as ever, but it is conditioned on the sacraments rather than faith. Regeneration is still held, but it is worked by an outward act rather than an inward process. Where the pure preaching of the word once stood, the due administration of the sacraments now stands. To it an authorized priesthood is necessary; without it there can be no Eucharist, in other hands the Supper is no sacrament or efficacious means of grace. In order to a valid priesthood there must be a constitutive authority—the bishops who stand in the apostolical succession, and a constitutive act—ordination at their hands. The chain is complete: without the apostolical authority no bishop, without the bishop no priest, without the priest no sacrament, without the sacraments no Church, without the Church no means of grace, no mediation or reconciliation through Christ of man with God. Two things are essential to the Church, the clergy and the sacraments; and of these the clergy are the greater, for without them the full sacraments cannot be, while the sacraments cannot but be where they are. They are therefore in a most real sense of the essence of the Church, while the people are but an accident; they represent its formal or normative authority—*i.e.*, they are the regulative principle of its being; it is not the condition and warrant of theirs. But, so construed, the theory is less a doctrine of the Church than of its officers; it is not the Christian Society or people or commonwealth constituting its officers or priesthood, but the priesthood constituting the people. In its Anglican form the Apostolical Succession of the clergy, or the bishops who ordain the clergy, is a denial of the Apostolical descent of the

Church. And so it is not too much to say, the larger and more emphasized the idea of the clergy, the meaner the idea of the Church; and we may add, that here, the Broad Church has a nobler idea than the Anglo-Catholic. To resolve the English Church into the Christian people of England is to show a right conception of the place of the people within it; but to resolve it into a hierarchy or hierocracy, with its instruments and dependences, is utterly to misconceive the relation of the society and its organs. Yet even under these conditions the evangelical idea has proved its energy; the men who have construed their Church and their order through their Christology have been of another spirit than the men who construed them through Patristic and Anglican tradition as interpreted by an impossible canon. The old men feared the people; "Liberalism" was the spirit of evil, "Whiggery" its tool, and popular movements the very thing the Church most needed defence against; but the new men burn with missionary zeal, the peculiar evangelical passion that seeks to save men by reconciling them to God. In their hands are the instruments of life, and they multiply symbols and administer sacraments as men who possess and distribute the grace that saves.

Now, it is a question of the very gravest order, Is this Anglo-Catholicism a sufficient and a veracious interpretation of the religion of Christ? Is it a system to which we can trust with a convinced reason and a clear conscience the future at once of our English people and our Christian faith? Does it present that faith in the form most calculated to satisfy the intellect and heart of our critical age, to deal with its social and economical problems, to unite its divided classes, to restrain and conquer its sin, to foster its virtues, and be the mother of all its beneficences? These are too large and vital questions to be discussed in a concluding paragraph; so we shall reserve the discussion for another paper, in which we shall seek light and help from the professed "servants of the Catholic creed and Church."

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

THE TAXATION OF GROUND-RENTS.

(A REPLY.)

SINCE writing my pamphlet on "The Taxation of Ground Rents," I have had the great privilege and pleasure of receiving criticisms from persons of very varied views, some favourable, and some hostile. Many of these criticisms have been to me of great value, as testing more thoroughly than a writer can do for himself the value of the theories he has propounded and the accuracy and cogency of the statements and arguments he has advanced in their support. But such criticisms to be of value must come from those who have given sufficient time and thought to the subject of rates, to enable them to form clear ideas of their own as to the nature and consequences of the present incidence of rates so as to be able to judge of the effects of the proposed changes. Without some such preparation, criticisms are likely to be superficial, and of small worth.

I should be glad to class the article by Mr. Sargant in the February number of this REVIEW among those which—whether favourable or hostile—have possessed these qualities. But unfortunately, the criticisms of which it consists appear to be based on no study of the subject. It is impossible to ascertain from it even whether Mr. Sargant considers that the rates at present fall to any extent on the ground-owner, or what change in that respect would be wrought by the new plan. Some passages would seem to point to his being of opinion that the rates come out of the rent, but before he concludes he accuses me of a false and malicious libel on a certain theory by calling it "a prevalent notion." I can put no interpretation upon this indignation that this particular theory should be called a "notion," other than that Mr. Sargant believes it to be true. If so, he thinks that the rates are a personal tax, borne entirely by the occupier. But whichever of these views he may actually hold (if, indeed, he himself knows), it does not

appear to affect his notion of what should be done. Whatever exists at the present time is fair and right, is his text; and although he apparently has not decided either what it is that is fair and right, or what it is that takes place under the present system, he is emphatic that any change must be bad. This may be an excellent programme for a political party to work on, but it prevents Mr. Sargant giving much assistance in solving the social and economical problem of rating.

In the following pages I propose to examine the chief points raised by Mr. Sargant in answer to my pamphlet; but before doing so, I wish to at once dismiss one matter, because it is too trifling to merit discussion. He raises the question, whether upon my principles the ground-tax in a town should be levied on the whole ground-value, or only on its excess above what it would be if no town were in existence. The annual value in the latter case would be from £2 to £3 per acre, and even that would bear rates as land in a rural district. The value of an acre of town land is so much greater than this that it is a useless refinement to discuss whether or not £2 to £3 per acre of rental value should be taxed at the higher or lower rate.

After a short *résumé* of the argument of my pamphlet, Mr. Sargant commences his attack by calling attention to the fact that I attribute the increase of land-values in a town to two causes: (1) The presence of the town, and the growth of the community; and (2) the expenditure of the rates; and then proceeds to find fault with me for not distinguishing between the amounts due respectively to each of these causes. This is a strange complaint from a man who is defending a system of rating in which not only are these two not distinguished, but they are indistinguishably mixed up with a third component—the value of the building—which is utterly unlike either. But passing over this peculiarity, and allowing him to claim the name of “unearned increment” for the value due to the first of these causes, let us see how he proceeds:

“This mistake would be sufficiently important in any case, but in the case of this pamphlet it appears to vitiate the whole argument, which is, as I understand it, that increased land-values should bear their proportion of the rates, *because they are caused by the rates* ;”

and he then proceeds to argue that the “unearned increment” is not “caused by the rates.”

Now why does Mr. Sargant at the critical point of his argument alter the language which I consistently use when stating the grounds upon which I maintain that land-values ought to be taxed? He knows what that language is, for he uses it both on the preceding and the subsequent page. It is that they should be taxed because the rates are expended in “*creating and maintaining*” these ground-values. When this correction is made in the language of the

paragraph, what becomes of the plea that unearned increment is not due to local expenditure? Its *continuance* is directly due to it. Let the community permit the streets and bridges and sewers to fall into disrepair, let them neglect the various branches of expenditure which keep a town habitable, and what remains of the "unearned increment"? It may suit the advocates of the present system to call a portion of the swollen ground-values in towns by the familiar name of "unearned increment," though I should scarcely choose that as the most suitable name if I were about to plead for its being exempted from taxation. But it is only unearned in the sense that it goes into the pockets of those that have not earned it. Its continuance, and the continuance of the revenue it yields, is only secured by the active expenditure of the community for local purposes, and whether or not it was originally created by the same means (which it is unnecessary to argue here), this dependence on local expenditure for its continuance is abundantly sufficient to warrant its being taxed directly and substantially in order to support that expenditure.

But the phrase "created and maintained" occurs too frequently and too prominently in my pamphlet for it to be entirely passed over by my critic. In the next paragraph he refers to it. Instead, however, of applying it to correct his previous argument, he proceeds to deduce from it conclusions which involve such a confusion of thought that if I had not read the passage over and over again I should not believe that he could be guilty of it. He actually thinks that if ground-values are created by rates, and are subsequently rated because they are *maintained*, they are rated twice over! Does the owner of a house or of a boiler think that he is paying twice over because he has to lay out money in order to maintain the house or the boiler in a state of efficiency? If ground-value, however created, need local expenditure to keep them up, do they do so the less because they were originally created or have been increased by it; and does this fact lessen the justice of requiring them, equally with all other ground-value (if there are any not so caused), to bear their share of the necessary expenditure?

I now come to the point on which Mr. Sargant apparently prides himself most, the "central fallacy" of my argument as he styles it. He embodies it in an example which is illustrated by a diagram, but which seems to me, I must confess, simple enough to be understood without such aid. It is a case in which a ground landlord A lets land for its full value £100, to B a builder, who erects a house worth £600 a year (*i.e.*, £500 in addition to the ground-rent), and parts with it to Bb for a premium and a rent of £500 a year.

Mr. Sargant then supposes the land to go up in value to £500 a year. He rightly says that under my scheme B would now be taxed on the

£400 which he annually receives because it would be part of the ground-value. Previously—*i.e.*, when the land was only worth £100 a year—he was not taxed on his £400. Therefore

• “B would have seen his fixed rent of £400 per annum gradually becoming subject to taxation in respect of an increase in ground-value in the benefit of which he was not allowed to share.”

What! Does Mr. Sargent say that in this case *B does not share in the rise of ground-value*? It is difficult to believe that he could have committed such an egregious blunder, but there can be no doubt that this is what he says, and what he means.

To ascertain whether his view is correct, let us compare B's position before and after the rise in value of the land. Before the rise took place he was in possession of a rental of £500, secured on a rack-rental of only £600, and out of it he must pay the ground landlord £100 per annum. He was therefore in a position not much better than the owner of a rack-rent of £400 per annum, and his interest was probably worth, say, eighteen years' purchase—*i.e.*, £7200.

After the rise of value in the land he is the owner of an equal net rental of £400; but this is now part of the ground-value of the land, and his gross rental of £500 is secured on a rack-rent of £1000. Such an interest would be worth, perhaps, twenty-seven years' purchase—*i.e.*, £10,800. The value of his interest has, therefore, gone up some 50 per cent. by this rise in ground-value, “in the benefit of which” (according to Mr. Sargent) “he was not allowed to share.”

So much for the crushing example which Mr. Sargent considers sufficient to demonstrate the “central fallacy” (or “gigantic fallacy,” as he elsewhere calls it) of my argument. So superficial are Mr. Sargent's views on these matters that the simple fact that the net revenue that B derives is not increased in amount has been accepted by him as equivalent to the value of his interest remaining the same. His blunder is neither greater nor less than that of a man who should say that the holders of Egyptian stock would derive no benefit from England's guaranteeing the dividends because the amount of the dividend would not be thereby increased.

It must not be supposed that this result of the example which Mr. Sargent selects for the purpose of demonstrating my errors is an accidental one. It is true that he has chosen figures which give a result which shows the fallacy of his argument in a very striking manner. But whatever had been the figures it would have been equally untrue that B would not share in the rise in value. For B's revenue could only be brought under the ground-rate by a change in value of the land which caused it to come within the limits of the annual ground-value—to become an improved ground-rent, in fact—so that the land

itself was sufficient to secure it apart from any question of the value of the building. Before the rise took place it was not a ground-rent at all, but was merely a part of the rack-rent of the building, having as its security the value of the building alone. Such a change in the security must necessarily increase the value of the interest.

If my sole object in writing the present article were to reply to Mr. Sargant's criticisms, I might leave the point here. But the example raises a question which may have puzzled some people in connection with such cases of intermediate landlords. It is not the question why the ground landlords are to be taxed in proportion to the value of their land, which is raised by instances such as these, but it is the question why the owners of the buildings are not also to be taxed in proportion to the value of the buildings.

The answer is a very simple one. Speaking generally, any rate levied upon the building in proportion to its annual value (exclusive of the land on which it rests) is in reality borne by the occupier, and no legislation can prevent this being the case. This can easily be seen from considering the case of a house newly built. The builder must get from it the fair and ordinary trade return upon capital employed in such a manner. This he must receive net after all outgoings, or otherwise capital will cease to be employed in building. If, then, we increase his outgoings by imposing a rate upon him in respect of the value of the house, he must increase the rent of it by an equal amount, or he will no longer get the required net return. The tax will, therefore, fall upon and be borne by the occupier, and might as well be directly levied upon him. And if this is true of new houses it must also be true of houses already built, with which they compete, and therefore it is generally true of all houses.

This being so it is useless to try to tax the owners of buildings in a similar way to the owners of the land on which they stand. Nor is this immunity unfair. The property from which their revenue comes is the product of private capital, and is liable to very serious risks. For instance, if land goes up greatly in value it by no means follows that the building upon it will continue to be equally valuable. The change in the circumstance of the locality which is indicated by the rise in ground-value may render the building an unsuitable one, so that its value, separately from the land, may decrease or even disappear—*i.e.*, it may be advisable to pull it down and rebuild. In such a case the whole building-value disappears, and it is only the ground-value that remains. All these matters show how fundamental is the distinction in nature and incidents between the ground-value and the value of the building. The former is a class of local property which can and ought to be made to bear a tax. The latter may (with proper exceptions) be made the means of assessing a tax

upon the occupiers who inhabit the town; but it cannot be taxed in any way which will make the tax fall upon and be paid by its owners.

In these remarks I have considered only the simple case of one ground-landlord and one owner of the building. It might be said that there may be more complex cases in which these interests are subdivided or combined together. But such distribution of interests does not, after all, affect the matter, for it is always possible to trace in whose hands is each of these components of the total value of the property. Nor is the question how or at what date the present owner acquired it material, in my opinion, to the determination of the proper incidence of rates. At the risk of being misunderstood by writers like my present critic, I will enunciate what I believe ought to be, and some day will be, accepted as the broad principle upon which local rates on land should be levied—viz., that the community ought to tax for the expenditure of each year the returns from the land in that year in the hands of those that receive them in that year, and that no regard should be paid to the nature of their interests in the past or in the future, or to the mode in which they became possessed of the right to receive such returns. If the owners have taken the ordinary course of reserving for themselves, either as a ground-rent or an improved ground-rent, a portion of those annual returns, they should be taxed on them, for I see no reason why they should be permitted to draw off the most valuable portion of the returns of the land in the locality without contributing to its expenditure, and thus leave the whole burden of that expenditure to fall on the occupiers or on the small margin of the returns from the land which may be left after their fixed charges have been paid.

And this is my answer to those who say "why not tax reversions"? I do propose to tax reversions, but I do it by taxing in each year the revenue for the year. The owner of the reversion will not, therefore, be taxed to-day for the prospective value of his reversion, but when the reversion comes in it will be a *ta-ctel* reversion. If this is combined with a proper system of dividing the expense of permanent improvements over a sufficiently long period, it will, I believe, act fairly between all parties. I quite agree with Mr. Sargant as to the difficulties of taxing reversions, but if you do not tax them you must take care that year by year you tax the income of the year in the hands of those that receive it. It is this that I propose to do by the plan set out in my pamphlet.

I have not space here to examine all the various evil consequences which Mr. Sargant declares would follow upon the adoption of the plan of rating which I seek to introduce. I am glad to see in him a tender solicitude lest the wealthy dwellers in fashionable localities should

unduly profit by it, and I think that he may let his mind be easy on that point. But the objection that the middleman who farms out rooms will specially profit by it is too absurd. If the total of the rent and rates that he pays should be reduced by it, his profits would be no more and no less affected than if his ratio remained the same while his rent was lowered an equal amount from any other cause; and to say that he would pocket the whole difference, is simply to say that no fall of rents could benefit persons in the position of his lodgers. To wind up the list of awful consequences, Mr. Sargant treats us to the usual fallacy as to the price of ground-rents. He says that the capital which, in future, will be invested in ground-rents will require higher interest because of their possible fluctuations, and this will send up rents. If such capital were to require higher interest (which I doubt) it would have no effect on rent. If the annual value of a piece of ground be £100, it will fetch that sum and no more, whether ground-rents are a 4 per cent. investment (*i.e.*, worth twenty-five years' purchase), or a 5 per cent. investment (*i.e.*, worth twenty years' purchase). It is the capital value and not the rent that will be affected.

Mr. Sargant obviously belongs to the school that holds an attack upon an opponent to be incomplete unless it includes some accusation of bad faith. We all know the style adopted for the purpose—the indignant appeal to the adversary's sense of right and wrong, the dilemma between the horns of which he is graciously allowed to choose, the suggestion that more could be said, but he shall be spared—"I could an' I would." Accordingly Mr. Sargant concludes his article with an example of this invaluable addition to the armoury of political controversy, and it is so typical of the ease with which a writer can on such occasions dispense with substance if he has but the correct style, that it is worthy of being preserved as a specimen for imitation by writers of like views.

The matter arises thus. In my pamphlet I have been remarking upon the absurdity of taxing alike by one common rate the portion of the rent due to the value of the ground and that due to the value of the building, and I continue as follows:

"It is probable that the anomaly of treating alike these two kinds of property which differ so widely in their origin, nature, and incidents would long ago have attracted the attention of statesmen and compelled reform had it not been for the prevalence of a notion that rates—though levied upon landed property—are in reality a personal tax paid by the occupier, and that they are levied on (*i.e.*, made proportional to) the annual value of premises solely because the rent of the premises he occupies is taken as a rough measure of his ability to contribute."

Upon this Mr. Sargant remarks:

"Mr. Moulton speaks airily, at page 6 of his pamphlet, of the former 'prevalence of a notion,' that rates are a tax on the occupier, and are

levied on the rent because it is a rough measure of his ability to contribute. Was he aware when writing in this fashion that this 'notion' is the deliberately reasoned conclusion of (amongst others) the greatest modern English master of Political-Economy."

and gives a reference to Mill in support of this statement.

It seems almost incredible, but nevertheless it is true, that the passage cited is to the very opposite effect. Mill's "deliberately reasoned conclusion" is certainly given there, but it is to the effect that the portion of the rates which is in respect of the value of the ground is *not a tax on the occupier at all*.

This is a bad beginning, but, after all, one must put up with such things. I have no more right to exact that my critics shall be capable of citing Mill's opinions accurately than that they should comprehend the simpler and more fundamental principles of land-valuation. But Mr. Sargant is going a little too far in following up this baseless statement as to the contents of Mill's "Political Economy," thus:

"If he *was* aware of it, does he consider it right in a work, priced at one penny, and therefore intended for the masses, to use language so obviously likely to mislead those who have no means of checking his statements? If he *was not*—but here it is unnecessary to do more than suggest an inference!"

There is no doubt what this means, for the language is blunter and more deliberately offensive than is usual even in attacking an adversary's good faith. It is intended to suggest that I had given the "go by" to a theory which I found to be inconvenient to my argument, by treating it as of no authority, trusting that my readers among the poorer classes would not have the means of checking my statements.

It was not prudent to make such an insinuation where there was any probability of my replying to the article. Let me give the concluding portion of the paragraph in my pamphlet, from which Mr. Sargant is quoting:

"But this theory that rates are and are intended to be a personal tax on the occupier only renders the present system more indefensible. On the one hand the owners of the property benefited by the rates escape contribution, and on the other hand the apportionment of the tax among the different classes of the community is grossly inequitable. It would be difficult to devise a tax that would press more heavily on the poorer as compared with the richer classes than one in which the payment is proportionate to the rent, for it is notorious that the poorer a man is the larger is the portion of his expenditure that goes in rent."

So that instead of avoiding the consideration of this "notion" as being awkward for my argument, I show (what every one who considers the matter must see) that our case against the present system of rating would be rendered doubly strong if its defenders should be so unwise as to put this theory forward. But none of them—not even Mr. Sargant—will, I think, venture to do so.

It must not be imagined that I, in my turn, am insinuating that Mr. Sargant is intentionally incorrect or unfair, either in his references to Mill, or his treatment of my pamphlet. On the contrary, I think that these and other matters to which I have called attention are due to an inaccuracy of mind too habitual to be conscious. Whether it is due to his not taking the trouble to look beneath the surface, or to his neglecting to settle his own views before criticizing those of others, I do not know; but in any case he will do well to moderate his tone until he has attained to that very mediocre standard of accuracy which will enable him to quote from well-known books with reasonable correctness.

J. FLETCHER MOULTON.

REMINISCENCES OF A CHURCH-RATE STRUGGLE.

IT was a long time ago, at least it was in the forties, and that seems quite a distant period when one looks back to it now.

The day was dull and grey; perhaps it even rained, for though the early dinner was over, the children had not gone out to play, and, as they looked out of the window for amusement, their curiosity was excited and their hopes were raised by the arrival of a man on horseback. They knew the man quite well, for he was their grandfather's groom, and messages from that quarter generally meant something pleasant or nice, so there was a rush to learn why he had come. And after all, it was nothing but a note for the elder servant, a confidential sort of person, from their mother, who, with their father, was spending the day with her parents at their home in the country, about two miles away.

Sarah read the note, and then proceeded to act in an extraordinary manner. First, she locked the front door, which was usually only done at night; then she drew down all the blinds, though no one belonging to the family was dead; then she put out all the fires, which was very uncomfortable; and, finally, she marshalled the whole flock of four children, besides the nurse-girl with the baby in arms, upstairs to the spare bedroom, and placed them upon the great four-poster with orders not to speak above a whisper. The mistress, they were told, desired that the house should appear shut up, as if no one were at home, so if any one came to the door no movement was to be heard within; and no attention was to be paid to any amount of knocking and ringing. For a time it was delightfully exciting to listen to the passers-by, and hope that footsteps might be heard mounting the six steps which led to the front door, and the persons begin an attack upon the defences. It was such a little town, with

such small traffic, that each separate foot-passenger afforded a fresh sensation, and the little party were prepared to feel quite heroic in their state of siege, if only the besiegers would arrive.

But when, as it seemed to them, hours went by, and no one took any notice of them; when all the feet and elbows and heads on the bed seemed to be just where they were not wanted; when there was nothing to do, and no one to while away the time by telling tales; when it grew dusk, and Sarah held out no hope of lights or tea—then they began to find that heroism is not quite such an easy matter after all, and, as was natural in such circumstances, every one became very cross, as well as most anxious to be set free from that odious spare bed. At last there was a familiar and welcome sound—they were sure of it, the pony-chaise was coming; *the* pony-chaise to them being the one belonging to their grandmother, and drawn by their particular friend, her grey pony.

Sarah, after peeping cautiously from behind the blind, went to unlock the front door, but even then no one else was allowed to move till the mother herself put an end to their imprisonment, and explained its cause. After leaving in the morning, she and the father suddenly recollected that their home might be visited by the police, and not wishing this to take place in their absence, had sent orders for the house to be shut up; but the peculiar encampment in the spare room had been altogether Sarah's own device, and was not commended, which was a comfort to think of. Those who were old enough to understand, learned that, though the police had not appeared, they would certainly come before long to take away some furniture, because the father had refused to pay a church-rate.

Members of the Church "as by law established" were provided with buildings, and the salaries of their ministers were paid for them, so that for these matters they were not called to contribute a single farthing. For part of the expenses of their form of worship, they were further empowered to levy a rate, provided it were passed by a majority of the ratepayers present at the meeting held for this purpose. It might be thought that those who objected to the rate had the remedy in a measure in their own hands, if they could procure a majority; but then it was *if*, and as the wealth and the power were almost entirely with the Episcopalians, and as they did not hesitate to apply the screw by withdrawing custom from the shop-keeper, or turning off the labourer who dared to offend by exercising the right of private judgment, it was not wonderful that faith was often wanting to incur what looked like the risk of ruin.

When the young Baptist minister first settled at Kettering, he paid the rate without thinking, and as a matter of course. But after a time he became aware that his Quaker neighbours, who thought it a duty to refuse such payment, unresistingly allowed their goods to be

seized year after year, and, drawn at once to those who suffered for conscience sake, he presently came to take their view, and cast in his lot with them, but with a difference, as will be seen.

After the thing had been explained to them, the children were not encouraged to talk much about it, but the elder ones had many discussions among themselves—what would the policemen do and say, would they speak to them, and if so, how should they be answered? Many valiant speeches were concocted which would be just the right thing, if only courage did not all fly away when the time came.

II.

It was a Saturday morning soon after breakfast, the cheerful room was bright with sunshine, and the occupations of the day had hardly begun, when a knock at the front door announced an early visitor, who, when ushered in, scarcely waited for the usual greeting before telling his errand.

"The police are coming, I have just seen them at Mr. Smith's, and I thought you would like to know; this will be their next place."

The master of the house was away from home, having an engagement to preach at some distance on the following day, and a journey, at that date, was a thing not accomplished in a hurry. The mistress, however, had evidently laid her plans, and immediately proceeded to carry them out, showing no sign of discomfiture at the prospect before her.

The Baptist chapel, or "meeting," as it was always then called, of which this lady's husband was the minister, had been built at a time when Nonconformists were in constant danger of rude and violent interruptions to their religious services, so that they were far from desiring to attract public attention to their places of worship. As a matter of precaution, therefore, the building had been placed back from the street, hidden away behind the minister's house, and the approach was by a narrow covered passage called an entry, with gates toward the street. On that Saturday morning the minister's wife ordered the gates to be opened, as well as the door leading from the kitchen into the entry, and then, having given some further directions, took her little daughter by the hand, and went out on the other side of the house into the backyard, to a door which opened into a court surrounded by small houses and communicating with the street by an archway. There the little girl was told to run quickly to a house on the other side of the road, and to say that the police were coming, and then, perhaps catching a look on the child's face, the mother added with a smile that she should wait for her there. It was a kind of sending on the fiery cross, only in this case the people were summoned to endurance, not to resistance.

On that strange morning, when everything seemed out of course, the mere crossing the quiet street presented itself as an action requiring some courage. But it had to be done: the high knocker was out of reach, and little fists thumped on the door till a tall sedate woman opened it, looked gravely down, and very deliberately put the question:

"Well, child, what does thee want?"

"If you please," was the panting answer, "mamma sent me to tell you that the police are coming."

The grave woman softened at once, and smiling as if she had heard good news, replied warmly:

"Thank thee, child, for coming to tell us, and thank thy mother for sending us word; be sure remember to thank thy mother; we are very much obliged to her and thee, too."

So the hard task was done, and the doorstep, ascended with so much fear, had become a delightful haven of refuge in which to listen to pleasant words of thanks. The child scampered back to the mother, who put out her hand, and then both went together to the kitchen, which by this time was nearly cleared of everything it was particularly undesirable to lose. The law gave its officers power to enter a house, and take from it so much as, in their opinion, would, when sold, produce enough to defray the unpaid rate and expenses. If the first room they entered contained sufficient to satisfy their claim, they were obliged to take what was there, and were not allowed to go further. This was the reason why the victims were grateful for information as to when the seizure was to be made. For want of this precaution, one house had just lost family treasures and presents, which could never be replaced. It seemed like play to help to clear the kitchen by running off with a dish-cover to a place of safety. In a few minutes, the mistress, casting a careful eye around, declared that there was no more to be done; and then, surrounded by the whole family, quietly took up her position in the denuded room to await what was to come.

Soon a step was heard echoing loudly from the brick pavement of the entry, and all eyes were eagerly fixed upon the open door. It proved to be a friend, one of the deacons of the Baptist church who had come to stand by his minister's wife during the expected visitation. The police, he said, need not be looked for just yet. He had passed the house where they were at work, and as they had only one small cart, they would be obliged to return to the station-house and unload before proceeding to another seizure. Meanwhile, was there no broken furniture which might be mended, and made, as he expressed it, fit for the police? He was fond of carpentering in his leisure time, and had put a few tools in his pocket before coming out. Children and servants, who were suffering under a temporary law of

silence, eagerly pointed out a chair which had lost a leg. The amateur joiner soon made that all right, ending with a vigorous thump of the restored member upon the stone floor, to prove the soundness of his work, and then demanded something more on which to exercise his skill. Finding that the best efforts of all present could produce no other article, he looked about for himself, and so caught sight of an old Dutch clock which had never ticked within the memory of man, or at least of child. The very thing—he would just reach down the ancient timepiece and restore its voice in readiness for the raid.

Here, however, the lady of the house interposed; the clock, she said, was utterly worthless, and it had been found useless to try to mend it.

"But," pleaded her zealous ally, "I can make it go for a little while, and it will be quite good enough for the police."

"Then some one would buy it, and find himself deceived."

"Serve them right, too," was the energetic reply, "if they are mean enough to buy such things. Do let me have it, I can get it done yet, if we lose no more time."

The request had the cordial sympathy of the majority, but the minister's wife stood firm.

"Thank you very much," she said, "but indeed it must not be. It would make Mr. Robinson very angry; I should not like to tell him such a thing had been done."

"If that is so," agreed the disappointed deacon, "there is nothing more to be said, but it does seem a pity."

The children thought so too.

A little more of the trial of waiting, and then the sound of wheels stopping before the house was succeeded by a sharp rap at the front door, and all knew what it signified. A servant was sent to look through the chain, but by no means to open the door, and ask the men to come to the back by the way prepared for them. Then came their approaching tramp, and the children, quivering with excitement which might not be expressed, watched the appearance of the superintendent of police, a short, very stout, red-faced man, whom the wits of the place had surnamed Pontius Pilate, followed by two uncomfortable-looking subordinates, with drooping heads—and one had almost said tails, they looked, poor men, so exactly like a couple of whipped dogs, or dogs fearing to be whipped.

The superintendent had evidently composed a speech for the occasion, and of this he now proceeded to deliver himself:

"Good-morning, madam. Most unpleasant business this. Most unpleasant duty for me. If I had my own way, I'd rather be a hundred miles away; but duty is duty, and must be done. *Most* unpleasant, I'm sure. Still duty."

With a little encouragement it seemed as if the oration might last

some time, but no notice being vouchsafed except a slight bow, the speaker stopped and proceeded to business; he would take this table and that, and those chairs. The repairs so lately and deftly executed seemed somehow to awaken suspicion, but another testing thump produced no sign of weakness, and there really was a sort of satisfaction in seeing that chair taken by the invaders.

All present had been in one way or another so closely occupied, that they were quite startled on perceiving an addition to their number—a tall man, an auctioneer, who stood in the doorway, so that egress was impossible till he chose to move.

“Put that chair down for a minute, my man,” he said. “Now how much are you taking the set for?” Having asked the same question about everything which was being seized, and entered the list in his book, he stood aside. Then, the work of spoliation finished, and the door shut and fastened behind its agents, the whole party adjourned to the front of the house to watch the departure of the invaders. The police cart was a light conveyance kept for use when duty called the guardians of the peace into the country, and not at all suited for a furniture van, and the work of packing was not made more pleasant by the jeers of a small crowd.

The next thing was for the minister’s wife to refurnish her kitchen, and she soon sallied forth to the old-fashioned little furniture shop, where an old-fashioned man regarded his customers with a meditative air of interest, as if he would like to enter into conversation on the unusual event which had sent them to him. The business with him was soon finished; the next place was a grocer’s shop, which was found in a state of confusion, owing to a visit from the police, who had just departed, and who seemed to have been somewhat hesitating in their choice, judging by the parcels of tea, sugar, &c., which lay scattered about in disorder.

The shopkeeper, a prisoner from a sprained ankle, sat upon a counter, and discoursed to all sympathizers on the rudeness of the minions of the law, and the needless trouble they had given to his assistants on a Saturday morning. Indeed, that the thing had been done on a Saturday was considered to add vileness to a vile deed. How, it was asked, could the Rector stand up and preach the doctrines of Christianity on the very day after his neighbours’ goods had been taken in such a manner for such a purpose, contrary to all Christian principles? But it is always a mystery how men and women professing the faith of Christ can bear to make that profession an excuse for grasping worldly privileges at the expense of those who are poorer and weaker than themselves.

When the minister returned to his home, and heard all about what had happened in his absence, and saw the impression made upon his

children, he called them to him, and then, for the first time, gave them the elements of a lesson, often afterwards repeated and enlarged upon, so that when they were older, and able to understand, he told them plainly :

“If you will be consistent Nonconformists, you must expect to suffer in purse and position, and to be wronged in every relation of life.”

Such teaching given at a father's knee, illustrated by such object lessons as fell to the lot of this little family, is not easily forgotten ; yet it was without bitterness, for he taught also that to be called to suffer for the truth is the highest honour that can be conferred upon a mortal—a thing, therefore, over which it is right to rejoice and give thanks.

III.

So many persons had refused to pay the church-rate as to add considerably to the ordinary labours of the police, who had to find time for all the distraining as best they could ; sometimes they would clear off several cases in one day, and then have to wait for an uncertain period of leisure to continue a task which, to the subordinates at least, was highly distasteful. This delay in the proceedings prolonged and enforced the lesson which the little community was learning. the lesson of liberty and of the right of private judgment. Every incident connected with the various seizures was eagerly caught up and discussed, and there was great exultation when it became known that the two policemen had positively declared that they would do no more of such hateful business. If the churchwardens wanted it done, they might do it themselves, and there was proportionate disappointment when the men yielded to the threat of dismissal.

Among the houses to be visited was one occupied by the manager of a small silk factory, an establishment altogether different from the great, noisy, many-storied edifice which, at the present time, naturally presents itself to the mind in connection with the word factory. A rather long, low, two-storied building, at the back of the manager's dwelling, bounded by his garden on one side, so that from the wide windows of the workrooms there was always a cheerful, and sometimes a bright outlook, when the flowers were in bloom. Some of the work was done on the premises. Materials were also given out to be carried home, and woven—by hand, of course—on looms which were the property of the workmen, who, surrounded by their families, and very often with a book propped open in a convenient position, would produce fabrics so beautiful and rich as to seem strangely incongruous with the humble surroundings in which they first appeared. The responsible head of this little industry may be best described as a God-fearing man, who would rather suffer wrong than do it, a man ready to the utmost of his power to give help where needed ; and his

character was appreciated by those under him, who regarded him with affection as well, as with respect, and were intensely angry at the wrong about to be done to him. In their opinion, it ought not to be quietly permitted. This idea, once started, grew in favour with great rapidity, and hints began to be dropped that the visit of the police was not likely to pass off without exciting incidents—that the men had made up their minds what to do, and meant to stick to it.

A crowd began to assemble, as to the direction of whose sympathies there could be no doubt; the police, of course, could not give way; the men would not. Matters were growing serious, when the master of the house appeared, and begged his self-appointed defenders to return to their work, and not raise a disturbance. They listened reluctantly, but at last they could resist no longer; but disappeared into the factory with an aching sense of the emptiness of things in general, only partially relieved by the thanks for their compliance tendered to them by the manager, when, having seen his property carried away, he was at liberty to come among them and talk the matter over.

IV.

When William Robinson, Baptist minister at Kettering, began to consider the question of church-rates, it seemed to him that this exaction according to law ought at least to be legally carried out, and he soon saw reason to doubt whether this were the case. On his study-shelves was a copy of Burns' Ecclesiastical Law, hitherto one of the least valued among a lot of books bought at an auction sale. This he now began to study carefully—"that revelation of Anti-christ," he used to call it. He also had access to, and presently became possessed of, Blackstone's Commentaries, and found that these two works would furnish him with weapons sufficient for at least the outset of the contest on which he was about to enter.

Then seeing the next thing—he did it.

Every year the Rector and churchwardens made a calculation of the amount needed for current expenses, and called a vestry, at which it was proposed to raise the money by laying a rate of so much in the pound on all the property in the parish. If this were objected to, the opponents could, if they pleased, demand a poll, and then a day was fixed on which every ratepayer might give his vote for or against the proposed impost. The Nonconformists, not having hitherto attempted to resist what they felt to be an injustice, and knowing that they were not likely to have a majority at a poll, had not, so far, thought it necessary to assist at the sacrifice of themselves by being present at the vestry; but now there was to be a change.

The Rector, chairman *ex officio*, and the usual attendants at this meeting, were accordingly surprised and puzzled by the appearance of a few Nonconformists, who had a right to be there, it was true, but

whose object in coming it was difficult to imagine. They could not surely hope to prevent the rate. The Rector having stated the sum required, the rate was proposed and seconded. But then the Baptist minister interposed, and pointed out that the law required that notice of the summoning of the vestry should be posted in various specified places; that, in the present instance, a notice had indeed been affixed to the church-door, but nowhere else; and that the rate therefore could not be legally laid. The Rector and his supporters were at first inclined to make light of the objection; but they were further informed that any attempt to enforce payment of a rate illegally laid would be an offence for which the law provided a remedy, and that if they persisted they must be prepared for the consequences. Amazed and discomfited at finding the tables thus turned upon them, they yielded reluctantly to the inevitable.

The news that the rate was abandoned, and by what means this had been brought about, flew through the little town, creating excitement which found expression in various ways. Not only the church people, but some of the minister's warmest and most valued friends disapproved of what had been done; and the Impossibleists who, like the evil fairy in the fairy stories, are always ready at the birth of any auspicious enterprise, did not fail to present the inevitable gift of discouragement. It was true, they said, that the rate had been successfully opposed for once, but it was for once only; next time care would be taken that there should be no repetition of the mistake. Meanwhile much ill-feeling had been created, and this was an evil which more than counterbalanced the trifling and temporary advantage just gained. Church-rates, supported as they were by a great hierarchy, backed by a powerful and wealthy aristocracy, with the entire landed interest, could not possibly be overthrown: to dream of such a thing was mere madness. Though, in a few other isolated cases, opposition was being attempted, it was carried on by men who, like the minister, had neither money nor political influence with which to attack a vested interest walled about with impregnable defences. Both he and they had far better listen to the advice of their well-wishers, and refrain from meddling with things too high and strong for their attack. Surely, said these cautious counsellors, the soundness of their opinion must be evident to any one who would take the trouble to study the history of the question.

In 1834, Lord John Russell, who wished that the Liberal Government should have an opportunity of settling the question, had disappointed the Nonconformists by proposing as a compromise that the burden should be laid upon the land-tax. In 1837, a resolution that the rate should cease, introduced by the Liberal Ministry, was twice carried; but the majority on the second occasion being very small, Lord John Russell announced that the Government had

abandoned its intention of taking the question to the Upper House ; and since that time the Whigs had not only dropped the matter, but had opposed all attempts at settlement by private members. Was it reasonable then to imagine that anything could be done in the teeth of both the great political parties, Whigs as well as Tories ? Moreover, some hot-headed persons, who had refused to pay the rate, had found themselves in prison in consequence ; and what was the use of that ?

The next year, as was to be expected, the notices duly appeared in every place by law directed, and no further difficulty was expected. But the minister pointed out that although the legal provisions had been carefully complied with in one respect, they had been neglected in another. The prescribed number of days had not elapsed since the appearance of the notices, therefore the rate could no more be laid this year than last. The law was plain, and there was no getting round it ; so again there was no church-rate laid at Kettering,

Another year came, and, as one of the Church people said afterwards, they thought they "had got it all right this time." But again their irrepressible opponent, finding some small oversight, was once more victorious, and taught them that to lay the rate legally was not quite such a matter of course as they had always supposed.

So the struggle went on for seven or eight years. Once, the minister being unable to find any more help in his law-books, the Nonconformists demanded a poll, and, being beaten, had their houses despoiled, as has been already described. But, notwithstanding the opinions of the Impossibleists, much more had been gained than a few temporary successes. Interest had been awakened, courage strengthened, and sympathy aroused by the spoiling of the goods, insomuch that this, the only time of defeat during all the long contest, proved to be also the last time that a church-rate was ever laid at Kettering.

Mr. Robinson having come to the end of his legal resources, help was sought from a lawyer at a distance, who had given much attention to the subject ; this gentleman was the minister's guest during one of the battle times, and with his aid the obnoxious impost was once again warded off. And still the ranks of the opponents were swelling, young men were growing up with fresh enthusiasm, chivalrous feeling for the oppressed, and a loathing for injustice ; and these naturally came to join in a brave fight bravely fought against what seemed, at first, overwhelming odds. Thus though resistance still meant hard work, and the endurance of much obloquy, it no longer meant to stand almost alone, for to vote against a church-rate had become quite a usual thing at Kettering.

V.

Among the little band, who first took up the question in that country-town, was a good man who found it hard to believe that the Rector

realized the great injustice for which he was in large measure responsible, and who therefore, at a vestry, appealed to that functionary on the ground of their common Christianity, asking how he, a professedly Christian minister, could bear to act so hardly and unkindly to disciples of the same Master—disciples, too, who for the most part were among the poor of this world. The appeal, however, was curtly answered in the words, "It's the law;" and nothing that could be said moved the clergyman from that refrain; they might talk as they liked of Christian fellowship and the law of love, their hearer presented an unmoved front, and always defended himself with—"It's the law, it's the law."

Mr. Robinson, becoming rather tired of this policeman-like reiteration, determined to break down the ignoble defence, and appeared at the next vestry meeting with a big folio Prayer-book containing the rubric under his arm, having arranged with one of his friends to draw out the stock phrase by the usual method. "It's the law," said the Rector, and then the minister, opening his big book, took up his parable:

"Yes, it's the law, and now I will tell you what else is the law. It's the law that as Rector of this parish you should hold morning and evening service in the church every day. This you have never done since you have held the living. It's the law that such neglect on your part is punishable for a first offence by deprivation of the revenues of your office for a certain time; for a second offence by a longer deprivation, with other penalties; for a third offence, by the loss of the living."

Having thus begun, he went on to point out other failures of duty on the part of the clergyman, and to state the punishment appointed for each, and then added:—"If the law gives you the power to exact from us contributions towards the maintenance of your church, it also gives to every ratepayer of the parish the power to proceed against you for leaving undone that which you are paid to do. As you say it's the law, you can hardly complain if we say it also, and put the law in motion against you in self-defence."

The unhappy listener, knowing that these words were uttered by one who had made himself an authority on ecclesiastical law, and one from whom, moreover, it was hardly reasonable to expect any mercy, turned white with fear. As he had dealt was it now to be dealt to him? All present, except the one friend in the minister's confidence, startled by the extraordinary turn he had given to the affair, waited rather breathlessly for the next words of the master of the situation.

"Yes," he proceeded, deliberately; "your offence against the law is easily proved, and cannot be denied. I can, if I choose, have you severely punished; many people would think it my duty to take this course. In fact, nothing prevents me from so doing except that I

believe in the Bible, which teaches me to do good to those who despitefully use me and persecute me. For this reason, and for this reason only, as far as I am concerned, you are safe."

A good many years later, among the guests at a little dinner-party at Cambridge the minister and his daughter met two gentlemen, a barrister much interested in the Liberation Society, and a clergyman. The latter having shown some little tendency to magnify his order, Mr. Robinson was moved to expound to him the law in relation to it, and the heavy penalties which might at any time be enforced against numbers, perhaps the majority, of his beneficed brethren. He was heard with incredulous amazement, and at last, able to bear it no longer, the clergyman turned to the barrister with the impatient question, "It isn't so, F., is it?"

"I think," was the quiet reply, "that you will find that Mr. Robinson is right;" and leaving the ecclesiastic to digest the unwelcome information, he added, "our society has a little pamphlet with that title—'It's the Law.'—I don't know if you ever saw it?"

"Well, yes, I did," said the minister, "for I wrote it."

VI.

One day, when a few of the most valiant Nonconformists were discussing measures of defence, some one suggested that, as ratepayers, they had a right to a voice in the appointment of the parish churchwarden, a functionary chosen every year, and that if they could manage to put in one of their own friends, they would at least always have timely warning of the intentions of the enemy. The idea was hailed with delight: it seemed the very thing to do. There was, however, a very serious difficulty in the way of carrying it out. The election was not one which excited much interest; the vestry called for the purpose was generally thinly attended; it might be easy to carry their man if they could first find him; but that was just the thing—where could he be found?

No conscientious Nonconformist could accept the position, because it involved saying and doing that which would be against his principles. Neither could these innocent conspirators feel it right to elect to such a post a man of doubtful character, showing themselves in this particular much more careful than was the Rector, who had the appointment of the other warden. After much discussion, it looked as if this promising plan would have to be abandoned, when one of those present exclaimed:

"Why, there's Abraham Tebbutt, he'll do; he's a Churchman and a thoroughly good man, and is besides a little bit of a soft. If we can put him in, I'll engage to get anything we want to know out of him at any time in half an hour's talk."

Nothing could be better. In strict secrecy the word was passed round to the faithful to attend the vestry in sufficient numbers to carry the election. Once again their presence excited surprise, not unmixed with consternation, for they had certainly some object in view, though its nature was not guessed.

The Rector having announced his choice, one of the Nonconformists proposed that Abraham Tebbutt should be parish churchwarden for the ensuing year, and another seconded the motion. The Rector, seeing himself in a hopeless minority, left the meeting in anger, followed by all his party. Those who remained had then a clear course, and at once voted Mr. Robinson into the chair; he put the motion to the meeting, it was carried unanimously with all formality, and entered on the minutes, the Baptist minister signing the book as chairman. Then the meeting complacently broke up, and the news of his most unexpected promotion was at once carried to Abraham himself.

As soon as the coast was clear, the opposite party returned to the church, anxious to see what had been done, and found the election of Abraham Tebbutt duly recorded in the parish book. Distasteful as this was, no way out of it could be seen except the bare chance that the good man himself might refuse to occupy the position to which he had been legally appointed. It was worth trying at any rate; so the churchwarden-elect had hardly parted with the visitor who brought the tidings of his new honours, before another caller arrived at his humble dwelling.

"Well, Abraham," said the new-comer, "I suppose you have heard the news; you know what has been done at the vestry meeting this morning—ha, ha, ha?"

"Well, yes," he said, "I do."

"It's a good joke, a very good joke indeed; for of course you won't think of serving."

As this observation did not meet with the expected, or at least the hoped-for, response, it seemed desirable to put the question more directly, with a hint as to the proper answer.

"We all know that you would feel very much out of place as churchwarden; no one expects you to serve, and you won't, will you?"

"I'm not so sure of that," answered Abraham slowly.

To all the arguments, expostulations, coaxing, ridicule, and threats which were addressed to him, he listened patiently and silently, but of all who tried none succeeded in getting from him any further answer. "I'm not so sure of that," he said, when pressed to speak, and from this strictly non-committal position was neither to be pushed nor pulled.

The day came when, in accordance with the usual order, the

Archdeacon visited the parish, and the churchwardens were to be installed in their office, and Abraham was in attendance. At last it would be seen what he *was* sure of.

"I am told," said the Archdeacon blandly, "that it is not your intention to serve this office, Mr. Tebbutt?"

Now Abraham, it must be remembered, had not had the advantage of a university education, neither had he been much accustomed to polite society; thus it would hardly be fair to blame him though his answer, while perfectly clear, may not have had the sweetness which marked the speech of the ecclesiastical functionary. Besides, his patience had probably been tried by the unusual number and the persistence of his visitors, from whom he was unable to protect himself by the lie of "Not at home."

This is what he said:

"And I should just like to know who told you that, for whoever said it, it's a lie."

"Well," replied the dignitary, "that is a question you have a perfect right to ask; it was Mr. G.;" naming the curate.

"Then," said Abraham again, "it's a lie, for I mean to serve."

So Abraham Tebbutt was churchwarden for the year, and though a very poor man, was, as all the townspeople knew, far more fitted for the office, as far as character went, than others who had borne it. Perhaps he might have yielded to the pressure brought upon him, but he had a very strong motive for remaining steadfast, a motive which, though personal, cannot be said to have been unjustifiable. Being unfit for hard work, he had long been unable fully to earn his living, and therefore was in regular receipt of a small sum from the parish, by means of which he managed to get along. Unfortunately for him, the parish to which he belonged was Shoreditch, and the guardians, having frugal minds with regard to the public money, not infrequently concluded that if this man were not dead, he ought to be, and then deciding that he was so, they naturally considered that he could have no further claim upon them. There was no railway, and if there had been, he could not have afforded the fare, and the mail-coach was still more beyond his reach. The poor man was obliged therefore, on these occasions, to walk all the seventy miles between Kettering and London, sleeping as he could on the way, in order to produce himself before the Shoreditch guardians that they might see that he was yet in the flesh, and consequently needed sustenance.

Then, after spending a day or two with a sister, he would trudge back to his little home in Northamptonshire, a weary distance even if the weather were favourable, and much more so if the enforced journey happened to take place in the time of snow. From this recurring necessity he had never hoped to be free, and the prospect before him, when strength should fail for the expedition, was a dreary one. To be

sure, if he could once serve a parish office at Kettering, that would then become *his* parish, legally bound to afford him relief, but such advancement seemed as utterly and hopelessly out of his reach as—let us say as the most unattainable thing any one of us can think of. And now that this unexpected deliverance had come, was he not to take it? “When the sky falls we shall catch larks;” Abraham had caught his bird, and was too wise to let it go.

The Rector and the Rector’s churchwarden could do nothing in parish affairs without the concurrence of the parish churchwarden, who saw no reason for secrecy in such matters, so for that year the Non-conformists were able to relax somewhat the strain of that vigilance which is the price of the choice treasure of liberty. Later on, the church people took a comical revenge, one of those things which may be described as cutting off the nose to spite the face.

VII.

After twenty-three years spent among the Baptists at Kettering, Mr. Robinson removed to Cambridge, to become the minister of the Baptist Church meeting in St. Andrew’s Street. When his children, who were still young, heard of the expected change, they asked whether there would be church-rates at Cambridge, and being told that the battle there was practically over, hardly knew whether to be glad or sorry. They had lived almost as long as they could remember in the midst of this conflict, and it was difficult to imagine existence without it. As to the Kettering people, both parties were a good deal exercised with regard to the future; would there or would there not be found any one to lead the opponents of church-rates? Mr. Robinson himself was not without anxiety on the subject. What his successor might do, no one of course could tell, while his very intimate friend, Mr. Toller, the Independent minister, had always resisted every entreaty to take part in the fray, declaring, “You are perfectly able to do all that is wanted, and do not need my help.”

The new minister, however, coming to his first charge, threw himself at once into the matter with all the enthusiasm of youth. One unexpected and most welcome result was that Mr. Toller came out of his shell; he could not, he said, leave the young man to stand alone; and his help was so heartily given as to draw from one of the church party the elegant remark that “they had lost one devil, and got two in his place.”

Then, after a time, there came a day when Mr. Robinson received from his young friend at Kettering a letter beginning with the exulting exclamation, “We’ve beaten them hollow;” and going on to give some details of the steps which had led to this victory.

They had demanded a poll, which had been so decisive that it was never again thought worth while to attempt to lay a church-rate at Kettering.

VIII.

When one has suffered a decisive defeat, it is extremely natural, though perhaps not always very wise, to wish, in some way or other, to take vengeance upon the victor. Church-rates being dead at Kettering, the party interested in their existence felt the need of some outlet for their disgust; some means of relieving their wounded feelings. What could they do? Their opponents had no exclusive privileges which might be the object of attack, and whose loss might make them know by experience the pangs of the beaten, the dolour of deprivation; for from those who have nothing, nothing can be taken. The Nonconformists paid their own ministers, and put their hands in their own pockets, not in those of other people, for all expenses connected with their places of worship; they were thus free to choose their own church officers, and quite beyond the reach of interference in such matters.

Still the true story of Abraham Tebbutt was fresh in the minds of all concerned, and might somehow be made to serve as a hint, though anything done in that way would want the merit of originality, and possess some other merits as well.

Every year the money to be spent for public purposes—lighting the town, and things of that sort—was voted by such ratepayers as chose to attend the vestry meeting called for the purpose. It was generally a mere matter of form, carried out for needful purposes as the law directed, and, like the election of a churchwarden before the time of Abraham Tebbutt, seldom attracted many voters. Thus the Church people, on retaliation intent, found no difficulty in carrying out their idea, such as it was—they went and voted that for a whole year no money should be spent on lighting the town; the gas lamps were to remain unused; the lamplighters' occupation for that time would be gone.

The minister's children, on a Christmas visit to their grandparents, found the state of things exceedingly interesting; whenever they were in the town after dark, they seemed to be almost in a different world, or at least in a different age, from that in which they had been living at Cambridge. A narrow escape from an overturn while driving into Kettering one dark night, as it *was* an escape, did but add zest to the absurdity of the situation.

Fortunately for the Kettering people, the habit of dissipation which makes evening engagements of some kind a perpetual necessity, had not yet reached them. When they did go out at night, precautions had to be taken, and lanterns served.

The Nonconformists were more inclined to laugh than to grumble

at the absurdity of the thing, and as for the Church people, if they really felt that they had the comfort of revenge, they probably also felt that the game was hardly worth the candle.

The childish prank was not repeated, and the following winter the inhabitants of Kettering may be presumed to have had a very lively sense of the importance of street-lamps.

IX.

The voice of the Impossibilists had gradually become silent with regard to the supposed necessity for continual submission to church-rates, but these dismal prophets were certainly not without a show of reason if they continued to foretell failure to those who were patiently working for the legal abolition of the unjust impost.

In 1834, Nonconformists had felt themselves deserted by the Whigs, whom they had been the means of placing in power—a frequent Nonconformist experience. In 1839, the Whigs opposed the introduction of a Bill for the Relief of Dissenters; in 1849, Lord John Russell's Ministry led the opposition to, and procured the defeat of, a similar motion introduced by Mr. Trelawny. Twelve years later, in 1861, we find the same gentleman in charge of a Church-rate Bill, which was lost on the third reading by the casting vote of the Speaker; and the same measure was lost, and again lost, the next Session, and a Session after that.

When an unjust privilege draws near to death, those who have profited by it, finding that they cannot much longer retain the comfort of its presence, generally endeavour to console themselves by proposing a compromise. They will give up what they must, but strive hard to keep all they can, and this they think both right and wise. This was attempted in the present case. It was thought that by shifting the burden the profit might be retained, and that thus the Nonconformists, who were not such bad people after all when properly managed, might be cajoled into acquiescence. But few persons seemed to like the look of the scheme, and the Bill in which it was embodied suffered crushing defeats in 1864, 1865, and 1867.

In 1866, Mr. Gladstone, speaking in the House, said that he did not think the simple abolition of the rate would be a satisfactory settlement, and oddly enough declared his belief that when a church-rate was levied against the wishes of a reluctant minority, they, "in nine cases out of ten, escape or decline payment." The seizure of the property of the members of many such minorities, the imprisonment endured by others, seemed to have made no impression on the honourable gentleman. The equanimity with which those who do not suffer an injustice, and perhaps even profit by it, can discuss just how much it hurts, is both laughable and provoking to the victim.

Mr. Gladstone having expressed a desire to introduce a Bill on lines which he thought likely to be successful, the member who had charge of the Abolition Bill refrained from pushing it; but the Government having been defeated on the Reform Bill, Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli came into office, and a few weeks later the Compulsory Church-rate Abolition Bill was read a second time without a division. But it went no further.

The following year, the Bill, introduced in March, passed through all its stages in the House of Commons, and was read a third time in July, and then, for the first time, was actually sent up to the Lords, who, however, promptly threw it out on the second reading. It seemed as if the Impossibilists were right after all; the Lords, among whom were the bishops, blocked the way, and were likely to continue to do so. In the winter session of that year, another attempt was made, resulting, as usual, in another failure.

Early in 1868, Mr. Gladstone again introduced a Bill containing the arrangements for the retention of the parochial system which he thought practicable and desirable, declaring at the same time that, should his proposal not meet with acceptance, he should no longer raise any obstacle in the way of the more thorough-going measure which had been so long before the House. In little more than a month the Bill was read a third time, Mr. Newdegate mournfully declaring that it would destroy the parochial system of the Church of England. After some cobbling by the Lords, the Royal assent was given to the Compulsory Church-rate Abolition Bill, thus bringing to an end the parliamentary struggle which had been carried on ever since the desertion of the Nonconformists thirty-four years previously. Thirty-four years of patient perseverance, of many defeats, of tantalizing disappointments when the end seemed almost gained; but years also of steady advance in religious liberty, educating years to both parties, bringing great principles into prominence, and in the end proving the Impossibilists to have been mistaken.

And yet, after all, church-rates had not been abolished. A rate might still be laid; the difference, a very great one, was that no one would be obliged to pay it. Mr. Gladstone had retained the parochial system on which he had set his heart, but the pains and penalties had been done away with. Nonconformists had gained a large measure of justice, but not quite the full measure they had a right to expect.

In the following year, to the minister's daughter, in her own house at Cambridge, there appeared one day the housemaid, bearing on a waiter two slips of paper; the man, she said, had called for the rates—a town-rate, and the church-rate.

"The church-rate!" said her mistress in surprise, then, finding on examination that it really was so, that the demand was printed precisely like that for an ordinary rate, with no hint that payment

was optional, she gave the girl the money for the town-rate, and told her to say to the collector that "we do not pay church-rates."

The maiden went her way, but was back directly.

"The man says, ma'am, that he cannot take such an answer as that; he must see the master."

He did see the master, and behaved with some insolence, declaring that the house belonged to St. John's Collège, and the Collège would expect their tenant to pay church-rates. Of course he was quickly sent about his business, in that house such pretensions were not likely to be successful. But among the poorer inhabitants of the parish, many probably would be misled by the manner in which the demand was made—would, in fact, be cheated out of their money.

The incident shows the demoralizing effect of long retention of unjust privileges, for it is really not a good thing to get money for any purpose by "ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain," and especially not for religious purposes. It shows also that when one of the "forts of folly" is about to fall, those who are gladdened by the prospect do well if they can possess their souls in patience, and endure a little longer the losses to which they have so long been accustomed, rather than be content with anything less than a complete victory, the thorough overthrow of that particular stronghold of injustice.

This true story seems to have an irresistible tendency to end like an old-fashioned sermon with a *finally—and to conclude*. Finally has been already spoken. And to conclude—if any reader of these pages be engaged in a struggle with one of the many forms of injustice, let him take to heart this lesson of experience—Never to mind the Impossibleists, for it is a glorious fact that "'tis Truth alone is mighty" and that it is so mighty as to be altogether irresistible.

MARY STEADMAN ALDIS.

FREE SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

FREE schools have always been a popular topic among Liberals and the working class. The programme of the National Education League, in 1869-70, was compulsory education in free unsectarian schools under public local management.

But when the Act of 1870 was passed, the sympathies of the then Government worked in the same direction as the organized power of the Conservative Anglican and denominational party, and, as is usual in English politics, legislation resulted in a compromise which called into existence the new force of popular local self-government, and at the same time fortified and expanded the antagonistic principle of private denominational management. The consequence was what should have been foreseen, that during the last twenty years national education, which demands for its successful development the united efforts of all who wish for the elevation and civilization of the nation, has been, more than almost any question, the cause and object of bitter party strife, the more bitter because ecclesiastical animosities have largely influenced the combatants.

As a rule, the friends of denominational education under private management have been strong opponents of free schools. Obviously, where the State Grant supplements private local resources, the managers of denominational schools could not afford to give up their income from fees unless an equivalent was supplied them from public funds, and the most clear-sighted supporters of the denominational system have always seen that any such additional public aid must lead to the abolition of private management.

Mr. Chamberlain, who seems generally to care far more for the article of freedom from fees than for the article of public local management of the old Birmingham programme, raised this question

of the abolition of fees in what was known as the unauthorized programme of 1885. He made overtures to the leaders of the denominational party, and suggested that Parliament should free all schools by means of a subsidy, leaving the question of management intact. But two difficulties presented themselves at that time: the one the immediate opposition of the active section of the Liberal party, who, at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Bradford in the autumn of 1885, refused to accept a resolution simply in favour of the abolition of fees, and amended it by adding, as an inseparable condition, that the schools so freed should be under public management.

The other difficulty was the unwillingness at that time of the denominational party to accept Mr. Chamberlain's offer, even if they were to retain their private management.

In those days the advocates of denominational schools were very sanguine that the future had great things in store for their advantage. Cardinal Manning had, as he thought, organized an alliance between the Roman Catholics and the National Society, whereby the settlement of 1870 was to be reopened and the denominational schools were to be placed in a much more advantageous position in reference to Board Schools. Lord Cross (then Sir Richard Cross) announced at Widnes, in November, 1885, the intention of the Government to appoint a Royal Commission on Education, with a view to redressing the grievances and improving the position of the "voluntary" schools, and it was felt that the freeing of all schools would be a dangerous step to take, as no matter what might be said or promised at the time, it must lead to a diminution of independence for managers of "voluntary" schools. Moreover, Mr. Chamberlain had not at that time thought out the details of his scheme, and there was clearly a great difference between a grant based on the average fee throughout the country, and a grant based on the average fee of the particular school which was henceforward to give gratuitous education.

In the event of a uniform subsidy in lieu of fees, the Church of England schools in rural districts, the mass of the Board schools, and the mass of the Roman Catholic schools would gain. But the Church of England schools in towns, the British schools, and especially the Wesleyan schools, would be heavy losers; and as these classes of schools are at present maintained with little or no subscription, it was felt that a loss of fee income of three or four shillings on an average, and in some cases of a pound or more a head, would be fatal to their continued existence. On the other hand, a subsidy which gave large help to schools used by the lower middle-class, and where the managers subscribe little or nothing, and a paltry subsidy to those schools which educate the poor, and where the voluntary managers or the ratepayers are making a considerable local effort, would be too outrageous a proposal for any one to listen to.

Questions therefore, both of high policy and of practical expediency, with the certainty of strenuous Liberal opposition, made Mr. Chamberlain's proposal inopportune and unacceptable.

The appointment of the Royal Commission shelved the Education question for two or three years, with the certainty that as soon as that Commission had reported many important questions would be raised, and Parliament would be called upon to consider vital principles, and to grapple with serious difficulties.

The report of that Commission is not always consistent with itself, and such as it was it was repudiated by the minority, who presented a counter report directly opposed to the majority, as far as the political questions related to education are concerned.

Perhaps the most definite and easily apprehended proposal of the majority was that of aid to denominational schools from the rates without ratepayers' management. But here, too, the voluntary managers of the Established Church, more clear-sighted than their friends on the Commission, saw that public support involved public management, and repudiated the offer of the Commission.

The Government then proposed to embody in the Code an attenuated residuum of those recommendations upon which the majority and the minority were agreed. But the organized power of the denominational party, acting through the National Society, prevailed, and after a period of haggling and of offers to reduce still further the demands for educational efficiency included in the Code, the Government finally succumbed, not very honourably, to the clearly formulated demand of the National Society, that there should be no improvement in education unless by means of legislation the financial position of the managers of denominational schools should be strengthened.

But while the struggle was thus maintained in England—not openly in the House of Commons, but in secret conclave and in the private rooms of the Education Department—the action of the Scotch members of Parliament entirely modified the political situation.

It has been a tradition handed down from the days when large landowners controlled the county representation and county government, that whenever the counties should obtain from Parliament the right to manage their own affairs by elective councils, a compensation would have to be given from Parliamentary funds to the landowners by way of relief of rural rates.

This compensation went in England, as might be expected, mainly in relief of property.

But when the turn of Scotland came to receive some £240,000 a year as a compensation for being permitted to manage its own business, the Scotch members said they would rather apply the money to the relief of the poor than of the rich, and urged that this subsidy should be used in freeing the schools. The Government, in spite of

the fears and opposition of some of its more consistent supporters, more than fifty of whom voted against the proposal, granted the wish of the Scotch representatives, and a scheme was framed—faulty and insufficient, but one which, nevertheless, has already established a substantially free-school system for Scotland—and no one can doubt that a short time will sweep away the remnant of fees which are still collected in the elementary schools of that country.

The points to be noted in the Scotch plan are :—1. That fees were only partially abolished, and, as far as the Government were concerned, were to be retained beyond the Fifth Standard.

2. That provided there were a sufficient amount of free places to the satisfaction of the department, some public schools might be sanctioned as continuing to charge fees.

3. That the subsidy in lieu of fees was offered to the denominational as well as to the public schools.

The first point is, perhaps, the most objectionable of all. The vicious habit prevails in many parts of England of raising the fee with the standard, thus an extra impulse is given to the selfishness of the parent, who may be tempted to look rather to the earnings of his child than to the child's educational progress. It is admitted that in some districts the fee is raised for the purpose of driving the child out of school to work, or in order in a rural school to get rid of the trouble of teaching with an insufficient staff two or three children in the upper standards.

Clearly, if there is to be only partial remission, it is more important that that remission should take place in the higher rather than in the lower standards.

As to No. 2, the main objections to permitting a free school to charge fees is the great danger of emphasizing class distinctions in our elementary system. There is too much of these already under a paying system, with fees varying in individual schools. One of the advantages of a free-school system would be that no school would be stamped as socially inferior, nor would there be a danger that a liberal staff and intelligent teaching should be reserved for the schools where a higher fee is charged.

As to No. 3, it must be remarked that in Scotland only about one-fifth of the children are educated in privately managed schools. four-fifths are found in the Board schools, or, as they are better named, the public schools of Scotland. No school other than a Board school can be placed on the list for annual grants in Scotland, unless the department is satisfied that for special reasons, such as the religious convictions of the parents, the school is needed, and the department reports all these cases, with the reason, for sanction to Parliament.

Where the education of the mass of the people is in the hands of the

representatives of the people, there seems no serious objection to allowing what may be described as a safety-valve for religious difference. The minorities, mainly Roman Catholic, with a small sprinkling of Episcopalians who have taken advantage of the liberty of the Scotch Education Act to apply for annual grants, have not built their schools for the community but for their own special supporters. The general education of the district is supplied by the public authority—the School Board of the district. If the Scotch system of educational organization were extended to England there would be very little difficulty in carrying, with the consent of nearly all parties, proposals for the liberal treatment of dissentient minorities. But where, as in England to a very large extent, education is not supplied by the people and managed by the people, but is furnished for the people and managed for the people by volunteers often not in sympathy with the prevailing feeling of the district, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that we are slowly and painfully fighting our way to that municipal and publicly managed system of which the Scotch are in the full enjoyment.

The moment the Government granted free education to Scotland it was obvious that so attractive a boon could not be long withheld from England. Formerly the Government, the Education Department, the philosophic counsellors who are so ready to furnish instruction to the nation, had told us that free education was Socialist, that it undermined parental responsibility, that it was injurious to education, led to irregular attendance—that what was not paid for was not valued, &c. &c. We have all been familiar with the well-worn warning, “*Exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.*” But when once a Conservative Government had freely conceded this gift of free education to Scotland, few supporters of the Government could be found to repeat those old arguments which formerly they had relished so much. It is therefore no matter of surprise when we learn that the National Society issued certain leaflets against the abolition of fees in 1885, but that they are at present withdrawn from circulation; and it is a matter of the very mildest surprise when we find a series of letters in a Hampshire newspaper in favour of free education signed A. S. E. C., which initials seem to stand for Assistant-Secretary Education Commission. In fact, the Tory party is now well trained in that process of education which Mr. Disraeli began, and which so roused the wrath of Lord Salisbury twenty-two years ago. If the humorous satirist of the party which he once led could now revisit the Political party of which he was so great an ornament, he would enjoy the sight of the once reluctant Robert Cecil, now coining a phrase not so happy in form as those of the great master of phrases, but still worthy of being labelled as the performance of a pupil—“School of Disraeli—Assisted Education.”

When the Government passed the grant to free schools in Scotland,

they virtually enacted what is hinted in the phrase assisted education, what will be realized in the short war-cry of the old League—free schools.

Those who are compelled to stand aside from the *mêlée* of party conflict may be indulged the satisfaction of an amused sense of humour at the changes enforced by our political situation on the most reluctant to depart from the traditions of the past, and yet amusement does not imply censure. Few politicians nowadays are not forced to imitate the Sicambrian and burn what they once worshipped—worship what they once burnt. Mr. Matthew Arnold was no friend to free schools. He was sent abroad to report on foreign schools specially with reference to this question of the abolition of the fee, and he, who had no constituency to please, who was free to allow the light of pure reason to illuminate the whole question which he was discussing, recommended that we should take the question in hand. His remarks show the necessity which will certainly force even the reluctant in the direction of free schools. He writes :—

“In the first place, the retention of school fees is not a very important matter. Simply from the point of view of a friend of education there are advantages in their retention, and advantages in their abolition, and the balance of advantage is decidedly, in my opinion, on the side of retention. But we must remember, on the other hand, that there are some questions which it is peculiarly undesirable to make matters of continued public discussion; questions particularly lending themselves to the mischievous declamation and arts of demagogues, and that this question of gratuitous popular schooling is one of them. How often, if the question becomes a political one, will declaimers be repeating that the popular school ought to be made free because the wealthier classes have robbed the poor of endowments intended to educate them! The assertion is not true, indeed; what we call ‘popular education’ is a quite modern conception; what the pious founder in general designed formerly was to catch all promising subjects and to make priests of them. But how surely will popular audiences believe that the popular school has been robbed, and how bad for them to believe it, how will the confusion of our time be yet further thickened by their believing it? I am inclined to think therefore that sooner than let free popular schooling become a burning political question in a country like ours, a wise statesman would do well to adopt and organize it. Only it will be impossible to organize it with the State limiting its concern, as it does now, to the popular school only; and this can be so palpably shown to be a matter of common justice that one need not despair of bringing even the popular judgment to recognize it.

Secondly, there is a danger, perhaps, lest when we have got very elaborate and complete returns, and these returns show a very satisfactory proportion between scholars in daily attendance and scholars on the books, a very satisfactory limit to the number of scholars allowed to each teacher, and a very satisfactory percentage of passes in the established matters of instruction, we should think that therefore we must be doing well with our popular schools, and that we have no cause to envy the popular schools abroad, and nothing to learn from them. On the contrary, the things on which we pride ourselves are mere machinery; and what we should do well to lay to heart is that foreign classes, longer holidays, and a school-day

often cut in two as we have seen, nevertheless, on the whole, give, from the better training of their teachers, and the better planning of their school course, a superior popular instruction to ours."

These words of Mr. Arnold are important further, as reminding us that the question of the fee is not the only question affecting the welfare of our schools, and the existence of dual and rival systems is the main hindrance at present to that public responsible organization of our national education which is the greatest security for its progress.

It may be assumed, after what has taken place, that it is only a question of a short time before we have a system of free schools in England. The only question is, shall we get free schools directly, or by one or two steps? Shall we at once have representative management, or will that be delayed for a short time?

Undoubtedly the simplest and best way to establish free schools is to make them universal. But apparently some attempts will be made to enact an optional system.

The first proposition to be established is, that whatever Parliamentary grant is offered shall be based on the average fee of the country, and in fairness this grant should be calculated a little below the average fee; first, because a great deal of trouble will be saved by the receipt of a fixed sum from the Treasury instead of weekly collection of fees; secondly, because fees are a local burden, and localities should be willing to take something on themselves in consideration of a very liberal Parliamentary grant. The average fee throughout the country by the last returns was 10s. 2½d. A grant, therefore, of 10s. a head would be very liberal. But all schools where the average fee is 3d. and upwards a week would lose by accepting this grant in lieu of fees, and by the annual report of last year about 41 per cent. of the scholars paid 3d. a week and more. It does not follow that schools with 41 per cent. of the scholars would lose by accepting a fee grant of 10s., as there are many scholars paying 3d. and more in schools the average fee income of which is below 10s. a head. A large infant school enables a high fee to be charged in the senior department, and yet the average fee may be moderate. But it may probably be assumed that in schools attended by more than a quarter of the scholars of the country, the fee income exceeds the grant which Parliament is likely to give in order to abolish the fee.

Some may suggest, let schools be free to choose whether they will accept or refuse the boon of aided gratuity.

One remark may here be made, that a school cannot be allowed to be partially free. Clearly it would be most unsatisfactory to allow a school to free a certain number of standards and not the whole. It has been already pointed out that if we are to have partial freedom, such freedom should rather be granted to the higher than the lower

It is enough to quote one such utterance which appeared in the *Times* of Feb. 7, 1890, in a letter signed C. H. A., initials which correspond with those of Mr. C. H. Alderson, one of the majority of the Royal Commission, and for many years an able inspector of schools.

In reply to Archdeacon Smith, another Royal Commissioner who has been quoted already as regarding the abolition of the fee of the death-knell of voluntary schools, and who wrote to the *Times*, of Feb. 3, that there was no logical connection between additional aid from the State and local representative management. C. H. A. states that though the Archdeacon's contention may be logical, the world is not ruled by logic. The writer goes on to say :

"And would the Archdeacon consider it a more valuable guarantee for the maintenance of those strictly Church of England trusts in which he is interested to open them to Her Majesty's inspector *ex officio* who might be a Roman Catholic, or a Nonconformist, or an Agnostic, or to other nominees of the department, irrespective of creed, than to give a voice in their management to the suspected but possibly orthodox ratepayer?"

C. H. A. goes on to ask what is the probable future of the present voluntary schools.

"Can any one suppose," he says, "that schools which are preponderantly subsidized by the State will be permitted for any length of time to continue under the same slightly patriarchal management as that which exists for voluntary schools at present? To any one who cherishes this illusion, the resolution lately passed by the London School Board, coupling free schools with representative management, the utterances of Canon Fremantle and Dr. Percival ought to convey a warning note.

"It would be sufficiently absurd to speak of schools maintained to the extent of three-fourths of their annual cost by the State as voluntary. But they are not likely for any long future to retain even the last shred of title to be so designated. Voluntary subscribers will probably not care to continue their unequal and insignificant partnership with the State, when their religious preferences in such matters as the choice of teacher count for little or nothing. Subscriptions will dwindle, and then cease, and either the State will step in to make good the deficiency, or recourse will be had to the rates, upon the conditions, no doubt, of the Cowper Temple clause in the Education Act of 1870. In either case, the voluntary element in the support of public elementary schools will finally cease. This may be a good thing, or a bad thing, according to the different standpoints from which it is regarded. But one thing is clear—that the abolition of locally raised school fees will draw in its train consequences which will profoundly modify the relation of denominational bodies to elementary education."

It is from the conviction that the statement of C. H. A. is absolutely correct, and that the proposal to free the schools even partially must lead to a national representative system of local school administration, that we hold it would be childish to try and evade the intimate and necessary connection between the two proposals.

But here a distinction may be drawn. If the State recognizes that

the schools which are intended for all should be under public management, and so conducted as to show full consideration to the theological differences which divide those who use the schools, and which after all are, in the great majority of cases, of a minor character; it may also be fairly urged that, once given a national system, we ought to be very considerate to those minorities, who only plead for themselves, and who make corresponding financial efforts which may justify their petition for private management, coupled with a liberal measure of public support.

The broad distinction between the Church of England and the Roman Catholics—the two great champions of denominational and privately managed schools—is this: the Established Church claims to be the Church of the nation, and as such to have a right to educate the whole nation. The Roman Catholics, as a rule, plead for religious liberty to educate their co-religionists, and ask for public help to supplement their private resources.

The Roman Catholic school is never the only school of the locality.

But throughout the rural districts the Church of England school is, as a rule, the only school. Even were there are no Nonconformists, it would be right that the school of the village community should be under impartial management. The existence of large bodies of Nonconformists makes this more imperative. In a village where the school population is under a hundred there should obviously be but one school, and even where the school children number three or four hundred, it is far better educationally to have but one school.

But in Wales and Cornwall, for instance, where the great bulk of the population is Nonconformist, it is intolerable that the school should be under the clergyman, and the schoolmaster chosen for his churchmanship; advertisements for village schoolmasters and mistresses habitually stipulate not only that the applicant shall be a Churchman, but often what is called a “good” or “sound” Churchman, and a communicant. He is generally required to add the functions of organist and trainer of the choir; and, especially in the case of mistresses, to teach the Sunday-school. In towns the dual system may be tolerable, in the country there should, as a rule, be but one system, and that one managed by the community. Of course the area of the present village boards needs considerable enlargement.

Some persons propose as a compromise the severance of the religious and secular teaching, and the handing over the latter to public management, while retaining the former in denominational schools in the hands of the existing managers. This, which is theoretically the Irish system, and which was advocated long ago by Dr. Hook, when Vicar of Leeds, may seem just and reasonable; but it would not work in practice, nor would it be a wise policy for the friends of religious teaching to advocate it.

Salisbury for having spoken on this question. But they, too, feel that they cannot easily make him draw back. Should free schools be now abandoned, the Liberationist lecturer in the villages will be able to say with justice, When even a Tory Government was ready to enable you to send your children to school free from fees, it was the clergy of the Established Church who prevented him for fear that you should manage the school to which you send your children; and he will add, Vote for the Liberationist candidate, and you shall have a free school—a school managed by the people, and a school that shall cost you little, for the funds which endow one of the many religious bodies which make up collectively the Church of England—that is, the Christianity of England—when once applied on behalf of all to a truly national purpose, will maintain a far more liberal and complete education than any you have yet enjoyed.

E. LYULPH STANLEY.

P.S.—The recent declaration of Mr. W. H. Smith in the House of Commons has been generally taken to mean that any proposals in relief of fees are abandoned, at any rate for this year.

This receding from Lord Salisbury's position of last autumn may do great injury to the Conservatives as a political party; but it will not throw back free education into the limbo of questions outside the horizon of practical politics. The only effect will be to make a present to the Liberal party led by Mr. Gladstone of a popular cry, and to cause the concession, if made by the Conservatives, to have the character of a capitulation, and not of a free gift.

Perhaps Lord Salisbury need not have put his hand to the plough. Having done so, it is fatal to look back.



[MAR.

THE FOUR OXFORD HISTORY LECTURERS.

To the Editor of "THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW."

SIR,

Only a short time before he finally quitted public life, my late friend, Mr. Bright, made a speech. One of those smart people who write short notices for the daily London press, whom we may call S——, congratulated him on the fact that he had called no one knave or fool in it. The paragraph was put before Mr. Bright by a candid friend, and when the old man had read it, he said: "Well, I was not thinking of S—— when I made the speech." So, in my December article, I called no one knave or fool, and I was not thinking of the four lecturers who have sent you what they call a reply.

I wished to point out what were the motives which led me to get a return of the work done by the Oxford and Cambridge Professors and Readers, what were the errors, in my judgment, of the Commission, what were the inevitable consequences of the policy adopted, and what might possibly or probably ensue from it, in the higher teaching of the two Universities, particularly Oxford. I have lived here for nearly fifty years, am possessed of certain faculties of observation, and have the experiences which come from the fact of my having filled probably more unpaid offices in the University than any person who has resided there. I can also claim that no member of the University has more persistently striven to do service to the University than I have, and I can allege that I see no cause to regret any line of action which I have taken here since 1853, when I first held academical office, to the present day and hour.

The statements which I made are, I submit, quite true. I objected, and I do object, to the practice under which the four lecturers, who may be presumed to have an interest in the subject, are appointed, and are appointed by the examiners. I pointed out what was wrong in the practice, and what were the evils in which the students were likely to be dominant. I made no allusion to the fact that the lecturers were entirely English, and that the examiners were entirely English.

that I thought of them, though they are under the impression that I meant to describe them. I was doing nothing of the kind. I was thinking of a general system, not of particular instances. I should not dream of applying general rules to individual cases. The game is not worth the candle. Of course I know very well that the most cautious generalities offend some people. And I should not on this occasion care to notice the "reply," were it not for certain passages which I cannot leave without rejoinder. Apologies for practices generally answer themselves. So do charges of "inaccurate statements, of sweeping, ill-founded, and often ill-natured criticism." I am perfectly content to leave my reputation as it is, and I am convinced that not four, and not forty, college lecturers can damage it—at least with those whose good-will is worth having. But there are some statements which have to be answered.

In the first place, the summary printed in *italics*, and purporting to be an account of what "are almost my own words," is a travesty of what I wrote. I said, it is true, that the college tutors (or lecturers) boycotted the professors. I never found fault with them for doing so, but with the Commissioners who allowed this to be possible, and then I commented on the tendencies of the system under which college lecturers secure a monopoly of the student's time, and ticket him in examinations where they are dominant. There is all the difference in the world between describing a tendency and alleging a fact. I know absolutely nothing of the historical knowledge possessed by the four lecturers. They may be entirely well-informed and competent for the reverse. I know nothing about this, and I am not likely to know anything about it. I will put my case by a parallel which will, I think, be clear. Let us suppose that two sets of tradesmen were equally and identically licensed by the same authority to carry on the same business in the same town, but that the authority gave one of the sets the sole right to compel customers to use the goods of this one set only. Would it not be fair to predict the consequences of this? The consequence to the other set, to the customers, to the goods? Is it not clear that the other set would be liable to deterioration and that the goods would be appropriated, that the trade might be sensitive, but the system might be analogous to this, and which I have examined, and, if

There are two details

It is no doubt that

examiners is as the

thirteen examinations and forty-six votings. Of these votings thirty were by college tutors or lecturers, sixteen by outsiders. Of the persons appointed, eleven have been college lecturers, six outside examiners. The statement, then, "that the proportion of persons representing the interests of the college teachers has been only as five to nine" is erroneous for the whole period. In 1880 all three were college lecturers. In 1881, in the first examination, one was an outsider, in the second, two were. In 1882 in the first examination, two were outsiders, in the second all three. Now begins the new system. In 1883, there were two outsiders out of four. In 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888 one only was an outsider. In 1889 two were outsiders. Now, let us see how these four lecturers deal with the list. One, they say, is the head of a college, who "is neither tutor nor lecturer in his college." This can only mean Dr. Bright, who was, when he was appointed, lecturer in history in his college. These ferocious critics pass by that fact, by pointing to the present and taking no notice of the past, a somewhat irregular proceeding on the part of history lecturers. "One is the deputy of the Regius Professor." But the *Calendar* informs me that he is a tutor of Christ Church. Another is "a reader of the University." But he is also described in the *Calendar* as a lecturer at Christ Church. Evasions of this kind are unworthy. A college tutor or lecturer may be a Professor or Reader. It used to be said that, when Christ Church was threatened with an Academical reform, it declared itself an Ecclesiastical corporation, when with an Ecclesiastical reform it took shelter under the plea that it was an Academical institution. The lecturers have borrowed the method. It is the device which Bunyan intends to be the character of Mr. Anything or Mr. Facing-both-ways. If I can rely on the *University Calendar* during the seven years, 1883-1889 inclusive, the college lecturers and tutors have been in a majority on the Board of History examiners for five years out of seven.

As regards the outsiders on the several boards, they are precisely the persons who are to be seen engaged. Four of the six are widely known, have contributed to the subject of history, and have a just and high opinion of the right proper to take part in the examinations, a testimonial to the actual working of the system, and a good defence for the appointment of resident examiners. I am commenting on the tendencies of the system, on which I laid stress, that it signifies nothing to a candidate, if the person who examines him is a member of the papers of questions

which I attempted

KING AND MINISTER :

A MIDNIGHT CONVERSATION.

A FEBRUARY evening of the present year. In the capital of a certain kingdom, in two great houses in that capital, in two rooms of those houses, two pillows may be seen inviting to repose. Well may they invite, for the heads that will presently be laid upon them are all a-buzz with a conflict of speculations, dubieties, impulses, which, in the outcome, may have all the importance of a battle in which the fortunes of a nation are engaged. It is near midnight, but the conflict is not over yet in either brain ; this which is the King's, or that which is the Lord Keeper's. Repose is not for either great man yet, even for the night ; and when some thought of rest does interrupt the hurly-burly that goes on in the mind of both, imagination presents to the view of both (in one case mistily, in the other with a more welcome distinctness) a different sort of pillow from that which awaits them at the moment. For it is not the worst of their disturbances that the King and the Minister are in conflict with each other, though it is that which keeps each of them brooding and fuming, resolving, dissolving, and renewing, so late on the evening when they are to "have it out" together in more or less of concord.

The picture of the King, though he is King

young men to remain young till they became too old to profit by the ripening of age. Nowadays, nothing is more common amongst the governing classes ; possibly for the same reason that in effete Bengal the educated young gentleman is often a mine of promise at twenty-one, and exhaustion without results at thirty-three. But whatever the explanation, many a promising young man of our time and race has been ruined, and his whole career turned to mischief, by the gift of perpetual youth ; and not only his own land but all the nations round about will know the difference if this impulsive and self-confident young Sovereign should turn out to be of those who never grow older. There is great anxiety on that point already in many quarters ; but it torments nobody more than the keenest observer in his Court, who is also one of the nearest to him and his Majesty's Prime Minister.

Something in the King's whole appearance favours the direful apprehension that he does belong to the ever youthful, never mature ; though not so much, perhaps, at this moment, when we behold him pondering what course he should take at an eventful turning-point. But even under circumstances that would put the mark of years of sobriety on most figures, there is no settled weight in the look of the King, though there is an abundance of activity in his appearance. Whether he moves restlessly in his great chair, or paces his severely ordered room with military heel, the idea he would convey to a British reader of romance is that the fundamentals of his character resemble those of Sergeant Troy ; though the sergeant's superficial gallantries are replaced in the young monarch by an equipment of the sternest officer-on-duty manners. If his features must be described, as the reader of this veracious sketch no doubt expects, we may again go to romance with advantage. The King bears a strong general resemblance to Mr. Rider Haggard as represented by the engravers, and again to Mr. Kendal as represented by himself. It is not from perversity that greater persons are not chosen for the comparison. None sufficiently like are to be found ; and while these two present the advantage of being generally known, the ideas associated with them serve to carry the resemblance beyond formal features.

Whether moving restlessly in his room, or standing in the room to measures somewhat less rapid than those of a march, the young King is evidently in a state of great nervousness, his doors being

a man the prince may be *au fond*, and what his sense of his natural infirmities. Now in this young prince the conscious ego is a different thing at different times. His estimate of self fluctuates much more widely than he would have anybody else to know for worlds. The self-confident exaltation which never declines when he is in the presence of others, and which he maintains in every word and deed with a determination more feminine than he is aware of, runs down a good deal when his Majesty is off parade and alone. Thus it is that a close observer who, by impossibility, happened to view him from some dark corner to-night, would hardly fail to detect a subtle bracing-up in his whole demeanour whenever he suspected the approach of a footfall from without. The lassitude of limb, the relaxation of the facial muscles which accompany dubiety of mind, are startled away at once; not as by an effort of conscious will, but rather with a habitude of precaution almost as instinctive as that of the flower that closes its petals at the most distant approach of rain. No doubt there is a special reason to account for this exhibition of sensitiveness to-night; for orders have been given that as soon as a certain great person arrives he shall be brought to the King's snuggery without announcement. But even though no one dare approach the door unsummoned, the effect would be much the same. His Majesty is in his downcast mood. The spirit of him unbooted and unhelmed, he neither looks nor is what he was a few hours ago in the midst of a little knot of generals and Ministers, nor as he will look and be a few minutes hence, when the womanish pride, energy, and obstinacy in him are roused to reassert themselves as the very character of the King.

At this moment he is conscious of a weakness—what he feels as weakness, though it is something quite different—which impels him to do two really weak things. He has certain miniatures in a locked case, and a little manuscript book stored away where no hand but his own can touch it. The King takes from a cabinet with that feeling of stealth which we all experience on like occasions, and places them before him. His Majesty is simple by the tradition of his house, and that tradition flows in many domestic particulars; but of course the King is not simple. Magnificent, none ever knew him so.

station, but wherever the young prince went, whosoever he looked into the public journals of his own or other lands, he rarely heard or read anything about the king; so rarely, indeed, that it hardly seemed as if he was the master of his country's destinies at all. A magnificent, an august figure, no doubt; but very little more than a figure. All the world saw and acknowledged that the mind, will, power of the State resided in a subordinate person, not long since a country gentleman. Under the name of Minister, *he* was the great man; uncontrolled and uncontrollable. In the palace itself he was master, as well as in the bureau whence he directed the affairs of the kingdom according to his wisdom and his will. Now the young prince, looking along his line of ancestors while he listened to the everlasting reverberations of the great man's name, perceived that this was a state of things which no reigning member of such a house as his should endure. Studying to put an end to it when his turn came, he provided himself with this little book; and there he entered not only his Thoughts on Government, and his Reflections on the Dignity and Duty of a King, but a series of Vows, each beginning with "I swear," with intent to hold himself to the firm resolve to reign absolute if ever at all. This was done not without a full sense of the tremendous solemnity of the princely oath; and when the hand of a mysterious fate, suddenly put forth, swept clear his path to the throne, it was as if the Power that confers divine right had taken cognisance of pages 117 to 132 of "The Book of the XXVth Blitzenberg." Such is the title of the small but priceless tome which is destined to become one of the most treasured heirlooms of an ancient dynasty.

It was to brace himself up that the King flung open the miniature case, and spread before his eyes those proudly recorded vows. The portraits had not been chosen at random, but for their beauty. They represented an unimpeachable selection of the most masterful of all the Blitzenbergs; and they had been brought together as in a shrine and for the purpose of inspiration. To gaze upon their shrewd and truculent faces was to gain strength and courage that he too was of the demi-gods of his family, and no mean test of all. Therefore the King resorted to the book, and opening his book of vows at the

of vows at the lofty and con-

splendid

huge pipes of tobacco, and filling the smoke with a long succession of past scenes which had become shadowy before their time. He was not a soft man; and of all the human beings on the face of the earth, the last for whom he could have supposed himself capable of tenderness was the owner of his own brain and brawn. In the course of his career, he had imagined many wonderful things that might come to pass; but none so strange as that he should commiserate himself. Yet that he had been brought to do. Not, however, with a melting heart—not at all; but with one that glowed like a peat fire, flameless, intense, but prescient of falling into white ash before long. His cogitations over, a glance at the clock, and wrapping himself in a vast coat with a collar that stood level with his eyes, the Minister strode out to keep his appointment with the King.

Expected and awaited at this precise moment, he was shown without a word or a moment's delay to the place where his youthful Sovereign was still engaged with his admonitory miniatures, and his still more admonitory little book. As soon as the unmistakable foot-fall was heard approaching, these treasures were shuffled away with a haste which hardly befitted their dignity, and up stood the King to receive his much upstanding visitor. Great the contrast between the two men; and since the Minister somehow conveyed to the King at his first step into the room that they met as men, both were aware of the contrast; which, however, the one did not presume upon nor the other yield to.

"Good evening, Prince," said the King, holding out his hand from the place where he stood. "A cold night?"

"A cold night, sir, but warm enough," the other replied, bending over the extended hand with impressive formality, which the woman in the King hardened almost instantly: "Let us be seated," he said.

When his Majesty had taken one chair, the Prince (a country-gentleman-promoted prince he was) took another; and was no sooner well-settled in it than he bent upon the King a look of listening readiness, which yet seemed to signify that he saw his Majesty at a distance.

"Well, you have some things," said the King.

"I have thought of your Majesty."

"But most

"At your Majesty's command," was the response. "I propose to relieve myself from competition with the Herr Professor Struwpelpeter, and the King from a servant who is—what shall we say?"

"Too proud," said the King.

"Too tall!" said the Minister; and at the impulse of the word he rose to the full height of his six feet and a bit.

Both felt that the conversation, even for such hot-heads as they knew each other to be, was going too fast; though a moment afterwards neither regretted an exclamation which cleared up a good deal at a stroke. Uttered by the one and accepted by the other, that "too tall" established an understanding of the main point of difference between them that eased both when the first shock was over.

"Sit down, Prince," said the King, after an interchange of looks which gradually softened in either countenance from something like fierceness. "Your abruptness is terrifying; and I suppose all my nerve is needed for what you have got to say."

The Prince resumed his seat heavily.

"Whether too tall or not, I understand that my Minister-in-chief proposes to leave me unless I give up a certain course which I have determined on."

"Unfortunately, there is no question of unless. By which I mean," he hastened to add, for he saw himself misunderstood, "that your Majesty has closed the door of 'unless.' Since you have sounded this determination in the ears of half the Court you will not give it up though you burn for it."

Now it was the King's turn to rise to his feet, and it happened that in doing so he clapped his hand into his jacket-pocket and closed it on the little book.

"Prince," he said, "your freedoms of speech are really amazing. And I may as well tell you plainly that this, however, is not what he was going to add)—that in one respect you are right. You are not far wrong, certainly. I have been reflecting of a thousand things, too; and I do not intend to give opinions. I am the King; I know my own mind; I am not a dummy lord, but king, father, brother, master."

"Excellent. But

ten thousand men equally nameless on some other fields that you have heard of. What!" (The King looked down at this). "Is it unknown that I am a bit of a democrat too—so much, at any rate, as to maintain what I have just said?"

"Well, and the rest?"

"I repeat, then, that your Majesty's resolution to be king, counselor, father, brother, master is admirable. But if on the grounds of presumption which I have named I might add a word to my heart-born commendation, it would be this: the wherewithal?"

"Prince, this is mere insult," said the King; and he said it very proudly.

"Sir, I am your friend to the smallest bone in this finger. And now let me speak in a straightforward way. To-night we are here together—I'll take no more liberties than duty enjoins—on a footing that is not likely to be repeated. For the moment you are not the King and I am not your Minister. We are citizens of one country, with an equal solicitude for its welfare. There will be so much more distance and ceremony between us after to-night—that of course is already understood—that we will do without it altogether till I pass through that door again."

The King said nothing, but looked troubled and gloomy. It was one thing to make up his mind at more heroic moments (which, to be sure, reckoned about fifty-five to the minute taking every day through), that his great Minister might go if he pleased, but quite another to hear him talking as if he had already gone.

"His Majesty, sir," the Prince continued, after settling himself in his chair, "has made some irreparable mistakes—mistakes loaded with mischief and absolutely irretrievable. God help us! And he has made one grave miscalculation."

"He has heard of the mistakes already, I think; but what of the miscalculation?"

"Well, possibly I am in error here. But I fancy he assumed that nothing would induce the Lord Keeper to give up his lofty and powerful position in the State. The arrogant man might talk of it, but after playing some of his standing tricks, and rolling, determining, dictating, he could never be

rather than endure to be pointed at as practically turned off and dispensed with. That was the miscalculation."

"In effect, after a certain conversation to-day, he has resolved to resign his offices."

"Definitely; after consideration of all that has happened since his Majesty's reign began."

"Because in one department of government his master, who sees with younger and clearer eyes, means to have his own way."

"One department? Because in every department his master means to have his own way, cannot be prevented by any power in the State——"

"And never shall while I live."

"—— and neither can be dissuaded, I do not say by men who know the business better, but by the repeated perpetration of palpable error."

"Such as in your judgment he is about to ^{take} ^{now}."

"Such as was committed when those tour^{ing} ^{about} Europe were undertaken—good God, when I think of them!—and what not since, down to this proceeding; which is at the same time dangerous and ridiculous. Your pardon, sir—ridiculous! Publish those decrees, and there will be a smile on the face of every statesman in Europe."

"Except that of the great man here who has had nothing to do with them."

"It would be well if that were the only ^{reception}. Add also, that of every statesman in the Alliance. His Majesty takes short views. He does not think of these things, apparently. There is a lack of imagination in his abundance of romance; and what there is dwells about his own person. If he could extend it beyond these precincts, send it out to Russia in one direction, to France in another, to Italy, to Austria, he would see in a moment how ^{foes} and friends will look when they read these wild rescripts, which the Lord Keeper refuses to sign."

"But which I presume he will not ^{sign}."

Taking no notice of the inter^{ruption}, the Minister proceeded.

"Re^{gard} ^{the} aid ^{the} first look, in every ^{the} Sovereign of this ^{and} patron of

"In effect, however, the king's motives are of small importance to his neighbours; whose stacks are likely to burn just as freely, however deep the calculation with which he fires his homestead. Possibly they may reflect that his Majesty either knows or does not know that nothing but a straw-yard connects farm and farm; and that if he does know, as must be presumed from his conditions and position, it is a little too much that he should start his politico-philosophical bonfires without previous consultation with them. It is said that his Majesty stands well with none of his neighbours; that since he paid a round of visits some time ago they have been holding off from him in alarmed curiosity; and he may depend upon it, that one of them at least, up in the north and down by the east, will begin to look upon him as a public incendiary at this rate—even too dangerous to be let alone, perhaps. As it is, Alexander never goes abroad without kicking up sparks from the combustibles that strew his domain; and if he fears a further communication of fire, he will not be much appeased by the arguments of Professor Struwelpeter. His Majesty thinks that a matter of indifference; he may be assured that it is no trifle."

"But have I not heard that in the Lord Keeper's opinion nothing will set Alexander in movement for years to come?"

"Three answers to that. The Lord Keeper did not foresee the unimaginable; he could not have meant that Alexander would not move with a fire under his bed; and of course he did not mean abstention from diplomatic movement, which it is possible to stimulate as well as to paralyse. But let us take a broader view of what the King is about to do, and from which nothing on this earth will dissuade him. He has said the word, and to withdraw it would expose him to shame as afraid of his Minister. Friends and foes alike will look amazed and alarmed when those decrees are published; but while gravity will remain on the faces of the one—the friends, I mean; the allies—you shall see a smile succeeding on the faces of the others: what the novel-writers would call 'a peculiar smile.'"

It was not a smile that passed over the Prince's countenance as he said this, but a look of veritable anguish, wind-swept by another that was sheer ferocity. It is significant that the King viewed this betrayal of emotion with pleasure.

"For of course," the Prince continued, "our enemies will find in these Randolphian vagaries of the King's (your Majesty is a student of English politics, and we have talked of that young man)—our enemies will find in these truly Randolphian vagaries much that is pleasing as well as much to make them uneasy. They are a sign. It does not follow as a matter of necessity that the disturbances that are being hatched here will flow over the border much, or will damage them very considerably; and how delightful the prospect of

seeing this bully kingdom (an excellent American word) thrown into distraction by its own rulers before it is well settled on its foundations. I see Alexander's head-clerk grin in anticipation of the fun. And is that all?"

"Are you waiting for me to give you an answer to the question?"

"I wish to Heaven that you *would* give the answer: I should then have a better belief that the King has a glimmering perception of what he is about, and I should be relieved of the delicate duty of answering the question myself."

"Your delicacy is always understood, Prince, and this evening it is particularly impressive."

"Impressive I mean to be, if I can. Well then, it is *not* all. Give me a glass from the cask, and I will tell you what is in it to the bottom. 'There is more where this comes from,' says Alexander's head clerk to Alexander. 'I had some conversation with the brewer a little while since,' says Alexander to his head clerk——"

The King flushed with mortification and wrath. "If I may make so bold," said he, "I will ask you to halt there."

"You shall hear me, sir; and if you do not pardon my bitterness now, you will when you share it. In plain words, the conclusion that must be drawn from these proceedings is that this country is no longer in wise hands, no longer in steady hands, or safe. It is in the hands of heady, romantic and confident impulsiveness, capable of incalculable turns and surprises, and of committing itself in a moment to enormous error. So much is suspected already; from to-morrow it will be impossible to doubt it. The King knows well, or should know, that his allies are less happy and less confident in their bargain than they were only two years ago. How will they look when they see a firm prospect of stability fading into the confusion of uncertainties that will rise to view when these wonderful socialist plans come out? And by just as much as our allies decline into their boots, our enemies will lift their heads and laugh. And is *that* all? We have been looking abroad so far, what if we look at home?"

"Precisely; let us look at home."

"We are in partnership here too."

"I think not."

"It is natural for some of us to forget it, but others will be reminded of the fact when the curtain goes up on these theatricals. First, our friends abroad; secondly, our foes abroad. True, these last have hitherto given the partnership a ridiculously important place in their calculations, seeing possibilities of a break-up of the federal kingdom where or when they were invisible. But now there is a thirdly; or there soon will be. The partnership will be brought home rather sharply to the chiefs of every once-independent State in the Confederation; and their people are their people, with no particular love

for Blitzenbergers. That, however, will be of no importance if, during the progress of events about to be started, uneasiness does not become resentment, and resentment rebellion."

"Bugbear!" the King exclaimed, reaching forth his hand to the sword that was always to be found on him or near him, and tapping it proudly. "That bogey is unworthy of its parentage, Prince. That is what I complain of: you would treat me like a boy."

"Boy you are," beamed from the Minister's eyes; "are and ever will be!" But with an extraordinary effort of politeness he refrained from putting his reflection into words.

"Yet it is something to loosen the bonds of unity," he said. "A good deal of blood was spilt to make the glue."

"And his shall be spilt who moves a step or who utters a word to dissolve those bonds."

These words were spoken with an immensity of pride and resolution; but it was an untoward speech, and the moment it was uttered the King burnt with confusion and chagrin. But the Prince was generous, and murmured "*absit omen*" under his breath. Nevertheless, he fell forthwith into a speaking silence, not completely diplomatic but only partially so. For, as a matter of fact, there did arise to the inward eyes of him a tragic scene that had passed before them more than once within the last few days; and again it enthralled the attention of a mind which, being that of a truly great statesman, was in the highest degree imaginative: a different thing from being fanciful. Now we all know the absorption that irresistibly challenges curiosity; and the last words spoken between these two personages gave meaning to the dead silence of the elder man. It troubled the younger one more than he would have liked to acknowledge; and after a little while he said, in spite of himself: "And now, perhaps, you have come to an end, Prince, unless you are thinking——"

"Not quite to the end; but first you shall know, sir, what I was thinking at the moment," replied the Minister, as if slowly emerging from a painful reverie. "The reflection occurred to me, assisted by a pictorial illustration spread before my mental vision, that Revolution cannot always be so nicely managed, so successfully fed, schooled and disciplined, as not to go mad and murder its best friends. There is historical authority for the doubt, and I hope his Majesty has not neglected to pass it in review."

Now the King began to pace the room with violent strides, crying, "Croaker! Croaker! Why, what a poor old song! Words and music by Metternich! And sung to me! A. Blitzenberg! Blitzenberg in blood and bone, hand and brain!"

At these exclamations the Minister groaned in spirit. "Great Heaven," said he within himself, "and it was for this that his father

died!" Then for the King's ears he muttered in a low tone of rumination: "Metternich! Metternich!" Then aloud, as he rose to take his cap for departure, "You remind me, sir, that I have my last word to say, and it is this: I would have his Majesty believe that he cannot thrust off the Chancellor of this realm, publicly belittle and supersede him, without consequences. The most perfect and even the most well-founded confidence in a superior sagacity and strength would not justify his doing so; for though the superiority may exist—as, perhaps, we shall presently see—not a soul in this country or beyond this country believes in it."

"No?" said the King, lifting his head haughtily.

"No; and what is more, sir, has no reason to believe in it! And let me add that the service of the State must suffer in every part when it is understood that the faithfullest, highest, best-proved servants of the common country are subject to the stroke of the vermillion pencil—borrowed from China. And now, with your Majesty's permission, I will take leave."

"You have been very candid, as you ever are," said the King, taking a tight hold of the little book in his pocket; "and now, perhaps, you will listen to a few plain words from me. Prince," and here his Majesty drew himself up and faced his Minister loftily, "you are a great man, and the utmost gratitude is due to one who has so faithfully served my House. I acknowledge in you a great historical personage; but—you are history!"

"Your Majesty is reported to have said the same thing last week in precisely the same words. I heard of it at the time."

"And I hope it did not make you angry. Now listen. I am the king; I am master; I am the New Time! You do not see with my eyes, nor do I see with yours; not, at any rate, in these matters that we have been discussing lately. If you cannot follow me in them, do not expect me to turn back with you. Where you see rashness and folly, and even, I understand, destruction, I see nothing but bold and audacious wisdom, and the makings of a more splendid future upon what—thanks very much to you, no doubt—is a noble past. It is a new age! My empire is in its youth! I am in my youth, and I will be its leader! From of old, my people and its kings have been one; and they shall be one again, with no intermediary whatsoever. Understand that well! As for my present plans——"

"May I ask the date of them?"

"From my very boyhood——"

"Your pardon, sir. The date of these plans for wrapping wolves in fleeces, and leading them with pipe and tabor to crop the green herb with your Majesty's muttons? How many days old are they, these plans? Give them their right name: they are impulses."

"If you please. Any way, there is a voice that tells me that the

genius and courage of my House is in them, and they shall be pursued! Why, even where you see danger I see safety—power! The Head and Hope of the peoples is the master of Europe!”

The Prince did not often blench, but he blenched at this. “Permit me to understand,” he said, as the King turned proudly on his heel to take another turn across the room, “The head and hope of the peoples is the master of Europe! The peoples!”

The King laughed aloud, but rather nervously. “Why yes, my wise old counsellor. Read the signs of the times, and understand that such an one, if he stands in shoes like mine, will have a garrison in every nation round about him, whether friendly or hostile. What now?”

“Struwelpeter again! A friendly garrison in every foreign slum! What an inspiration! If I am not deceived, then, I dimly see before me a Napoleon of Anarchy! I fancied the rôle undesigned; but——Sir, permit me to say good-night.”

The Minister moved toward the door impetuously; but the King, who was nearer to it, intervened, standing silent, and at once wrathful and embarrassed. At length he said, “And you?”

“My business is to prepare the way for my successor in your Majesty’s service. Possibly some delay may be unavoidable, or even judicious. But I hope I may rely upon your goodness to release me, completely, as soon as may be.”

“That we must think about,” said the King, with majesty. “Meanwhile, silence, Prince, of course.”

“Certainly. Yet no one must be allowed to imagine that I share your Majesty’s confidence in these *idées Napoléoniennes*.”

The King bowed, the Minister bowed, and this midnight conversation came to an end.

As the Prince descended the stair with heavy tread, as heavily went the King to gaze again upon the portraits of the indomitable three. But, somehow, the sympathy of kindred soul that beamed from them at most times seemed checked; and the King was not quite himself again till next morning, when there was a review.

THE DISCOVERY OF COAL NEAR DOVER.

THE discovery of coal near Dover is one of those events which mark a new era in our industrial development, and which promises, in the not very remote future, to effect the same changes in south-eastern England as those which have been caused by similar discoveries in France and Belgium in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The story of the discovery is full of interest, not merely from the commercial point of view. It is the story of a scientific idea originated many years ago, taking root in the minds of geologists, developed into theory, and ultimately verified by facts. It offers a striking example of the relation of faith to works in the scientific world. The faith has been proved by experiment to be true, and the works necessary for the proof would not have been carried out without the faith. The idea, which when first started was in advance of the evidence, has been the centre round which the facts have clustered, until, from the standpoint of to-day, it appears almost as the result of a strict and rigid induction, without any trace of "scientific imagination," or *a priori* argument.

The physical identity of the coal-bearing districts of Somerset on the west, with those of Northern France and Belgium on the east, was fully recognised by Buckland and Conybeare, as far back as 1826, as well as the fact that the coal-measures lie buried partially under the newer rocks. It was, however, not until twenty-nine years later that the idea of the buried coal-fields was advanced by Godwin-Austen, in a memorable paper, read before the Geological Society of London, "On the Possible Extension of the Coal-measures beneath the South-eastern Part of England." * He pointed out that the coal-seams are

* *Quarterly Journal Geological Society*, London, 1856, xii. p. 38.

vegetable accumulations, on flat alluvial marshes, close to the water-line, and extending over a vast area, and that at the close of the carboniferous age these coal-bearing alluvia were thrown into a series of folds, the upper portion of which have, for the most part, been removed by the destructive action of sub-aërial agents, and by the dash of the waves on the shore line, and lastly that most of the present coal-fields are the lower portions (synclines) of the original curves, which have been preserved by their position from the operation of the above-named destructive forces. Great lines of smashing also and dislocation were developed at the end of the carboniferous period, and the destruction of the upper curves of the folded rocks was effected before the deposit of the newer strata. He then proceeded to shew that the general direction of the exposed coal-fields in South Wales, and in Somersetshire on the west, and of the Belgian and North French coal-fields on the east, was ruled by a series of folds running east and west, parallel to a great line of disturbance, centred in the ridge, or "axis of Artois," from the south of Ireland, through South Wales and North Somerset into Westphalia. Throughout this area the exposed coal-fields lie in long, narrow, east and west troughs. Then the series of faulted and folded carboniferous and older rocks, constituting the "axis of Artois," formed a barrier, which gradually sank beneath the sea of the Triassic, Liassic, Oolitic, and Cretaceous ages. Against this the strata of the three first-named ages gradually thin off, while in France and Belgium the coal-measures and the older rocks of the ridge have been repeatedly struck, and are now being worked immediately beneath the Cretaceous strata, over very wide areas. The folded coal-fields, moreover, along this line, are of the same mineral character, and the pre-carboniferous rocks are the same in Somersetshire and on the Continent. This ridge or barrier also, where it is concealed by the newer rocks, is marked by the arch-like fold (anticlinal) of the chalk of Wiltshire, and by the line of the North Downs in Surrey and Kent. Godwin-Austen finally concluded, from all these observations, that there are coal-fields beneath the Oolitic and Cretaceous rocks in the south of England, and that they are near enough to the surface along the line of the ridge to be capable of being worked. He mentioned the Thames Valley and the Weald of Kent and Sussex as possible places where they might be discovered.

These strikingly original views gradually made their way, and in the next eleven years became part of the general body of geological theory. They were, however, not accepted by Sir Roderick Murchison, the then head of the Geological Survey, who maintained to the last that there were no valuable coal-fields in South-eastern England.

The next stage in the development of the question is that which is marked by the Coal Commission of 1866-71, before whom Godwin-

Austen gave evidence. Prestwich was one of the commissioners, and to him we are indebted for an elaborate report, in which he gives all the evidence for and against the existence of the buried coal-fields. He fortified the views of Godwin-Austen by a large series of observations, and finally concluded that coal-fields of the same kind and value as those of Somerset, and of North France and Belgium, do exist underneath the newer rocks of the south of England, and that the very same coal-measures which disappear in the west under the newer rocks of Somerset, reappear in the east from underneath the newer rocks of the Continent along the line of the ridge, or "axis of Artois." These, however, do not consist of a continuous band of coal-producing rocks, but are a chain of long, narrow, and isolated coal-troughs, ranging eastward from Somerset, and with their position so concealed beneath the newer rocks, that it can only be ascertained by actual experiment. The publication of this report contributed largely to the solution of the question, which, up to this time, had been merely treated as a matter of opinion, by helping it onward towards the experimental stage.

This report was published in 1871, and in the following year the Sub-Wealden Exploration Committee was organised, by Mr. Henry Willett,* to test the question of the existence of the carboniferous, and pre-carboniferous rocks in the Wealden area, by an experimental boring. The site chosen was Netherfield, about three miles south of Battle in Sussex, where the lowest rocks of the Wealden formation constitute the bottom of the valley. It was resolved to go down as far as the rocks in question, which were thought to be about 1000 feet below, or to carry the boring down to at least 2000 feet, if they were not struck before. The work was carried on under considerable difficulties, until, in 1875, it had to be abandoned, on account of the breakage of many hundred feet of cast-iron lining-pipes, and the loss of the boring tool at the bottom of the hole. The rocks penetrated were as follows:—

SECTION AT NETHERFIELD.

Purbeck Strata	200 feet
Portland Strata	57 "
Kimmeridge Clay. . . .	1073 "
Corallian Strata	515 "
Oxford Clay	60 "
	— —
	1905 ,,

This boring showed that the eroded surface of the coal-measures and older rocks were, in that region, more than nineteen hundred feet from the surface of the ground. We may also infer, from the fact of

* The Committee consisted of Profs. Ramsey, Warrington Smyth, and Phillips, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Philip Egerton, and Messrs. Thomas Hawksley, Prestwich, Bristow, Etheridge, Boyd Dawkins, Topley, and Willett.

the bottom of the bore-hole being in the Oxford clay, and from the known thickness of the Bath oolitic strata in the nearest places, that it lies buried beneath considerably more than two thousand feet of newer rocks. With this valuable, though negative, result, obtained at a cost of £6275, the Sub-Wealden Exploration came to an end. It was a purely scientific inquiry paid for by subscription, and largely supported by those who had no pecuniary interest in the result. Had it been a success, the large landowners in the neighbourhood, who, for the most part, left the risk of the experiment to outsiders, would have stepped into the full enjoyment of the results. The chestnuts would have been out of the fire, without their paws having been so much as warmed, at the expense of those of the cat.

The experience of the boring at Netherfield showed that the search for the coal-measures and older rocks, of Godwin-Austen's ridge, would have to be carried out at some spot further to the north, in the direction of the North Downs. In the district of Battle the Oolitic rocks were proved to be more than 1700 feet thick, and the great and increasing thickness of the successive rocks of the Wealden formation above them, which form the surface of the ground between Netherfield and the North Downs, rendered it undesirable to repeat the experiment within the Wealden area proper, where the Wealden rocks presented a total thickness of more than 1000 feet, in addition to that of the Oolites. My attention, therefore, was directed to the line along the North Downs, where Godwin-Austen believed that the Wealden beds abruptly terminated against the ridge of coal-measures and older rocks, and where, therefore, there would be a greater chance of success.

For the next eleven years the problem remained as it had been left by the boring at Netherfield. In the area of London, however, evidence was being collected in various sinkings for water, through the London clay and chalk rocks, that proved the existence of the ridge in question, which there happened to consist of Silurian strata and old Red Sandstone, at depths varying from about 800 feet at Ware, to 1289 feet at Richmond. Here, too, there were no Wealden Strata, and the Oolites at their thickest were not more than 87 feet. The rocks, moreover, which composed the ridge, were inclined at a high angle, as in the case of similar rocks underlying the coal-fields of Somerset, and of Northern France and Belgium, and this implied the existence of troughs of coal-measures in the synclinal folds in neighbouring areas. It was therefore obvious that the line of the North Downs was a desirable region for a second experiment.

I come now to the last experiment which has been so fortunately crowned with success. In 1886* I presented a report to Sir Edward W.

* Since this was written my attention has been drawn to the fact that in the same year Whitaker indicated Dover as a likely site for a trial, in a paper read before the Geological Society of London.

Watkin, Chairman of the South-Eastern Railway, and the Channel Tunnel Company, on the general question, and recommended on both scientific and commercial grounds that a boring should be made in south-east Kent, in the neighbourhood of Dover, and that the Channel Tunnel works, now so unfortunately suspended, offered the best site for the trial. It was almost within sight of Calais, where the coal-measures had been proved at a depth of 1104 feet. It was also not more than six miles to the south of a spot where about four hundred-weight of bituminous material was found imbedded in the chalk, in making a tunnel, which, according to Godwin-Austen, had been derived from the coal-measures below. Prestwich also had pointed out, in 1873, in dealing with the question of a tunnel between England and France, that the older rocks were within such easy reach at Dover that they could be utilised for the making of a submarine tunnel. Sir Edward Watkin acted with his usual energy on my report, and the work was begun in 1886, and has been carried on down to the present time, under my advice, and at the expense of the Channel Tunnel Company. The boring operations have been under the direction of Mr. F. Brady, the chief engineer of the South-Eastern Railway, to whose ability we owe the completion of the work to its present point, under very difficult circumstances.

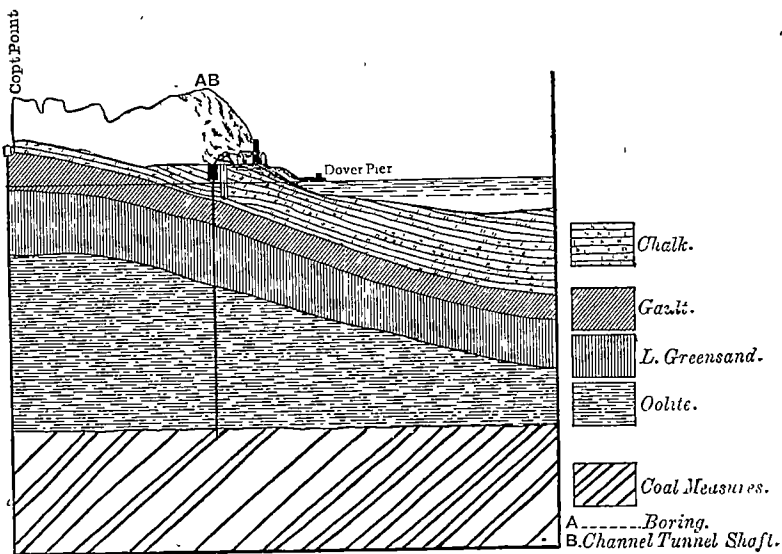


FIG 1.—Section of the Strata in Boring at Shakespeare Cliff, Dover.

A shaft has been sunk (A of Fig. 1) on the west side of Shakespeare Cliff, close to the shaft of the Channel Tunnel (B) to a depth of 44 feet, and from the bottom of this a bore-hole has been made to a depth of 1180 feet. The rocks penetrated are as follows:—

SECTION AT SHAKESPEARE CLIFF, DOVER.

Lower grey chalk and chalk marl	} 500 ft.
Glauconitic marl	
Gault	
Neocomian or lower greensand	
Portland strata	} 660 "
Kimmeridge clay	
Corallian rocks	
Oxford clay	
Kelloway rock	} 20 "
Bathonian or lower Oolites	
Coal-measures consisting of sandstones, claystones, shales, and underclays, with coal	

The coal-measures were struck at a depth of 1204 feet from the surface, and a seam of good blazing coal was met with 20 feet lower.

This discovery establishes the fact that, at a depth of about 1204 feet from the surface, there is a coal-field lying buried under the newer deposits of south-eastern England, and proves up to the hilt the truth of Godwin-Austen's hypothesis after a lapse of thirty-five years. The question is finally settled so far as the purely geological and scientific side of it goes. It is, however, too soon, while the works are still in progress, to estimate the commercial value of the discovery, the number of the seams, or the total thickness of the coal underneath the Shakespeare Cliff. Nor can the extent of the buried coal-fields be ascertained without many other similar trials in other places. There are, however, ample grounds for the belief that it is of vast importance from the value of the Belgian and North French coal-fields on the eastern, and those of Somerset and South Wales to the western end of the buried ridge of carboniferous and older rocks.

A series of great coal-fields extends, as may be seen in Godwin-Austen's map in the Coal Commission Report, from Westphalia in a westerly direction. They are, as Prestwich writes :

"Deep, long, and narrow, and their long axes succeed one another in the same line of strike. Omitting a few small unimportant coal-basins, the most easterly of the great coal-fields is known as that of the Ruhr, the second as that of Aix-la-Chapelle, the third as that of Liège, and the fourth as that of Charleroi, Mons, and Valenciennes. In all these districts the coal-measures are tilted-up or faulted on the south against the mountain limestone and older rocks, and pass northward under the newer strata, beneath which they are prolonged until thrown out by other undulations of the older rocks. The width, north and south, of these coal-fields is always small compared to their length. Thus the coal-fields of Liège is only three to eight miles wide, whereas it has a length of forty-five miles. So the exposed coal-fields from Namur to Charleroi is thirty-three miles long; it then passes under the cretaceous and tertiary strata, and is prolonged, with a few small exposures, underground to Mons and thence to Valenciennes. The length of this other portion of the coal-field is thirty-two miles, making a total of sixty-five miles,

with a width near Namur of two miles, increasing to seven or eight miles near Charleroi, and continued in France with a width of from six to seven miles."

The enormous value of the Valenciennes coal-field during the last one hundred years gave rise to numerous borings being made through the chalk and Tertiary strata, by which it has been proved to range past Douai and Bethune as far to the west as Aire, and within thirty miles of Calais. Between Bethune and Aire it is less than one mile in width. The discovery of coal-measures in sinking a well at Calais, at a depth of 1104 feet (see Fig. 2), revealed the presence of a fifth

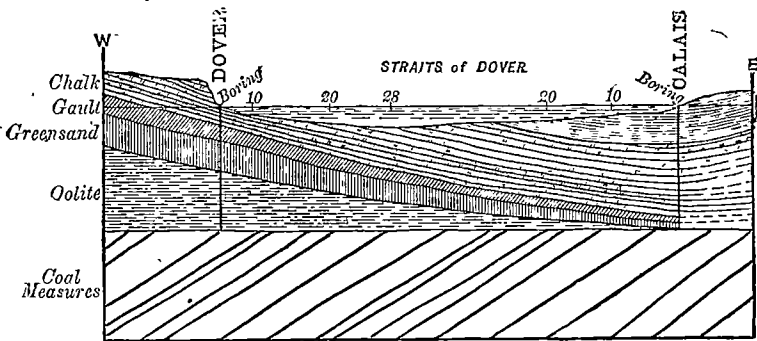


FIG. 2.—Section showing the probable range of the Coal-measures from Dover to Calais.

coal-field setting in along the same line of strike, and making straight for Dover under the Channel. It is, in my opinion, part of the Dover coal-field.

It remains to extend the Belgian and French coal measures still further to the west under southern England, by trial borings, by which they have been tracked through more than two departments in France. They will, in my belief, ultimately be proved to form a chain of isolated fields, extending from Dover to Somerset.

Nor can there be any doubt as to the value of these coal-fields, when the value of Westphalian, Belgian, and French coal-fields is taken into account. The Westphalian field is 7218 feet thick, with 117 seams, yielding 294 feet of workable coal. That of Liège is 7600 feet, with 85 seams, and about 212 feet of workable coal. That of Mons 9400, with 110 seams and 250 feet of valuable coal. In Somersetshire the coal-measures are 8400 feet thick, with 55 seams, yielding 98 feet of workable coal, and in South Wales 1100 feet, with 75 seams and 120 feet of available coal. These coalfields may reasonably be taken to indicate the value of those which await the explorer in southern England.

Are they, however, it may be asked, within the depths at which mining can be carried on at profit? They occur at Dover at 1204 feet

from the surface, and at Calais at 1104, and further to the west, between Dover and London, may be expected to be at the same depth as the Old Red Sandstone under London, or at about 1100 feet. This depth is well within the limits of practical mining. Most of the important coal-pits in this country are worked at a much greater depth than this, and range to over 2800 feet. In Belgium one pit at Charleroi is worked to a depth of 3412 feet. Year by year, as the means of ventilation are improved, they are being pushed deeper. The coal commissioners fix the limit at 4000 feet because the temperature of the rock at that depth is about 98°, or blood-heat, at which work becomes so difficult as to be almost impossible. The temperature, however, of the air in the workings can be regulated by the expansion of compressed air, which, at the point of escape, lowers the surrounding air to freezing point. With this system of ventilation the only limit to depth is that of expense.

From these considerations it is obvious that a large addition to the supply of coal may reasonably be expected from southern England.

The discovery of these hidden coal-fields is a question of national importance, well worthy of the attention of Parliament. It is closely connected with the question of royalties, which is now being considered by a Royal Commission. As the law stands at present, if the search for coal be successful, the neighbouring landowners, who may or may not have contributed to the experiment, are masters of the situation, because they can charge what royalties they like. They can also use the knowledge, obtained by a successful venture, to guide them to sink pits of their own, without any acknowledgment to those who have paid for the venture. This serious difficulty in the way of developing the coal-fields may, in my opinion, be met without interference with the law of private property, by a small royalty being paid to the original adventurers on all coal raised within a certain specified distance of the successful boring and for a specified term of years. Or, on the other hand, the Government might itself take the necessary exploration in hand, and repay itself by a charge, levied on the coal brought to the surface. Or lastly, the landowners in a given district might band together to have the experiment carried out at their own expense.

It cannot reasonably be expected that many such enterprises as this, which has been so energetically pushed by Sir Edward Watkin, will be carried on under the present condition of the law as to minerals. At present all the advantages go to the landowners, and all the risks to the adventurers. Looking at the magnitude of the interests involved in this matter it is undoubtedly deserving of special legislation. In France the minerals belong to the State, and every encouragement is given to private enterprise, with the net result that wealthy centres of

mining have been established in the northern departments which otherwise would have remained purely agricultural. By a system of concessions the mines have been developed, during the last hundred years, further and further to the west and to within thirty miles of Calais. We may well ask why, till this boring by Sir Edward Watkin, enterprise should have stopped short on the Calais shore? The reason is clear. It is the present state of our laws that has caused us to be at least a century behind our neighbours in this work, and that has delayed the realisation of Godwin-Austen's idea for at least thirty-five years. It is this that has stood in the way of establishing busy centres of industry in places where a few farmers and labourers gain a precarious livelihood, and has prevented the garden of England, as it is sometimes called, from being studded with manufactories. If a man is considered a benefactor to the human race who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, how much more is it good for the common weal to find a new outlet for our ever increasing population within our own borders, by the development of these hidden treasures? I for one do not despair of the time when Dover and Folkestone will become even as Cardiff now is, and when towns like Liège, Valenciennes, and Mons will spring up in the quiet, beautiful, southern counties. The Weald, from the days of the Romans down to the time of Elizabeth, was an important iron-producing region in this country, and old forges, and iron mines, and vast heaps of refuse, still arrest the attention of the antiquary. It will be a strange, though not improbable, freak of fortune, if the iron industry, which was driven away from south-eastern England by the want of fuel, should be again restored to it by the discovery of the buried coal-field at Dover.

W. BOYD DAWKINS.

THE NEW WATCHWORDS OF FICTION.

A LITTLE circle of influential writers for the Press are doing their best to persuade the public that "the critical orthodoxies" of the day are opposed to all forms of idealism in literature, that "romanticism" is a "backwater," and that the "stream of tendency" is towards a newer and purer "realism." Now, I feel very strongly that this is utterly untrue, and that somebody should say so with all the emphasis he can command, and thereby warn the public against an error that must be fatal to the making of good literature, the appreciation of good literature, and the moral effects of good literature wherever it gains credence and support. But first let me say what I take these two words "realism" and "idealism" to mean when applied to the literature that we call imaginative. I take realism to mean the doctrine of the importance of the real facts of life, and idealism the doctrine of the superiority of ideal existence over the facts of life. I am not a logician, and may lack skill in stating my definitions, but I think plain people will grasp my plain meaning.

Long ago M. Zola put forth a sort of manifesto in support of the writings of the brothers De Goncourt, and, as nearly as I can remember it, he therein told the world that the school to which they belonged had set out with one clear aim, and one only, that of reproducing actual life. No romance, no poetry, no uncommon incidents, no effects, no situations were to be touched by them. These things had been the machinery of an earlier school of writers, of Dumas and Hugo and Sue. Only the plain, unvarnished, naked, stark fact was to be employed, and with such materials they were going to produce results that should be beyond comparison more potent than any results of romanticism in their influence on man and the world. Well, we know what the end of it has been; but I am not going to discuss

Zolaism in its effects. Clean-minded people are weary of the talk of it, and I grieve to see that a writer of pure and noble instincts, Thomas Hardy, in his recent protest against the painful narrowness of English fiction, has been betrayed into prescribing a remedy for the evil that is a thousand times worse than the disease. One frequent reply to the plea of the French realist is that in his determination to paint the world as it is he has only painted the world's cesspools. And indeed it is a sufficient answer to say that, though there may be many *Madame Bovarys* in the world, the *Madame Bovarys* are not the women whom right-minded people want to know more about, and that though the world holds many harlots, we do not wish to look down into the deep pit that is a harlot's heart. But there is a better rejoinder to the demand of the realist that he should be allowed to paint the world as it is, and that is that he never can—no, not if he were a thousand times a Balzac. And in attempting to do so he is not only missing the real aim of true literature, but running a fearful risk of following a false literature that can never do the world any good.

What I mean is this: the largest view that any one man can take of life "as it is" usually shows him more that is evil than good. The physical eye sees, must see, and always has seen, an enormous preponderance of evil in the world. It is only the eye of imagination, the eye of faith, that sees the balance of good and evil struck somewhere and in some way. And if the physical eye in its pride goes abroad to believe only what it can see, it comes home either blurred with tears, as Carlyle's was when he asked himself what God could be doing in the world he had made for man, or shining with ridicule, as Voltaire's was when he protested that there was no God in the rascally world at all. For the former of these there is the salvation of faith always hovering near, but the latter is by much the more likely chance, and for that there is no salvation whatever. It brings cynicism with it, and cynicism is the deadliest enemy that good literature ever had or can have.

Now this is the real pitfall of realism—cynicism. It never has, and never will, lay hold of an imaginative mind, for imagination and cynicism cannot live together, and no man of imagination ever was or will be a cynic. But it possesses, like a passion, another type of mind that none can dare to undervalue, a type of mind that is often stronger than the imaginative mind and always more trustworthy on the lesser issues of life. And it is an evil thing in literature, because it leads to nothing. It prompts no man to noble deeds, it restrains no woman from impurity, it degrades the virtues by taking all the unselfishness out of them that is their spiritual part. So when we hear the realist boast that he is painting "life as it is," it will be a sufficient answer to say that he is talking nonsense; but we can add

with truth that, if it were possible for him to paint the world as he sees it, the chances are that he would thereby be doing the world much harm.

The true consort of imagination is enthusiasm, the man of imagination has never lived who was not also an enthusiast, and enthusiasm is the only force that has ever done any good in the world since the world began. It is the salt of the earth, the salt without which the earth would rot, and when things rot they stink. We see how surely it has been so with French fiction, which, for twenty years past, has been the least imaginative fiction produced in Europe. It has no salt of enthusiasm in it, and so it rots and stinks. It is cynical, and so it does the world no good. But enthusiasm, living with imagination in the hearts of great men, has again and again set the world aflame, and purified as well as ennobled every nature it has touched, save only the natures that were touched already with fanaticism.

And this enthusiasm, which cannot live at peace with realism, lives and flourishes with idealism. It seems to say, "If we cannot paint the world as it is, we can paint it as it should be," and that is idealism. Don't say the idealist, by my own showing, starts from nowhere. He starts from exactly the same scene as the realist, the scene of daily life, and with the same touch of mother earth, only he realizes that the little bit of life that has come under his physical eye is only a disproportionate fragment of the whole, and the eye of imagination tells him of the rest. If he sees the wicked prosper in this life, he does not content himself with a mere picture of the wicked man's material prosperity, leaving his reader to cry "If this is true, what is God doing?" No; but he shows side by side with the material prosperity a moral degradation so abject and so pitiful, that the reader must rather cry, "Not that, not that at any price!" Thus he shows the man who has failed, as the world goes, that to have succeeded might have been a worse fate, and he reminds the man who has won in life's battle that the man who has lost may yet be his master. Lifting up the down-trodden, encouraging the heavy-laden, "helping, when he meets them, lame dogs over stiles," he does the world some good in his way, and he does it, not by painting life as he sees it, but by virtue of the inward eye that we call Idealism.

Now this idealism has nearly always taken the turn of romanticism when applied to literature. It was so when Schiller, in his youth and wild inexperience, struggled to express himself in "The Robbers," when Goethe wrote "Faust," when Coleridge wrote "The Ancient Mariner," when Scott wrote "Old Mortality" and "The Bride of Lammermoor." Romance seemed to these writers the natural vehicle for great conceptions. Not that they wanted big situations, startling effects, picturesque accessories, for their own sakes only. These were all good in their way, and no writer of true instincts could have under-

valued them. But they were not the prizes for which the authors set out. They had no life of their own apart from the central fire that brought them into existence. It was not the Slough of Despond that produced Christian, but Christian that called for the Slough of Despond. Then, again, Idealism claims Romance as her handmaiden, but she does not require that the handmaiden shall be of surpassing beauty; she may be a very plain-featured body. Romanticism does not live only in the loveliest spots in this world of God, and it does not belong exclusively to the past, as some writers imply. It exists within the four-mile radius at the present hour, and could be found there if only we had a second great idealist like Dickens to go in search of it.

To condemn all forms of romance, as the Zola manifesto tried to do, to banish from fiction all incidents that are out of the common, all effects that are startling and "sensational," all light and colour that are not found in every-day life, is to confound the function of the novelist with that of the historian. To the historian fact is a thing for itself, it is sacred, it dominates all else. To the novelist fact is only of value as a help towards the display of passion; he does not deliberately falsify fact, but fact—mere fact—has no sanctity for him, and he would a thousand times rather outrage all the incidents of history than belie one impulse of the human heart.

The idea at the bottom of the Zola manifesto is a sophism, and a shallow sophism. It seems to say that the novelist, like the historian, has for his chief function that of painting the life of his time, and leaving behind him a record as faithful and yet more intimate. To accept this is to narrow the range of imaginative art, which should have no limits whatever, certainly none of time or healthy human interest. The real function of the novelist has been too frequently propounded, and ought to be too obvious to stand in need of definition. It is that of proposing for solution by means of incident and story a problem of human life. Passion therefore, not fact, lies at the root of the novelist's art. Passion is the central fire from which his fact radiates, and fact is nothing to him except as it comes from that central fire of passion. He looks about him, not for startling situations (though these he would be a fool to despise), but for the great mysteries of life, and then he tries to find light through them. These mysteries are many, and do not belong to an age, but to all time. Two good men love one woman, and one of them goes up to Paradise while the other goes down to Hell. There is a problem of life, a human tragedy occurring constantly. How is it to be solved? What will, or should the rejected man do? That is the question the novelist sets himself, and to answer such a question is the novelist's highest and all but his only natural function. But, in answering it, must he limit himself to life as he has seen it? If so, the chances are a thousand to one that he will make the rejected man kill his favoured rival, or else

the woman, or both. That is realism, that is painting "life as it is." And is the world likely to be much the better of it?

The idealist goes differently to work. Instead of asking himself what solution to this problem life and the world have shown him, he asks his own heart of what solution human nature at its highest is capable. This leads him to the heroisms which it is so easy for the cynic to deride. And the heroisms, for their better effects, often tempt him to a more inspiring scene and picturesque age than he lives in. He wants all that the human heart can do, and he gets heroism; he wants heroism to look natural, and he gives it a certain aloofness, and that is Romanticism.

It is easy to foresee the kind of objection that may be urged to Idealism as an aim in fiction, and no writer could put it more forcibly than Mr. Russell Lowell did in one of his early letters to the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

"A moral aim is a fine thing; but, in making a story, an artist is a traitor who does not sacrifice everything to art. Remember the lesson that Christ gave us twice over. First, he preferred the useless Mary to the dishwashing Martha; and next, when that exemplary moralist and friend of humanity, Judas, objected to the sinful waste of the Magdalen's ointment, the great Teacher would rather it should be wasted in an act of simple beauty than utilised for the benefit of the poor. Cleopatra was an artist when she dissolved her biggest pearl to captivate her Antony-public. May I, a critic by profession, say the whole truth to a woman of genius? Yes? And never be forgiven? I shall try, and try to be forgiven, too. In the first place, pay no regard to the advice of anybody. In the second place, pay a great deal to mine! A Kilkenny-cattish sort of advice? Not at all. My advice is to follow your own instincts, to stick to nature, and to avoid what people commonly call the 'Ideal'; for that, and beauty and pathos and success, all lie in the simply natural. . . . There are ten thousand people who can write 'ideal' things for one who can see and feel and reproduce nature and character. Ten thousand, did I say? Nay, ten million. What made Shakespeare so great? Nothing but eyes and—faith in them. The same is true of Thackeray. I see nowhere more often than in authors the truth that men love their opposites. Dickens insists on being tragic, and makes shipwreck."

Now, forcible and effective, sound and true as this seems at first sight to be, it is, I make bold to say, one of the most misleading bits of criticism ever put forth by a great critic. Surely it would not be hard to dispute every clause of it, but only one of its clauses concerns us at present, and that is the broad statement that "ten million" can write "ideal" things for "one who can see and feel and reproduce nature and character." Exactly the reverse of this is the manifest truth. Indeed, to outstrip Mr. Lowell in his flight of numbers, I will say that there is hardly a living human being who cannot in some measure "see and feel and reproduce nature and character." The merest child can do it, and often does it (such is the strength of the talent for mimicry in man), with amazing swiftness and fidelity. The veriest

stable-boy, the simplest village natural, will startle you with his reproductions of the oddities of character, and the novelist who has rendered, however faithfully, however humorously or pathetically, the scene on which his bodily eyes have rested, has achieved no more than the comedian on the stage. But lest this statement of mine should seem to be too daring a negative to the word of so high an authority, let me set Mr. Lowell in contrast with one who can do him no dishonour by a contradiction. "As the actual world," says Bacon, "is inferior to the rational soul, so Fiction gives to Mankind what History denies, and in some measure satisfies the mind with shadows when it cannot enjoy the substance. And as real History gives us not the success of things according to the deserts of vice and virtue, Fiction corrects it, and presents us with the fates and fortunes of persons rewarded and punished according to merit." Obviously Bacon, with all his strong common-sense, was not one of those "who avoid what people commonly call the 'Ideal.'" And Burton, quoting this passage in the Terminal Essay to his monumental "Thousand Nights and a Night," adds, in his virile way: "But I would say still more. History paints, or attempts to paint, life as it is, a mighty maze, with or without a plan: Fiction shows or would show us life as it should be, wisely ordered and laid down on fixed lines. Thus Fiction is not the mere handmaid of History; she has a household of her own and she claims to be the triumph of Art, which, as Goethe remarked, is 'Art because it is not Nature.'" Goethe hits the nail on the head. Merely to "reproduce nature and character" is not Art at all; it is Photography. And for one man capable of that moulding and smelting of nature and character which is rightly called Art, there are whole worlds of men capable of using the "eyes," of which Mr. Lowell makes too much, as a sort of human camera. Of course one cannot be blind to the real force that lies somewhere at the back of this demand for the real to the neglect of the ideal. A bad ideal, an imperfect ideal, a wild and mad ideal, is a trivial and commonplace thing, and rather than have such vague imaginative varnishes one asks for the solid facts of life. We know the fascination of fact—any sort of fact, no matter what, any life, however remote or mean—and if it is only real enough we feel it. "Tell us what you know," is our cry again and again when writers seem to be busied with telling us only what they fancy. This craving for the *real* is good and healthy, but it ought by no means to be set (as Mr. Lowell sets it) in opposition to the craving for the ideal. A novelist should know his facts, he should know the life he depicts; yet this knowledge should not be the end of his art, but only its beginning. That should be his equipment to start with, and his art should be adjudged by the good use he puts it to, not by the display he makes of it. Burton could not have expressed more clearly the difference between fiction as Mrs. Beecher Stowe had unconsciously practised it, and as her genial

critic would have had her follow it, than by that contrast, drawn from Bacon, of fiction and history: "Fiction is not the mere handmaid of History; she has a household of her own." And I would add for myself as the essence of my creed as a novelist: *Fiction is not nature, it is not character, it is not imagined history; it is fallacy, poetic fallacy, pathetic fallacy, a lie if you like, a beautiful lie, a lie that is at once false and true—false to fact, true to faith.*

Towards such healthy Romanticism as Bacon describes English fiction has long been leaning, and never more so than during the last five-and-twenty years. We may see this in the homeliest fact, namely, that craving for what is called poetic justice which makes ninety-nine hundredths of English readers impatient of any close to a story but a happy one. The craving is right and natural, though it may be puerile to expect that the threads of all stories should be gathered up to a happy ending. I know that it is usual to attribute to such arbitrary love of what is agreeable the inferiority in which the fiction of this country is said to stand towards the fiction of the rest of Europe. We are asked to say how fiction can live against such conditions of the circulating libraries as degrade a serious art to the level of the nursery tale. The answer is very simple: English fiction has lived against them, and produced meantime the finest examples of its art that the literature of the world has yet seen. Unlike the writers who pronounce so positively on the inferiority of fiction in England, I cannot claim to know from "back to end" the great literatures of Europe; but I will not hesitate to say that not only would the whole body of English fiction bear the palm in a comparison with the whole body of the fiction of any other country, but the fiction of England during the past thirty years (when its degeneracy, according to its critics, has been most marked) has been more than a match for the fiction of the rest of the world. Indeed, I will be so bold as to name six English novels of that period, and ask if any other such bulk of work, great in all the qualities that make fiction eminent—imagination, knowledge of life, passion and power of thought—can be found among the literatures of France, Russia, or America. The six novels are "Daniel Deronda," "The Cloister and the Hearth," "Lorna Doone," "The Woman in White," "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel," and "Far from the Madding Crowd." All these novels are products of romanticism; and the circumstance that they were written amid the hampering difficulties that are said to beset the feet of fiction is proof enough that where power is not lacking in the artist there is no crying need for licence in the art.

But if liberty is the one thing needful for English fiction, it is not the liberty of the realism of the Third Empire in France, but the liberty of the romanticism of the age of Elizabeth in England; the liberty of all great and healthy passions to go what lengths they

will. For many years past the cynicism that has been only too vocal in English criticism has been telling us that it is a poor thing to give way to strong feeling, that strong feeling is the mark of an untaught nature, and that education should help us to control our emotions and conceal them. I am told that this type of superfine cynicism comes from Oxford, but on that point I can offer no opinion. Whatever its source its effects are baneful, for it cuts at the root of the finest quality that imaginative writing can have, the quality of passion. No such plea ever had a hearing in the days when English literature was at its best. It was not a childish weakness to give way to powerful emotions when "Lear" was written. Powerful emotions were sought for their own sakes, and no man was shocked when Cordelia perished in a just cause. Sentiment is different now, and with great passions of the purest kind lying everywhere about us, we who write to please must never touch them, or, touching them, we must never probe them deeply. And this is one of the ways in which the thing called realism is compelled to play its own game backwards.

A doctrine may fairly be judged by the example of its best exponents, and of all the champions of realism the healthiest, I think, is Turgenieff. I do not place Flaubert in that position, because his work seems always to be clouded by the moral shadows that overhung his own life. Neither do I place M. Daudet there, for the reason that the ethical character of his best work is disfigured by what I cannot but consider a wilful determination to find the balance of justice on the wrong side of the world's account. But I place Turgenieff at the head of the realists, because he seems to me to have been an entirely healthy man, who came to an honest conclusion, that poetic justice is false to human life, and that human life is the only model for imaginative art. Well, what of Tourgenieff? We shall never know how much we have lost in him by that accident of exile which brought him under the influence of Flaubert. He does not of set purpose make "the wicked prosper and the virtuous miscarry," still less does he paint the world's cesspools under pretence of painting the world; but he leaves you without hope, without expectation, and in an atmosphere of despair more chilling than the atmosphere of a vault. His novels may be just representations of actual life, but they begin nowhere and end nowhere; and, like the little bits of nature that come under a photographic camera, they are transcripts, not pictures of life. It is not because they end sadly that they outrage poetic justice. It is because they do not in any true sense end at all. "Macbeth" ends sadly, but it ends absolutely, because it ends with justice. "Cato" also ends sadly, but it ends only as the broken column ends, merely because there is no capital to crown it. And, rightly followed, justice is the only end for a work of imaginative art, whatever may be the frequent end of life. Without it what is a work

of art? A fragment, a scrap, a passing impression. The incidents of life are only valuable to art in degree as they are subservient to an idea, and an idea is only valuable to man in the degree to which it helps him to see that come what will the world is founded on justice. Torn by the wind a bird's nest falls to the ground, and all the young birds perish. That is a faithful representation of a common incident of life, but a thousand such incidents massed together would not make a work of art. Justice is the one thing that seems to give art a right to exist, and justice—poetic justice, as we call it—is the essence of Romanticism.

And is this Romanticism a "backwater"? Has the stream of literary orthodoxies ceased to flow with it? A little band among the writers of the time are answering, "Yes," but we answer "No;" Romanticism is not a "backwater," can never be a "backwater," and the stream of literary orthodoxies in England is at this moment flowing more strongly with Romanticism than at any time since the death of Scott. It is true that realism has lately had its day in England as well as in France. In France it has been nasty, and in England it has been merely trivial. But the innings of realism is over; it has scored badly or not at all, and is going out disgraced. The reign of mere fact in imaginative literature was very short, it is done, and it is making its exit rapidly, with a sorry retinue of either teacup-and-saucer nonentities or of harlots at its heels. And the old Romanticism that was before it is coming into its own again.

Surely it is impossible to mistake the signs of the times in the affairs of literature. What is going on in Europe? I never meet a Frenchman of real insight but he tells me that Zolaism as a literary force is as nearly as possible dead in France. Its dirty shroud keeps a wraith of it flitting before men's eyes. And what is France going back to? The Idealism of George Sand? The Romanticism of Hugo? Perhaps not, though Hugo is not as far gone in France as some people would have us believe. France is at this moment waiting for a new man, and depend upon it, when he comes, he will be a romanticist. If such are the signs of the literary horizon in France, what are they in the rest of Europe? What in Russia, where Tolstoi has taken all that is good in the Realism of France and engrafted it on to the brave and noble and surpassing idealism of English poetry at the beginning of this century? What in the Scandinavian countries (the stronghold of the purer and higher Realism), where Bjørnsen, as I can attest from some personal knowledge of Norway, is a stronger force than Ibsen, himself more than half an idealist? What in America, where the sturdy romance of the soil is pushing from its stool the teacup Realism of the last twenty years, and even the first champions of such Realism, who have said that there is sufficient incident in "the lifting up of a chair," and that "all the stories are told," are themselves turning

their backs on their own manifesto, and coming as near to Romanticism as their genius will let them ?

On every side, in every art, music, the drama, painting, and even sculpture, the tendency is towards Romance. Not the bare actualities of life "as it is," but the glories of life as it might be; not the domination of fact, but of feeling. I think one might show this yet more plainly by illustrations drawn from the stage of the time. The cry of the stage of to-day is Romance, the cry of fiction is Romance, the cry of music is Romance, and I do not think I belie the facts when I say that the cry of the Science of this hour is also for Romance.

Romance is the cry of the time, and the few cynics of the Press may deride it as much as they like, but Romance is going to be once more the tendency of literature, and the sum and substance of its critical orthodoxy. The world now feels exactly the same want as it has always felt. It wants to be lifted up, to be inspired, to be thrilled, to be shown what brave things human nature is capable of at its best. This must be the task of the new Romanticism, and the new Romanticism can only work through Idealism. It can never be the task of the old realism. The Realists are all unbelievers; unbelievers in God, or unbelievers in man, or both. The Idealist must be a believer; a believer in God, a believer in man, and a believer in the divine justice whereon the world is founded.

So I say that these two are going to be the watchwords of fiction for the next twenty years at least—ROMANTICISM AND IDEALISM.

HALL CAINE.

OUGHT THE REFERENDUM TO BE INTRODUCED INTO ENGLAND?

"IT is a question for us Englishmen to consider whether it would be possible and advantageous to introduce the Referendum at home. For instance, it might well be that such a vexatious question as Home Rule for Ireland could once for all be settled one way or the other, by a vote of the whole electoral body in the United Kingdom. We merely throw this out as a suggestion, but of course the conditions of Great Britain are very different from those of Switzerland, where the nation is so eminently democratic, and where the Referendum has been habitually employed for a variety of local matters."

These are the words of the only Englishman who has treated of modern Swiss politics both with adequate knowledge and with perfect impartiality. They will not in the long run fall unheeded on the public ear. The British Constitution, while preserving its monarchical form, has for all intents and purposes become a Parliamentary democracy. When this fact with all its bearings is once clearly perceived by Englishmen, theorists and politicians will assuredly ask themselves what may be the effect, for good or bad, of transplanting to England the newest and the most popular among the institutions of the single European State where the experiment of democratic government has, though tested by every possible difficulty, turned out a striking, and, to all appearance, a permanent, success.

My aim in this article is (following out the line of thought suggested by Sir Francis Adams), to examine three questions: first, what is the nature of the Swiss Referendum? secondly, whether it be possible to introduce the principle of the Referendum into the world of English politics; and, thirdly, whether such introduction would be beneficial to the nation?†

* Adams, "Swiss Confederation," p. 87.

† The Referendum is throughout this article described only in its broadest outline, for Englishmen are much more concerned with the principle of the Swiss institution

I.

The Referendum may be roughly defined as the reference to all vote-possessing citizens of the Confederation for their acceptance or rejection, of laws passed by their representatives in the Federal Assembly.*

Under the Swiss Constitution as amended or re-enacted in 1874, all legislation of the Federal Parliament is or may be subject to the Referendum,† but an important distinction is drawn between laws which do, and laws which do not, effect changes in the Constitution.

In Switzerland, as in England, the Constitution can always be revised or altered by the National Parliament. But in Switzerland no law which revises the Constitution, either wholly or in part, can come into force until it has been regularly submitted by means of the Referendum to the vote of the people, and has been approved both by a majority of the citizens who on the particular occasion give their votes, and also by a majority of the Cantons. With the elaborate provisions which secure that under certain circumstances a vote of the people shall be taken, not only on the question whether a particular amendment or revision of the Constitution approved by the Federal Assembly shall or shall not come into force, but also on the preliminary question whether any revision or reform of the Constitution shall take place at all, we need for our present purpose hardly trouble ourselves. What Englishmen should note is that when any law, or as we should say Bill, amending the Constitution has passed the two Houses of the Federal Assembly, it cannot take effect until it has been made the subject of a Referendum and has received the assent of a majority both of the voters and of the Cantons. For the validity, in short, of a constitutional change a reference to the people is an absolute necessity. The Referendum is here, in the language of Swiss constitutionalists, an "obligatory" or "necessary" Referendum.

Critics ought further to note that the necessity for the Referendum extends to many laws which under our English system would not be called Reform Bills, or be considered to effect any amendment of the Constitution. The reason of this is that the Swiss Constitution con-

than with the particular constitutional mechanism by which effect is given to the principle in Switzerland. Whoever desires further information should consult, among other authorities, Adams' "Swiss Confederation," cap. vi., Orelli's "Das Staatsrecht der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft," pp. 79, 80, 83-88; Constitution Fédérale, arts. 89, 90, and 121; and also a notice of Adams' work in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1890. The Referendum, it should also be noted, is in this article treated of all but exclusively as a part of the Swiss Federal or National Constitution. It exists, however, and flourishes as a local institution in all but one or two Cantons. A competent English observer who should report minutely upon the working of the Referendum as a cantonal institution, and especially at Zurich, would render a service of inestimable value to all students of political science.

* See Adams, p. 76.

† See Constitution Fédérale, arts. 89, 118-121. Swiss authorities do not apparently apply the term "Referendum" to the popular sanction required for the validity of any revision of the Constitution under Const. Fed., art. 121. It is, however, clear that the popular assent which is required for all constitutional amendments partakes of the nature of a Referendum.

tains a large number of articles which have no reference to the distribution or exercise of Sovereign power, but which embody general maxims of policy, or (it may be) special provisions as to matters of detail, to which the Swiss attach great importance, and which therefore they do not wish to be easily alterable. All the enactments, however, contained in the Constitution, form, whatever be their essential character, part thereof. No one of them can therefore be legally abolished or modified without the employment of the Referendum. Thus a law which limited the liberty of conscience secured by Article 49 of the Federal Constitution, or which interfered with the liberty of the press guaranteed by Article 55, or which in contravention of Article 65 enacted that treason or any political offence should be punished by death, would not, according to English ways of thinking, bring about a constitutional change; but it would undoubtedly modify a part of the Federal Constitution, and could not therefore be enacted without the use of the Referendum.

Laws which do not affect the articles of the Constitution come (or may come) into force on being passed by the Federal Parliament without the necessity for being submitted to a popular vote.

But in the case even of ordinary legislation 30,000 voters, or eight Cantons, may, within a definite period, fixed by statute, after the passing of any law, demand that it shall be submitted to the Swiss people for approval or rejection. When once this demand has been duly made the particular law, say an Education Act, to which it applies, must of necessity be made the subject of a Referendum. Whether it comes into force or not depends on the result of the popular vote. There is, be it observed, no need in this instance for obtaining the assent of the majority of the Cantons. This Referendum, which may or may not be required according as it is or is not demanded, is called, in the language of Swiss jurists, a "facultative" or "optional" Referendum.*

The matter then stands shortly thus: No change can be introduced into the Constitution which is not sanctioned by the vote of the Swiss people. The Federal Assembly, indeed, may of its own authority pass laws which take effect without any popular vote, provided these laws do not affect the Constitution; but it is practically certain that no enactment important enough to excite effective opposition can ever become law until it has received the deliberately expressed sanction of the Swiss people.

Foreigners often miss the true characteristics of the Referendum in Switzerland, because they confuse it with essentially different forms of appeal to the people which are known to other countries.

* It would appear further that, as a matter of course, if a demand is made for an appeal to the people, the Federal Council must think fit, make any ordinary law the subject of a Referendum.

The Referendum looks at first sight like a French *plébiscite*,^{*} but no two institutions can be marked by more essential differences.

A *plébiscite* is a mass vote of the French people by which a Revolutionary or Imperial Executive obtains for its policy, or its crimes, the apparent sanction or condonation of France. Frenchmen are asked at the moment, and in the form most convenient to the statesmen or conspirators who rule in Paris, to say "Aye" or "No" whether they will, or will not, accept a given Constitution or a given policy. The crowd of voters are expected to reply in accordance with the wishes or the orders of the Executive, and the expectation always has met, and an observer may confidently predict always will meet, with fulfilment. The *plébiscite* is a revolutionary, or at least abnormal, proceeding. It is not preceded by debate. The form and nature of the question to be submitted to the nation is chosen and settled by the men in power. Rarely indeed, when a *plébiscite* has been taken, has the voting itself been either free or fair. Taine has a strange tale to tell of the methods by which a Terrorist faction, when all but crushed by general odium, extorted from the country by means of the *plébiscite* a sham assent to the prolongation of revolutionary despotism.[†] The credulity of partisanship can nowadays hardly induce even Imperialists to imagine that the *plébiscites* which sanctioned the establishment of the Empire, which declared Louis Napoleon President for life, which first re-established Imperialism, and then approved more or less Liberal reforms, fatal at bottom to the Imperial system, were the free, deliberate, carefully considered votes of the French nation given after the people had heard all that could be said for and against the proposed innovation. Grant that in more than one of these cases the verdict of the *plébiscite* corresponded with the wish of the nation. The *plébiscite* itself still remains without value, for, at the moment when the nation was asked to express the national will, France was placed in such a position that it would have been scarcely possible for any sane man to form any other wish than that assent to the Government's proposals might remove all excuse for prolonging a period of lawlessness or despotism. It is reasonable enough to believe that France desired the rule of the First Napoleon. But this belief depends on the result not of Napoleonic *plébiscites*, but of a fair estimate of the condition of affairs and of the state of public opinion. We may believe, in short, that the *plébiscite* which sanctioned the foundation of the Empire expressed the will of the nation, because there are rational grounds for believing that France might desire Imperial government. But no one bases his belief in the desire for the Empire on the result of the *plébiscite* which nominally sanctioned its establishment. Deliberation and discussion are the requisite conditions for rational

^{*} See M. Taine, *Le Gouvernement Révolutionnaire*, pp. 38-41.

[†] See M. Taine, *Le Gouvernement Révolutionnaire*, tome iii.; "Le Gouvernement Révolutionnaire," pp. 55-56.

decision. Where effective opposition is an impossibility, nominal assent is an unmeaning compliment.

The essential characteristics, however, the lack of which deprives a French *plébiscite* of all moral significance, are the undoubted properties of the Swiss Referendum. When a law revising the Constitution is placed before the people of Switzerland, every citizen throughout the land has enjoyed the opportunity of learning the merits and the demerits of the proposed alteration. The subject has been "threshed out," as the expression goes, in Parliament; the scheme, whatever its worth, has received the deliberately given approval of the elected Legislature; it comes before the people with as much authority in its favour as a Bill which in England has passed through both Houses. The voters have been given the opportunity before pronouncing their decision of learning all that can be said for, and (what is still more important) all that can be said against, a definite measure, by every man who, either from a public platform, or in the columns of the press, or in private conversation, advocates or deprecates its adoption. The position of the Swiss people when summoned to vote upon a constitutional amendment is pretty much what would have been the position of the British electorate if, in 1886, the Home Rule Bill had, after ample discussion and amendment, passed through both Houses of Parliament, and thereupon the Queen, feeling the extreme importance of the occasion, had called upon the voters of the United Kingdom to give an answer by a mass vote "Aye" or "No" to the question whether she should or should not give her assent to the Government of Ireland Bill, 1886. Swiss citizens, be it added, vote on the occasion of a Referendum at least as freely as do English electors at a general election. Neither the Council nor the Federal Assembly can constrain or influence their votes; as a matter of fact, the voters constantly reject measures referred to them for approval. The gravest charge brought against the Referendum by its critics, and brought with much show of reason, is that it obstructs improvement. Whatever be the force of this criticism, the mere fact that it can be made with plausibility affords conclusive proof that the Referendum is a real appeal to the true judgment of the nation, and that the appeal is free from the coercion, the unreality, and the fraud which taint or vitiate a *plébiscite*. The Referendum, in short, is a regular, normal, peaceful proceeding, as unconnected with revolutionary violence or despotic coercion, and as easily carried out, as the sending up of a Bill from the House of Commons to the House of Lords. It causes less disturbance, and probably less excitement, throughout the country than is occasioned in the United Kingdom by a general election.

To an Englishman the idea naturally occurs that a general election is in its nature, though not in its form, a Referendum.

The idea is plausible, and falls in with our ordinary way of speaking. We are accustomed to say that the passing of an important Bill is finally determined by an appeal to the electors; that, for example, the great Reform Bill was carried by the general election of 1831; that the Irish Church was disestablished by the verdict of the electors in 1868; or that in 1886 the Home Rule Bill was rejected by the British people. This mode of speaking contains in itself an element of truth. A general election is an appeal to the people, and may under peculiar circumstances be made to serve, though in an awkward and imperfect manner, the purpose of a Referendum. But we must not be deceived by words. A general election is an appeal to the people; so also is the exercise of the Referendum; but the two appeals differ fundamentally from each other, and their points of difference are for our present purpose of vital consequence.

An election, after all, has for its primary and immediate object the appointment of representatives. It is a choice of persons or of parties: it is not a judgment on the merits or the demerits of a proposed law. No doubt the choice of members approaches every day more and more nearly to a decision on matters of policy, and at times an election really sanctions or vetoes proposed legislation. The personal element, however, is at every election a matter of moment; a strong candidate may carry a seat by his own individual strength. The main and avowed object, moreover, of electors in voting for *A* rather than *B*, is not to determine whether a particular Bill shall, or shall not, be passed, but whether the members of a particular party shall, or shall not, keep, or acquire, office. Thus, to take an example from the current events of the day, we all know that at the next general election, whenever it occurs, the question submitted to the electors will not be the advisability or impolicy of enacting a known scheme for the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, but the expediency of keeping the Unionists, or of placing the Gladstonians, in office. The electors will certainly not have before them a definite drafted bill, which they are finally called upon to disallow or approve. Never did an election approach more nearly to a Referendum than that which followed the dissolution of 1831. The country pronounced by a crushing majority in favour of the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. Yet the Bill, which ultimately became law differed in important particulars from the first and second Reform Bills. The crises, moreover, when as in 1831 the vote of the electors is determined almost wholly by their desire for a particular measure, or their aversion to it, are of rare occurrence. An election must be a decision on general policy. It is usually in England an answer to the question, not whether a particular Bill shall become law, but whether a given set of men shall govern the country. It were difficult in any case to keep clear from each other questions of persons, of policy, and of legis-

lation. But our English system of government makes it a certainty that statesmen of all parties will do their best to confuse the issues which at an election are nominally submitted to the verdict of the nation. A Ministry will always, if possible, dissolve at the moment when any adventitious circumstance enhances the popularity of the Cabinet. A success abroad, any circumstance which for the moment discredits a leading opponent, any sudden event which may have raised the reputation of the Government or brought odium upon the Opposition, will be used as a means for inducing the electors to favour the Ministerial policy, and to return representatives who may support the legislation recommended by the Ministry. The Opposition of the day will follow suit. Every accident which tells against the party in office, every error or alleged error of judgment, whether important or trifling, which affects the momentary popularity of the Cabinet—the inconsiderate utterances of a Premier, the inopportune severity, or the undue leniency, of a Home Secretary in the execution of the law, the badness of the seasons, and the depression of trade—are each and all of them matters which respectable politicians turn to account in the effort to deprive the Government of the day of public goodwill, and to divert the attention of the electors from the serious and substantial issue whether the kind of legislation which is opposed by the one, and supported by the other, of the great parties in the State, be or be not likely to benefit the country. It were useless and pedantic to blame or deplore conduct which, however disastrous to the country, results naturally from the faults of human nature when these vices are fostered by a scheme of public life, which links indissolubly together the personal success and influence of politicians with the triumph of particular schemes of legislation. Nor is partisanship always to blame for the confusion of issues which the public interest imperatively requires to be kept clear of each other. An election determines which of two parties shall enjoy the advantages, and incur the responsibilities, of government. Now it may well happen that men of sense and patriotism wish, on the whole, to keep a particular body of statesmen in power, whilst severely condemning some legislative proposal which these statesmen advocate. These well-meaning citizens are at a general election placed upon the horns of a dilemma from which there is no practical escape. They must either banish from office men whose policy they in many respects approve, or else sanction the passing of a law which they believe to be impolitic. Contrast this state of things with the position of the Swiss people when appealed to by means of the Referendum. The appeal is exactly what it purports to be, a reference to the people's judgment of a distinct, definite, clearly stated law. Every "Bill" laid before the Swiss for their acceptance has, be it again noted—for this is a fact which can hardly be too

strongly insisted upon,—passed through both Houses of the Federal Parliament. It has been drafted by the Federal Ministry or Council; it has been the object of ample discussion; its fair consideration has been, or certainly may be, secured by all the safeguards known to the Parliamentary system. The Referendum does not hurry on a single law, nor facilitate any legislation which Parliamentary wisdom or caution disapproves. It merely adds an additional safeguard against the hastiness or violence of party. It is not a spur to democratic innovation; it is a check placed on popular impatience.*

It may be worth adding that the most trustworthy Swiss authorities consider an "obligatory" far preferable to an "optional" Referendum; the latter is the result of an agitation which gives a character of partisanship to the resulting Referendum.

The law to be accepted or rejected is laid before the citizens of Switzerland in its precise terms; they are concerned solely with its merits or demerits, their thoughts are not distracted by the necessity for considering any other topic. No one's seat either at the Council board or in the Assembly depends upon the law's passing. The Councillors will continue to discharge their administrative duties whether the measures submitted to the Swiss people are or are not sanctioned by the citizens. The rejection of measures approved by the Federal Parliament does not, it would appear, injure the position of the majority by whom the rejected schemes have been proposed or supported. The Swiss distinguish between men and measures; they send to Parliament the members, say the Radicals, with whose policy they on the whole agree, even though these representatives have carried through Parliament Bills to which the Swiss voters refuse their assent. This fact is well established; it is quite of a piece with the absolutely indisputable fact that the members of the Swiss Council, or Ministry, though they require triennial re-election by the Federal Assembly, hold office by what is practically a permanent tenure. All this appears odd enough to Englishmen. To a stranger from China or Persia, such as philosophers of the eighteenth century introduced into their essays as the observer, critic, or satirist of European customs, the habits of English public life may appear more opposed to the dictates of right reason than the practice of the Swiss democracy. However this may be, the people of Switzerland have recognized to the full their own sovereignty, and act in the main on the principles which guided an English monarch during the ages when, though Parliament was the acknow-

* Of course in making this statement, I do not refer to the right given under Constitutional Fédéral, art. 120, to 50,000 Swiss citizens of demanding the preparation of a scheme for revising the Constitution. This right is what Swiss authors call the Initiative, and is certainly not an essential part of the Referendum.

A law which has passed the Houses is sometimes submitted to the people in such a form that the voters may accept it either wholly or in part, but in general I believe laws for the amendment of the Constitution are voted upon as a whole.

ledged and sovereign Legislature of the land, the king was the most influential member of the sovereign power. A Tudor monarch retained valued servants in his employment, even though he rejected their advice. He acknowledged the legislative authority of Parliament, but he maintained his claim to be part of the Legislature and refused assent to Bills which, though passed by the Houses, seemed to him impolitic. The Swiss people in like manner, being the true Sovereign of Switzerland, retain, in the service of the State, Ministers whose measures the voters nevertheless often refuse to sanction. The Swiss democracy values the legislative ability of the Federal Parliament, but, like an English king of the sixteenth century, constantly withholds assent from Bills passed by the two Houses. The Referendum is a revival of the mis-called "veto," but is a veto lodged in the hands, not of a sovereign monarch, but of a sovereign people. Such a veto produces the same effects, whatever be the power by which it is exercised. It secures the Constitution against any change which the Sovereign does not deliberately approve; it tends to produce permanence in the tenure of office; it undermines the strength of that elaborate party system which in England lies at the basis not of Parliamentary government, but of government by Parliament.

II.

No vital change in either the law or the customs of the Constitution would be so easy of introduction into England as the establishment in principle of the Referendum, or of a popular veto on any amendment or alteration in the Constitution; such, for example, as the disestablishment of the Church, or a considerable diminution in the numbers of the House of Commons.

The methods by which this popular veto might be established are various and of different merit.

First. The House of Lords might adopt a new policy with regard to all Bills which, in the judgment of the Peers, modified the Constitution. They might announce their resolution, on the one hand, to reject every Bill, from whatever party it might proceed, which contained constitutional amendments, until the Bill, after having passed the House of Commons, had been in effect submitted to the electors at a general election, and had received their sanction by the return of a decisive majority in its favour; and, on the other hand, when once such a majority had been obtained, to pass as a matter of constitutional duty any Bill which, being again approved by the House of Commons, substantially corresponded with the measure the Peers had before rejected, with a view to ensuring its submission to the judgment of the nation.

Such a policy, if carried out with vigour and impartiality, would

constitute the House of Lords the guardian of the Constitution. It would involve a great nominal sacrifice of authority, but the real loss would be little or nothing, for the Peers would exchange an unrestricted veto, which they cannot exercise, for a suspensive veto which would be real, because its exercise would be supported by popular approval.

This is the easiest mode of establishing the Referendum. It is, however, the least satisfactory. The Act finally passed after a general election, would not be the Bill on which the nation had pronounced a verdict. What is of far more importance, a general election is, for reasons already stated, but an indifferent imitation of a true Referendum.

Secondly. Either House of Parliament might petition the Crown not to assent to the passing of a particular Bill, say for the disestablishment of the Church, or for granting the Parliamentary suffrage to women, unless and until a vote of the electors throughout the United Kingdom had been taken, and the majority of the electorate had voted in favour of the Crown giving its assent.

The Queen might further conceivably *motu proprio*—i.e., in truth, on the advice of the Cabinet for the time being—announce that her Majesty would give or refuse her assent to a given Bill which had passed the two Houses, according to the results of the votes given on the matter by the electors of the United Kingdom.

This use of the royal prerogative has been suggested by Mr. Frank Hill, in a recent number of the CONTEMPORARY. It would, of course, be new and anomalous; it would therefore be called "unconstitutional" by every man who feared the result of an appeal to the people. But this employment of the veto would be in strict conformity with the principles which have governed the growth of the Constitution. English history, from a constitutional point of view, is little else than a record of the transactions by which the prerogatives of the Crown have been transformed into the privileges of the people. The exercise of the prerogative has no doubt hitherto been in effect transferred from the Crown to the House of Commons. But now that the true political Sovereign of the State is the electorate, the Crown may rightly exercise the royal veto, so as to ensure that changes in the Constitution shall not be in reality opposed to the will of the electors. It were impossible for the Queen to make a more legitimate exertion of her prerogative than to use it as the means for checking the arrogance of party by ensuring the supremacy of the nation.

Thirdly. Parliament might insert in any important Act (such, for example, as any statute for the repeal or modification of the Act of Union with Ireland) the provision that the Act should not come into force unless and until, within six months of its passing, a vote of the electors throughout the United Kingdom had been taken, and a majority of the voters had voted in favour of the Act.

Fourthly. A general Act might be passed containing two main provisions: first, that the Act itself should not come into force until sanctioned by such a vote of the electors of the United Kingdom as already mentioned; and secondly, that no future enactment affecting certain subjects—*e.g.*, the position of the Crown, the constitution of either House of Parliament, or any part of either of the Acts of Union—should come into force, or have any effect, until sanctioned by such vote as aforesaid of the electors of the United Kingdom.

It is not my object to draft even in outline an enactment for the introduction of an appeal to the electors with reference to legislation of grave importance. Any Act establishing a Referendum would necessarily lay down the conditions on which the vote of the electors should be taken and the mode of taking it. Such a statute might, it is clear, make the validity of the law which was to be submitted to popular approval depend either upon its obtaining in its favour the vote of the majority of the electorate, or upon its obtaining, as in Switzerland, the approval of the majority of the electors who actually vote. With these and other details no man of sense will at present trouble his mind; what needs to be insisted upon is that, either by the use of the prerogative, or by direct Parliamentary enactment, the Referendum may easily be introduced among the political institutions of the United Kingdom; it may be introduced either in a general form, or experimentally in regard to a particular enactment. There is no lack of mechanism for achieving this object; the resources of the Constitution are infinite:

Some theorist will object that any Act introducing the Referendum will have little validity, since Parliament might by a subsequent statute undo its own handiwork. This objection, whatever be its speculative force, is in the particular case of no practical moment. Any careful student of the Swiss Constitution will perceive that the Federal Assembly might, under the articles of the Constitution itself, occasionally dispense with or override the Referendum.* This possibility of rapid legislation may conceivably be of great advantage at a crisis, which places the existence of the nation in peril. But in Switzerland the rights of the people are never in fact overridden. As it is in Switzerland, so would it be in England. Let a popular veto be established, and the popular veto will command respect.

A critic may again suggest that the introduction of the Referendum is practically impossible, because the change it involves is opposed at once to the interests and to the instincts of members of Parliament. That the House of Commons would cordially dislike an innovation which tends to diminish the importance of the House admits not of dispute. In this one instance, however, the feeling of members of Parliament is of small importance; the authority of the House

* Constitution Fédérale, art. 89.

depends on the support of the electors. An appeal to the electorate, by whatever party and by whatever means it is introduced, will never offend the electors. -The rejection of a Bill by the Lords excites indignation because it may be represented as a defiance offered by the aristocracy to the will of the people. But were the Crown, or the Lords, to prevent a Bill coming immediately into force solely for the sake of submitting it to the people for popular approval or rejection, a course of proceeding which would elicit Parliamentary rhetoric and reprobation, could provoke no popular censure. The nation would condone or applaud a direct appeal to the nation's own sovereignty.

The possibility of introducing the principle of the Referendum into English legislation admits not of doubt. The far more important question is whether a change of immense moment, which is certainly feasible, is also expedient.

III.

Would the introduction of the Referendum into England be of benefit to the nation?

This is an inquiry which no competent student of comparative politics will answer offhand, or with dogmatic assurance.

The assumption were rash that even in Switzerland, where the recognition of the popular veto on legislation is firmly established, the Referendum is entirely successful, and does not produce evils which must be carefully weighed against its alleged beneficial results; and though Conservative Swiss opinion now, on the whole, favours an institution originally invented and introduced by Radicals, there is no doubt that the Referendum is, in the opinion of fair-minded and competent judges among the Swiss, open to criticism and to censure.

It were, again, the rashest of assumptions that arrangements which work well in Switzerland are certain to produce good effects in England. The Swiss Republic is no ideal commonwealth. And the experience of more than a century makes it impossible for honest thinkers to fancy that in the world, either of fact or of imagination, they can discover some perfect constitution which may serve as a model for the correction of the vices to be found in existing polities. No man endowed with a title of Montesquieu's learning and sagacity could at the present day treat the institutions of any country after the manner in which the Constitution of England was treated by the author of the "*Esprit des Lois*." It were invidious to dwell on the shortcomings of that immortal work, for modern critics are far more likely to neglect the vital truths contained, and to a certain extent concealed, under the dogmas of the French jurist than to exaggerate the importance of teaching expressed in formulas which have ceased to be the commonplaces of the day. Yet the mistakes of Montesquieu contain a lasting warning. He studied English

institutions with infinite care, yet in some points he profoundly misunderstood the Constitution which was the object of his intellectual adoration and his misunderstandings, just because their ingenuity have misled generation after generation. The errors of Montesquieu are not more instructive than the mistakes made by the greatest among his disciples. The more minutely the details of the French Revolution are studied the stronger becomes the conviction of capable judges that the genius of Burke was, even when swayed by passion, endowed with something of prophetic insight into the nature and the perils of the most astounding movement or catastrophe which, since the days of the Reformation, has convulsed Europe. But every increase in historical knowledge, just as it enhances our veneration for Burke's insight into the follies and the vices of the Revolution, also increases our sense of the gravity of those misconceptions as to French history and character which, for the purposes of practical guidance, made his prophetic power all but useless.

We have all now learnt that *calum non animum mutant*, if true of individuals, is profoundly untrue of institutions. English constitutionalism has been transplanted from its native soil to every civilized land, but in no single instance has the exported plant reproduced the characteristics of the original stock. Even if the condition of Switzerland strikingly resembled the state of England, the Referendum might probably change its character and working when transplanted from the Alpine Republic to the insular monarchy. But the two countries differ as widely from each other as can any two lands, each of which is the home of rational freedom. Switzerland is the smallest of independent States; her population is less than that of London; federalism and localism of an extreme type are as natural to the Swiss as they are foreign to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Fortune has not given to us, and no human art can create in any part of the United Kingdom, the cantons and the communes which are the backbone of the Swiss political organization. In Switzerland, again, popular education has reached a level as high as perhaps is attainable in any modern European country; the Swiss are, in more points than one, the Scotch of continental Europe. The system of party, moreover, which flourishes with exuberant, or ominous, vigour in all countries inhabited by the English people, is, it would seem, but incompletely developed in the Swiss Republic. This is a point on which a foreigner must speak with the greatest caution. Swiss institutions, there is reason to believe, check the growth of the party system; but the imperfect development, not indeed of party feeling but of party organization, may well facilitate the working of Swiss institutions. Any thinker who gives fair weight to these obvious reflections will conclude that the success of the Referendum in Switzerland falls far short of proof that a similar institution would

work beneficially in England. Swiss experience is evidence that the popular veto may, under certain circumstances, produce good effects. This it does prove ; but it proves nothing more. Any one who wishes to weigh the expediency of introducing such a veto into the institutions of England under forms and limitations suitable to the genius of the country, will give less importance to the specific experience of Switzerland than to the general arguments which, as things now stand in the United Kingdom, are producible against and in favour of direct intervention by the electors in acts of legislation. He will also find it convenient to consider the operation of the Referendum in England, not as a check on legislation generally, but as a veto solely on changes in the Constitution, or, at any rate, on laws affecting the fundamental institutions of the State, such as the poor-law.

Two obvious objections lie against the introduction of the Referendum into England.

• The Referendum diminishes the importance of Parliamentary debate, and thereby detracts from the influence of Parliament.

That this must be so admits of no denial ; a veto, whether it be exercised by a king or by an electorate, lessens the power of the Legislature whereof the Bills are liable to be vetoed. When Elizabeth refused her assent to half the Bills of a session, the two Houses possessed nothing like the legislative authority which they exercise under Queen Victoria, who, during her reign of more than fifty years, has never refused assent to a Bill passed by Lords and Commons. If ever the electors obtain authority to reject Bills passed by the Houses, the Houses will lose their legislative supremacy. Debates which are indecisive can never possess the full importance, or interest, attached to discussions which result in final decisions.

Though the truth of the allegation that the Referendum would diminish the authority of the Legislature is undeniable, its practical importance may well be exaggerated ; under any system similar to that which exists in Switzerland, no law could be passed without the full assent of Parliament. The Referendum, as already pointed out, does not enable the electors to pass laws at their own will. It is a mere veto on such legislation as does not approve itself to the electorate. Debates in Parliament would in any case possess immense importance. The certainty of an appeal to the people might add to the reality, and increase the force, of Parliamentary argument. No one out of Bedlam supposes that the results of a division are greatly, if at all, affected by the speeches which are supposed to convince the House. Sudden efforts of rhetoric, dexterity in the management of debate, astuteness in the framing of an amendment, may on rare occasions (generally to the damage of the country) affect the division list. But even the outside public can conjecture, before a debate has begun, what members will vote for or against the Government ; and a

"Whip" can venture upon predictions, having far more of certainty than is generally ascribed to conjecture. If it were certain that the ultimate fate of a measure, say for the disestablishment of the Church, would finally turn not upon the votes of members of Parliament, but upon the votes of outsiders who never took part in the hollow and artificial system of warfare waged at Westminster, it is conceivable that speakers in Parliament might address themselves to the task of convincing an unseen, but more or less dispassionate, audience; it is conceivable (wild though the idea appears) that power of reasoning might become a force of some slight moment even in practical politics. Swiss experience does here a little help us. There is nothing to show that the Federal Assembly lacks weight or respectability; it compares favourably enough with the Sovereign National Assembly which makes and unmakes the Ministries and controls the destiny of France. That "sovereignty of Parliament," moreover, which Parliamentarians defend against popular control is, though a legal fact, something of a political fiction. Worshippers of power instinctively discover where it is that their idol has its shrine. Oratory, rhetoric, reasoning, and adulation are nowadays addressed by politicians to the electors. The electorate is king; the Referendum might turn out little more than the formal recognition of a fact which exists, even while men shut their eyes to its existence.

An appeal in matters of legislation from Parliament to the people is (it may be urged), on the face of it, an appeal from knowledge to ignorance.

This objection to the Referendum has weighed heavily with Maine and thinkers of the same school. Its weight cannot be denied, but may be lessened by more than one reflection.

This line of attack on the principle of an appeal to the people is an assault upon the foundations of popular government. It establishes, indeed, what no one denies, that nations, which have not reached a certain stage of development, are unfit for democratic institutions, and that democracy is a form of government which, at best, is marred by grave deficiencies. But if, for the sake of argument, we concede that every charge which reasonable men have brought against popular sovereignty can be substantiated—and this is to grant a good deal more than truth requires—the concession does not support the inference that the Referendum is of necessity an evil. For the matter to be determined is not whether democracy be or be not an admirable form of government, but, the quite different question, whether in democratic countries, like France, England, or Switzerland, a veto by the electors on the legislation of a democratic Parliament, especially when such legislation changes the Constitution, may not, on the whole, have salutary effects. The Referendum is but a veto, and, for the purpose of the present article, a veto only on the alteration of

fundamental laws. But were this appeal to the people imported from Switzerland to-morrow, and made, what no careful thinker would at present advise, applicable to every kind of law, it would not compel the passing by Parliament of a single Act which Parliament might deem impolitic. Parliament could still maintain an institution such as, say, the poor-law, of dubious popularity, but of undoubted wisdom. What Parliament could not do (supposing the Referendum were applicable to the poor-laws) would be to develop still further sound, though unpopular, principles in the administration of relief for the poor. This incapacity would be an evil. Unfortunately it is an evil which already exists. A modern Parliament may possibly maintain wise legislation enacted by the bold statesmanship of a less democratic age, but hardly in harmony with prevalent sentimentalism. But no modern Parliament will pass laws known to offend the general sentiment of the electors. This state of things may, or may not, be lamentable; it will not be rendered worse by recognising its existence. It is an error to imagine that there is great danger in taking from Parliament theoretical authority certain never to be exercised in practice. Against this delusion it behoves us to be specially on our guard. The weakness of English statesmanship is to retain names whilst sacrificing realities; the Crown has been stripped of real authority, whereof the maintenance might have been beneficial to the nation, by Ministers who would have resigned rather than deprive the Crown of a single nominal prerogative. Nor is it certain that the independence of members of Parliament, if such independence has still any real existence, would decline in proportion to the increase in the legislative authority of the people. A member might defy the whims of local busybodies, or the fanaticism of benevolent associations, if he knew that his conduct might ultimately be ratified by the visible and unmistakable approval of the nation.

No doubt the Parliamentary opponents of the Referendum have in their minds an idea which does not often in modern times find distinct expression in their speeches. They think, and not without reason, that electors well capable of determining who are the kind of men fit to be members of Parliament, are not capable of determining what are the laws which members of Parliament should pass or reject. This idea, as we all know, has been expressed in various forms by Burke, and by writers whom Burke influenced. Its substantial truth is, subject to certain reservations, past dispute, but its applicability to the circumstances of to-day is open to the gravest question. The House of Commons has ceased to be a body of men to whom the electors confide full authority to legislate in accordance with the wisdom or the interests of members of Parliament. It is really a body of persons elected for the purpose of carrying out the policy of the predominant party. It is not the fact that voters choose a respectable squire or

successful merchant because they know him to be a worthy man, and trust that he will legislate more wisely for them than they could for themselves; they elect a member—a worthy man, if they can get him—because he pledges himself, more or less distinctly, to vote for certain measures and to support certain political leaders. Elections are now decided for or against the Ministry according as the majority of the electors are Unionists or Gladstonians. It is idle to fancy that what the voters consider is simply, or mainly, the prudence, capacity, or character of their representative.

Full weight must be given to the arguments against the Referendum, but it is equally necessary to examine fairly the grounds on which a fair-minded man may advocate the introduction into England of the popular veto on constitutional changes.

These grounds are, when stated broadly, twofold.

First, the Referendum supplies, under the present state of things, the best, if not the only possible, check upon ill-considered alterations in the fundamental institutions of the country.

Our Constitution stands in a peculiar position. It has always been from a legal point of view liable to revolution by Act of Parliament. But this liability has till recent times been little more than a theoretical risk. From 1689 down to, roughly speaking, 1828, the fundamental laws of the land, though not unchangeable, were never changed. The customs and feeling and opinion of the age, no less than the interest of the classes who alone exercised effective political authority, all told against innovation. The idea of constant Parliamentary activity in the field of legislation was unknown to Englishmen till near the era of the Reform Act. Faction was as violent under George the Third as under Victoria; it was far more vicious and cruel in the last century than at present. But parties did not seek power by proposing alterations in the fundamental institutions of the land. Serious statesmen did not, the moment they quitted office, discover some new principle whereof the adoption was to achieve the main object of restoring its advocates to power, while it incidentally changed the composition of the electoral body. A century ago every one admired the far-famed Constitution of England, and the advocacy even of admitted improvements repelled rather than attracted the classes whose goodwill conferred success on politicians. It were far easier in 1890 to abolish the House of Lords than it would have been in 1790 to disfranchise Old Sarum. The change or amendment of the Constitution was till recently a slow and laborious process. For nearly half a century before the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act, every argument against the penal laws had been laid before the public. It took forty years more to drive into the minds of Englishmen the unanswerable objections to the exclusive maintenance of a Protestant Establishment in Ireland. Reform, free trade, and every important

change in national laws or habits, has till recently been the fruit of agitation as long as it was laborious. This agitation was an evil in itself and the parent of evils, but it was the visible sign of the strength of the barriers opposed to innovation. The state of the world has now entirely altered. The authority of the Crown, the influence of the nobility, our old party system grounded on aristocratic connection, the predominance of a prudent and moneyed middle-class, are matters of the past. The barriers which used to limit the exercise of unbounded authority by a Parliamentary majority are all broken down. What is more serious, change has become the order of the day. An age devoid of the genuine revolutionary enthusiasm which a century ago carried away the best minds in Europe, is also devoid of the conservative instincts or passion which saved England from succumbing to the fanaticism or violence of the French Revolution. Everything is now deemed changeable, and there is nothing from the Crown downwards which Parliament cannot legally change. The experience of 1886 has taught the country one lesson which will be remembered when the agitation for Home Rule is at an end. A Bill which in effect repealed the Act of Union with Ireland might conceivably have become law without the country having ever expressed assent to a change amounting to a constitutional revolution. The measure, moreover, which might have been carried in 1886, is one which, as regards its most important provision, is now in 1890 neither advocated nor defended, by Gladstonian Home Rulers. A calm critic, indeed, may doubt whether the Bill of 1886 would not lose its one merit by the omission of the clauses which excluded Irish members from the British Parliament. With this matter we need not concern ourselves. The noteworthy point is that in 1886 Parliament might have passed a law which, if reproduced in the same form in 1890, would assuredly be vetoed on an appeal to the people. Here we come to the root of the whole matter. Englishmen have, in accordance with our curious system of bit-by-bit reform, at last established a democracy without establishing those safeguards which in avowedly democratic commonwealths, such as the United States or Switzerland, protect the Constitution from sudden changes, and thus ensure that every amendment in the fundamental laws of the land shall receive the deliberate sanction of the people; the object, be it noted, of these safeguards is not to thwart the wishes of the democracy, but to ensure that a temporary, or factitious, majority shall not override the will of the nation.

The time may come when Englishmen may borrow from America the constitutional provisions which, by delaying alterations in the Constitution, protect the sovereignty of the people. But to frame a written and rigid Constitution is not the work of a day or of a year. Whether in England such a polity when framed would answer its purpose, is, moreover, a question not to be answered without most careful

consideration. Meanwhile the Referendum, which might be introduced with comparative ease, and, what is equally important, might be introduced as an experiment, supplies the very kind of safeguard which all true democrats feel to be required. It is an institution which admirably fits a system of popular government. It is the only check on the predominance of party which is at the same time democratic and conservative. It is democratic, for it appeals to and protects the sovereignty of the people; it is conservative, for it balances the weight of the nation's common sense or inertia against the violence of partisanship and the fanaticism of reformers. This check has one pre-eminent recommendation, not possessed by any of the artful, or ingenious, devices for strengthening the power of a Second Chamber, or placing a veto in the hands of a minority. Its application does not cause irritation. If the Lords reject a Bill people demand the reform of the Peerage; if the French Senate (a popularly elected body) hesitates to approve a revision of the Constitution, the next scheme of revision contains a clause for the abolition of the Senate. Popular pride is roused, voters are asked to make it a point of honour that a measure, which an aristocratic or select Chamber has rejected, shall be carried. A Bill's rejection turns into a reason for its passing into law. Should a regular appeal to the electors result in the rejection of a Bill passed by Parliament, this childish irritation becomes an impossibility. The people cannot be angered at the act of the people.

Secondly, the Referendum tends to sever legislation from politics.

That this separation is in itself desirable is a matter almost past dispute. It were hard to find, I will not say valid arguments, but even plausible fallacies, in favour of the position that the passing of an important law should depend upon circumstances, which have no necessary connection with the nature or the terms of the enactment. It cannot, to take an example from recent Swiss legislation, be reasonable that a law, restoring the penalty of capital punishment for murder, should be passed, or rejected, because of the popularity or the unpopularity of the politicians by whom the measure is proposed. The Referendum is a distinct recognition of the elementary but important principle that in matters of legislation patriotic citizens ought to distinguish between measures and men. This distinction the Swiss voters have shown themselves fully capable of drawing. They have, as already pointed out, rejected legislative propositions made to them by leaders of whose policy on the whole they approved. Whoever studies with care Adams' account of the Referendum will think it doubtful whether, on the whole, the Swiss people have not shown a good deal of sound sense in the use of their legislative veto. Let it be granted, however, what is more than possible, that the electors have in some cases exhibited less enlightenment than their representatives. Still

it is difficult to exaggerate the immense benefit which in the long run accrues to a people from the habit of treating legislation as a matter to be determined not by the instincts of political partisanship, but by the weight of argument. The Referendum is, or may be, an education in the application of men's understandings to the weightiest of political concerns—namely, the passing of laws—such as is absolutely unobtainable by voters, who have been trained to think, that their whole duty as citizens consists in supporting the Conservative or the Radical party, and in their blind acceptance of every proposed enactment which happens to form part of the party platform.

The Referendum, however, it is sometimes suggested, will, if introduced into England, be at best but a useless innovation. English politics, it is argued, are already subject to the predominant influence of party. Voters will always adhere to their party programme, and the men who, at a general election, will give a Tory, or a Liberal, vote, would, on a Referendum, unhesitatingly support any law carried through Parliament by Lord Salisbury or by Mr. Gladstone.

This reasoning undoubtedly contains an element of truth. The party system would for a long time, at any rate, often vitiate the working of the Referendum. But there is not the least reason to suppose that the result of an appeal to the electors of the United Kingdom on the question whether they would pass, or reject, a particular law, would always have the same result as an appeal to the constituencies, at a general election, on the question whether they would send up to Parliament a Conservative or a Liberal majority.

The differences between the two appeals are most important. The electors voting for members in different constituencies are a very different body from the electors voting *en masse* throughout the United Kingdom. The persons, in the second place, who vote at an election, and who would vote on a Referendum, need not necessarily, and indeed would not probably, be exactly the same. There exist, it may well be supposed, large bodies of electors who, while taking little part in current politics, especially in places where they happen to be in a minority, would record their votes with regard to a given law of which they knew the importance, and which was the subject of their strong and deliberate approval or condemnation. The question lastly submitted for decision at an election is of a totally different kind from the question submitted for decision on a Referendum. It is one thing to be asked which of two men, for neither of whom have you any liking, shall represent you, or misrepresent you, in Parliament, and another to be asked whether you approve of a law, say for disestablishing the Church of England, or for repealing the Act of Union with Ireland. There is at least nothing absurd or irrational in the anticipation that citizens who did not care to answer the first inquiry at all might answer the second with a peremptoriness and unanimity surprising to

politicians. No phenomenon is more curious than the divergence which, in all countries enjoying representative institutions, is apt to exist between Parliamentary opinion and popular convictions. Even as things now are, careful observers conjecture that measures, which it were hardly possible even to propose in Parliament, might not displease the electors, whilst proposals which command strong Parliamentary support might not stand the ordeal of a popular vote. Small would be the support which Parliament would give to one of the most salutary reforms conceivable—the reduction of the number of seats to be filled both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. Yet there is no reason for asserting that the people of the United Kingdom would object to a change which reduced the Houses of Parliament to something like the size of the Houses of Congress. Every year the likelihood increases that Parliament will grant the electoral franchise to women. Yet even those who, in common with the present writer, look with no disfavour on this reform, may gravely doubt whether it would, on a Referendum, command the approval of the electorate. There always have been, and there are, questions which interest politicians, but hardly interest the people. No historian would pledge himself to the assertion that, between 1832 and 1865, the electors cared deeply for the reform of Parliament. Yet during that period statesmen promised, or produced, more than one Reform Bill. We all know that the so-called religious question has in the hands of politicians impeded efforts to establish or extend popular education. Yet well-informed persons will sometimes assert that ordinary parents look with great indifference on a controversy which excites bitter contention among the members, of all parties, by whom these parents are represented. From whichever side the matter be looked at, the conclusion becomes more than probable that the results of a Referendum would, occasionally at least, be utterly different from the results of a general election, and that the electors, when consulted on the advisability of passing a definite law, might break through the bonds of party allegiance to follow the dictates of their own prejudices or common sense.

The popular veto on constitutional changes which freed electors from bondage to the party system might also promote the straightforwardness of English statesmanship. As things at present stand, the position of a statesman, forced to surrender a policy which he feels does not approve itself to the nation, is full of awkwardness. We all admit that a political leader must, sooner or later, shape his course of action in conformity with the will of the country. No one blames Peel for his loyal acceptance of the Reform Act; no one now thinks the worse of Lord Derby for having in 1852 acquiesced in the national resolve to maintain free trade. Unfortunately, legitimate changes of conduct are apt under our present system to bear the

appearance of dubious changes in opinion. It may often be a doubtful matter whether on a particular subject the country has, or has not, pronounced a final verdict. As the tenure of office is, or may be, immediately connected with a Minister's success in carrying a given Bill through Parliament, there is great difficulty in his renouncing legislation proposed by himself, when he finds the country will not support his Bill, without his at least incurring the charge of undue tenacity in clinging to office. The reference of a particular law, say a Parliamentary Reform Bill, to the people for approval or rejection, would greatly increase the freedom, and improve the moral position, of the Minister who advocated the measure. If the Bill were accepted, things would stand exactly as they do now when a Bill finally passes into an Act. If it were rejected, the Minister could, like a member of the Swiss Council, accept the rejection as a final expression of the nation's will. It would soon be felt that he might with perfect honesty pursue the course which would now be taken by a member of the Swiss Council. He need not pretend that his opinion is altered; he might say openly that he still, as a matter of opinion, thought his Reform Bill wise and politic. But he might also say that it was a matter on which the nation was the final judge, and that he accepted the nation's decision. In all this there would be no pretence at conversion; there would simply be a pledge as to conduct. The Minister might, if still supported by Parliament, continue to administer the affairs of the country as honourably as Peel held office after the passing of the Reform Act, or as a servant of the Crown in the days of Elizabeth remained in the service of the Queen even though her Majesty had, on some high matter of state, rejected his advice.

The modification in the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility which would, certainly, sooner or later, be caused by the introduction of the Referendum, must, to all devotees of the system of government by party, seem a fatal objection to the suggested innovation. Of speculations which have some family similarity to the ideas propounded in this article, my friend Mr. Morley (whose zeal for party takes me by surprise) warns us that they "must be viewed with lively suspicion by everybody who believes that party is an essential element in the wholesome working of Parliamentary government." To this suspicion all, who call attention to the merits of the Referendum, are, it is to be feared, obnoxious. The plain truth must be stated. The party system, whatever its advantages, and they are not insignificant, is opposed to the sovereignty of the people, which is the fundamental dogma of modern democracy. That system throws the control of legislation first into the hands of a party, and then into the hands of the most active or the most numerous section of that party. But the part of a party may be, and probably is, a mere fraction of the nation. The principle of the Referendum, on the other hand, is to place, at

any rate as regards important legislation, parties, factions, and sections under the control of the national majority. The creation of a popular veto is open, it must be frankly admitted, to grave objections. The consideration, however, which, more than any other, may commend it to the favourable attention of thoughtful men, is its tendency to revive, in democratic societies, the idea which the influence of partisanship threatens with death, that allegiance to party must in the minds of good citizens yield to the claims of loyalty to the nation.

Let none of my readers suppose that my object in writing this article is directly, or decisively, to recommend the adoption in England of the Swiss Referendum. My object is simply to show that there is much more to be said for, no less than against, the popular veto than English thinkers are generally ready to admit. The time approaches when we may import from the United States the "Constitutional Convention," which in the domain of politics is by far the most valuable result of American inventiveness. The time has come when we ought all to consider the possible expediency of introducing into England that appeal to the people which is by far the most original creation of Swiss democracy.

A. V. DICEY.

SUNLIGHT OR SMOKE?

"MOSES GATE," cried the porter, and we alighted. The heavens were black with smoke, and the smother of the mills, to one whose lungs were unaccustomed to breathing sulphurized air, made itself felt.

Down Hall Lane we went. Colliers in their clogs clattered by, grim and grimy, and the baker's cart jarred and rattled angrily over the cobbly pavement. I suspect he dealt in black bread,—to judge from the surroundings and the dinginess of his cart. Soon the street was seen to fall towards Farnworth Bridge, and yellow mounds of débris stood up against the sky, that reminded one in colour of the great mud mounds of that city Moses knew, Heliopolis, the city of the Sun. It was a coincidence that here, in the desolate sunlessness of a smoke-smitten people, the very railway station's name and mounds of débris should conjure up an Eastern dream of Sun-worship; yet it was as votary of the great god, Ra, himself, that I was bound on my errand of inquiry.

Suddenly there was a rift in the dirty, drabbed house fronts, and standing on a kind of spoil-heap, on the top of which the inhabitants were busy pouring their house-refuse and emptying their slop-pails, we saw such a scene as, except in Dante's "Inferno," or in Farnworth, could not be realized.

Below us lay a Stygian lake :—"Crompton's Water-Lodge" it was called. Remains of paper-mills stood on a bit of land at one end of it. What once was a grand house peered red through the smoke-blighted trees, that, like souls in pain, turned withered arms upward, and led the eye to a ring of murky factory chimneys on the surrounding hills; while here and there, beneath their sulphur canopy, a desolate, hopeless-looking House of Prayer stood up, as if to prove that dirt and godliness could go together.

Towards the water-lodge, and under the brow of a dark, sooty hill, crept beneath its old-fashioned, stone-arched bridge a thing that only in Lancashire could be called a river. Poisonous with the discharge into its frothy volume from the settling tanks of the Farnworth and the Bolton sewage works; black with the refuse waters of mines and chemical works for miles, it almost seemed to taint the air at our distance.

Upon the brow of the surly-looking cliff bank, below which the Croal—for that was the name of the river—crawled along, chimneys, solid and square, were belching forth clouds of Erebean darkness and dirt, as if they had a dispensation from the Devil. "Chemical and vitriol works," said my friend; "owned by one of the last made batch of magistrates." Small comfort then, if we are to depend upon an unpaid magistracy to enforce the Smoke Pollution Act, thought I. More chemical works down in the valley spat their fumes in answer to the vitriol mill up bank, and made the live air sick.

But in this dismal landscape there was seen a flashing of white water. The Croal at the Weir could not forget her native grace, and for a moment shone like silver.

There was a patch of red colour amid the universal monotone of soot, that took the eye. It looked at first sight like a church tower and roof, but there were strange gangways leading from a colliery shaft on the bank above to the top of the church tower, and the windows in the chancel side were evidently of no Gothic shape, and were unglazed.

Close beside the warm-looking edifice of brick rose a chimney, a smallish chimney in a land of giants. But as I soon learned, that little David of a chimney was the champion of Heaven's cause against the Goliaths of darkness. That was the chimney, that with its smokeless breath, for these past twelve years, had been pleading for light and wholesome sunny air for the labouring classes of Lancashire, and for the vegetation of tree and flower by the bank of Croal.

As I gazed upon that apparently lifeless chimney-stack, and heard from my friend that that was the Farnworth Colliery chimney which was helping to solve the smoke problem for England, I felt indeed that Moses' Gate might come to be truly called Heliopolis, and that chimney-stack might stand one day, fitly enough, an English obelisk in the Farnworth fields, as an offering to the Sun.

Leaving the red brick rosy-looking Hall of Progress and standing close by its smokeless chimney, one realized that the lifelessness of the latter was a pure delusion, for a huge iron cylinder kept coming up from below as if by magic, and then automatically it opened its mouth and discharged its contents into a sluice. Every half minute the vast bucket dived, and brought up from a depth of 100 yards 600 gallons of water from the mine.

The motive-power behind this work was the steam of three Galloway boilers of the inside-firing Lancashire type—two furnaces in each. Each of these boilers, 7 feet 6 inches across and 30 feet long, was hard at work evaporating the necessary water to supply the steam needed for this task, and for the pumps 200 yards below the surface, at the rate of 600 gallons per hour. Each pair of furnaces to supply the heat to do this work was burning in the twelve hours three tons of fuel. They were in full blast, and the chimney which had given no sign of life was constantly drawing up, through the burning mass of ignited coal within these furnaces, the requisite air to supply oxygen for the burning, and all the resultant products of completed combustion, and yet it was to all appearance a dead, idle chimney.

We entered the boiler-house, and found a single man in charge of the three boilers, for the firing was being done constantly but automatically, by means of a Cass mechanical stoker, with certain improvements that the owner of the colliery had suggested. All the foreman had to do was to fill twice an hour the hopper from which the fuel was fed in a continuous stream to the furnaces, and occasionally to take a rake, open a cinder or ashpit door, by means of a pulley and chain, under and quite at the back of the furnace-bed, remove the scorïæ, or clinkers and dirt, to which the fuel, after slow passage through the furnace, had been reduced.

The transit of the fuel along the bars is caused by their movement. They first advance all together, carrying forward the fuel resting upon them, and then retire one after another to their former position without bringing the fuel back.

It was notable that even here the health and convenience of the stoker had been thought of. An iron guard, or apron, had been hung at the front under the furnace door, and the stoker, raking the clinkers from the far end to the front, allowed the whole hot mass to fall into an iron ash-pan, in which it was quenched by water, he being entirely guarded the while, by the apron, from sulphurous fume, steam, and heat from the scorïæ.

"You would like to see that the furnaces, each of them capable of driving £40,000 worth of modern cotton-mill machinery, are really in full blaze?" said my friend.

I assented, and involuntarily stepped to the doorway of the boiler-house to make quite sure that the chimney was smokeless.

"Put down the mica screen and open the furnace door," said the master; and the man, who had been used to the job—for visitors have during the past few months poured in here to see the Smoke Problem solved—with something of a look of pride on his face, did as he was ordered.

"There's a fire for you!" and truly it was a fire that Nebuchadnezzar in his fiercest mood would have been content with. The fuel fell

slowly like fine rain from the Cass hopper, a red-hot fire brick arch by its radiation at once ignited it, and then very slowly, but quite surely, the glowing mass moved on and on to its destination about 8 feet from the furnace door, where its bed of molten lava, as it would seem, gradually thinning down in depth from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch, rose a little and fell behind the ashpit door from off the far end of the bars.

The journey was slow; it took about 20 minutes for the fuel to pass right along; but in that 20 minutes it had parted with all its life and came back mere dirt, for the most part, only useful to be carted back to the earth from whence it came, to serve for filling up the drifts from which the coal had been worked.

This fuel was indeed 30 p. c. pure dirt when it started on its fiery journey, for it was nothing more than coal refuse—slack dust that had fallen through quarter-inch screens, such fuel as you may purchase for 2s. a ton anywhere, mere waste, through the absence of machines to burn it. Yet here was this waste being put to its greatest use; and though doubtless with such fine dust fuel the problem of supplying sufficient air to the mass to insure sufficient and full combustion, and to prevent the formation of smoke, was a more than ordinarily difficult one, here was a Coking Stoker dealing with coal dust and coal dirt in a cleanly, effective way, and adding not a single puff of smoke, or visible impurity, to Lancashire air.

“We had Fletcher, the chief inspector under the Alkali Works Act, here a few days since, testing the flue gases,” said my friend; “he found none of the deadly carbon monoxide, and he told me that at present he had failed to discover it in any furnace gases, when free from smoke, and that it would be contrary to first principles in chemistry that he should find it.”

This was news, and good news, for much had been said in papers and elsewhere of the possibility that the smoke preventers, who were doing what they could to get rid of black smoke from their chimneys, were, in reality, likely to flee from evils that they knew, to ills they could not foresee, and by their more certain and complete combustion were only going to give the deadly invisible carbon monoxide “CO” for carbon pure and simple and the carbonic acid “CO₂,” which asphyxiates, but does not poison. How often had we seen this bogey raised in the daily-paper discussions of late. The Smoke-making folk had never been weary of reiterating their dolorous forebodings:—“You anti-smoke people are going to do away with good, black, honest clouds of visibly unburnt carbons, and you are going to deluge the country with deadly volumes of invisible and lethal gases. We shall have more sunlight, but less time in which to behold the sun; our men will die like dogs in the ‘Grotto del cane,’ as they toil beneath our chimneys.”

But here at the Farnworth Bridge Colliery chimney was a con-

clusive answer. Instead of the "carbon clouds," with their highly absorbent powers, drinking in the sulphurous acid gas and other unburnt hydrocarbons at the chimney-top, and slowly falling to earth with their poisonous prisoners to kill the grass and stifle the leaves and bark of all tree growth, went forth an invisible volume of harmless gases—80 per cent. being nitrogen, 14 carbonic acid, 4 free oxygen, and 2 steam and gasified sulphur, which were at once diffused as they went upward in a heated stream, and that diffusion so rapid, that, ere by reason of its weight when cooled the carbonic acid fell towards earth, it was as though it had not been. The cry of poison from the complete combustion of a smokeless furnace is a cry that science will silence. The poison is known as monoxide or carbonic oxide, and is caused by the same deficiency of air that causes smoke.

Meanwhile it is just as well to note that where smoke is not, there are no yellow fogs, and no death from clogged and irritated bronchiæ; that as far as the carbonic-acid gas goes, it is the natural food of plants and trees and grass, to their greater luxuriance and man's gain, provided their little mouths have not been first stopped with a coating of soot, and that there is an abundance of sunlight. People talk about ozone and free oxygen. I wonder if they have remembered that God has given "green herb for the service of men" as one of the great oxygenating agents; but that to render it possible for plants to take in carbonic acid gas, and give back the gift of oxygen, it is really a *sine quâ non* that the sun should no longer be hidden by a cloud of smoke, and that, as much for the health of man as for the health of the herb of the field, the joy of the clear noontide should be scattered free.

We left the Farnworth Colliery, but not before we had learned how its owner had for the past two summers done all he could to encourage working engineers and firemen to visit his furnace, and see the result of his twelve years' practice. "The better the day the better the deed," appears to have been his motto, and knowing that Sunday was the only day in which most of the practical men he wished to interest in the prevention of smoke could visit Farnworth, he asked them to come on that day, and see for themselves how easily and at how small a cost and how effectively the smoke demon could be combated. I suppose he felt that many asses had fallen into this pit of unholy destruction, and that as much on the Lord's Day as on the old Sabbath Day it was the Lord's work to do what he could to lift them out of it; notwithstanding much criticism of a certain kind to the contrary.

I left Farnworth devoutly thankful. Black Bolton was my journey's aim, and thither along the canal, above the frowsy Croal, above the Sewage Works in the Valley of Death below, we went. A gentleman's house, tenantless and dismal enough now, peeped through

smoke-bitten trees. Had there been no smoke the owner might have been resident still. Away across the valley, in the direction of Moses Gate, several chimneys were seen smoking continually. They were, I am told, fitted with mechanical stokers of the "Sprinkler" type, which, so far as I can see, do little towards preventing their smoke.

I saw enough ere the sun set that day (I could not tell exactly the hour of sun-down) to make me sure that the battle of the future would lie between the Fast-feeding Mechanical Stoker of the Sprinkler type, and the Slow-feeding or Pushing Stoker of the Coking type; and roughly speaking, the difference between the Sprinkler and the Coker lies in this: that the Sprinkler, constantly discharges a fine rain of coal on to various parts of the glowing furnace bed in turn, and trusts to the immediate conversion of the coal thus distributed in fine division into gas; while the Coker slowly introduces a mass of fuel into the furnace front, and trusts to its being converted into gas as it moves slowly along from the front to the back of the furnace. Air in both cases is supplied through the bars. In both cases the furnace bars are movable, and by their motion give forward motion to the burning fuel, and both get rid of clinkers and clear the furnace-bed by precipitating the fuel or its remains into the ashpit after it has gone through the furnace; but it is to be remembered that with the "Sprinklers" a fireman is needed to stir or break up the furnace-bed from time to time with a poker, and in the "Cokers" no such raking or poking is needed, whilst, whenever a poker or rake is used, smoke is a certain consequence.

But we were now opposite Messrs. Wardle and Brown's weaving mills at Hacken Lane, Darcy Lever, and we turned aside to see Roscoe's apparatus for smoke prevention. It certainly was simplicity itself.

The boiler was of the ordinary Lancashire type, driving machinery at about 130 horse-power, and was consuming about eighteen tons of fuel per week of sixty hours. The firing-up was done by hand, and no coal was used but best free-burning steam-coal, technically known as Burgy. The fireman opened the furnace-door, stirred the fire, and threw on his coal. We could see the dense vapour rise and rush along with the draught to the furnace-end, and we expected to find that volumes of dense smoke were coming from the chimney-top; but, at the same moment, the fireman pushed open a valve beneath the far end of the furnace, and, as the flame leaped up and over a split firebrick bridge at the far end, a rush of air, entering through the valve and passing up the split in the red-hot firebrick bridge, met the incandescent carbon particles and gave up its oxygen, and instead of dense clouds of soot careering up the chimney, an invisible volume of carbonic acid and the other products of completed combustion passed up to the outer air. Of course

it is fair to say that the firing was distinctly observable at the chimney-top for a minute, but certainly ere two minutes elapsed no smoke was visible, and we felt that Roscoe's split-bridge, if it were in the hands of a competent and intelligent fireman, offered one solution of the great smoke puzzle.

We left Wardle and Brown's, and passed away by Darcy Lever Church, with its grassless graves and its smoke-grimed spire of open terra cotta,—that under ordinary country-side conditions would still have been radiant after its forty years of weathering,—and let blue sky and green of hill and dale gleam through its tracery,—up to the quaintest of old Lancashire Halls—a house of good Queen Bess's date, half timber and half masonry. "Here," said my friend, "I have determined to live, not so much because it was the home of my fathers, as because I didn't see how there could be a better 'spur to prick the sides of my intent' to fight the smoke fiend than this prospect of the enemy's camp. One is able to realize here how difficult it is to keep a house clean, and how impossible at any cost it is to keep the 'leaf upon the tree.' It is easy enough to shift from one's conscience the burden of blackening the very sun in Heaven, if one does not feel the foulness of the cloud, and the unkindness to all who are doomed to labour in the dusk. If our City magnates and manufacturers lived but for a year in the thick of their own smoke, the smoke abatement movement would go forward with strides." "The paysons," he added, "do live in it, and we here in Bolton have already heard some straight words from the pulpit," and as he spoke he shewed me a sermon preached before the Mayor and Aldermen the Sunday after the late municipal election, which was certainly calculated to make civic authorities "sit up" and listen.

We sallied forth to Black Bolton, or Bolton-in-the-Smoke, as it has been called. A drizzling rain had set in, and we almost tasted the chimney-tops in solution as it fell upon our faces. We visited, in order, all the chief factories where the smokeless Coking Stokers, or Cokers, of the Vicars, Cass, Sinclair, and Hodgkinson types were at work.

At Messrs. Crosses and Winkworth, in one mill we found that a Sprinkling stoker had been taken out to make way for a "Coker." Three boilers were at work though two were sufficient for driving purposes; the horse-power of the engines was estimated at 500; 45 tons of fuel were being converted in a week of 60 hours into force without the smoke. We found the same "Coker" in use at the Atlas Mills, of Messrs. Musgrave & Co., Ltd., a firm who have rendered five out of their several mills almost smokeless, and at the mill we visited we found four boilers at work converting 54 tons of fuel into horse power without smoke. At the Persian Mills of Messrs. Bayley & Sons we saw five boilers at work consuming 100

tons of fuel per week, and three of these again, by means of a "Coker," were doing their work without the smoke.

We next visited the mills of P. Crook & Co., Ltd. Here we found a firm of spinners needing 1075 horse-power to do their work, and doing it with three boilers, 8 feet by 30 feet, whose furnaces consumed 93 tons of fuel a week. And again, thanks to their public spirit, there was no smoke.

I asked the cost of fitting the Coker to boilers, and was answered that it could be done with all the necessary driving machinery for about £90 for a two-flued boiler. Not a great outlay that, when one considers how much cheaper a kind of fuel the Coker admits for use. Sinclair's machine, fitted to the sixteen boilers of the Penicuik Paper Works, near Edinburgh, had, as I was informed, saved that firm nearly £100 per annum per boiler for the last ten years. One came away right glad to have seen the mill of Peter Crook and Co., Limited, with its busy furnaces, and its stately chimney-stack in blessed cloudlessness.

We had seen the Cass Coker at work at the Farnworth Colliery, so did not visit the Bleaching Mill of Messrs. Blair and Sumner, but we could not leave Black Bolton without a peep at Canon Brothers, the fathers of the smokeless furnaces in Bolton—or rather one of the father-firms, for there were three who nobly began to do their work without smoke some seventeen years ago. And very willingly, as a stranger who believes that Bolton-le-Sun would be a healthier place for a working man than Bolton-le-Smoke, do I bear a grateful testimony to those three firms, "forerunners of a golden time to be."

We visited one of the mills, and found the old Juckes furnaces working away under externally fired boilers. The fire in one of the furnaces had been withdrawn, and we could then see to great advantage the system of drum and revolving cogs, by which the furnace bars in so many linked segments of an endless chain were moved slowly round, carrying the fire from front to back.

As we came back through the town, we wondered how it was possible for Bolton not to rise, to a man, and insist that all its chimneys should be as smokeless and harmless as the chimneys of the factories visited. We had asked the price of introducing these anti-smoke appliances, and in no instance could we find that the cost stood at more than £100 outlay per boiler, while the saving of fuel would save the original outlay in a year or two. We had asked how the men liked it, and the firemen had answered, that it saved dirt, and that though it prevented them "pushing" the fires as much as they could have wished for an emergency, as far as health went, they were better off, with less of sulphurous fumes, and less exposure to heat.

That pushing of the fires is a crux. I had, on a previous day, visited one of the largest flannel factories in Lancashire, to find to my disappointment that Coking furnaces had been replaced by

Sprinklers. The reason is simple enough. The Sprinkling machine enables more fuel to be fired than is possible by most of the "Cokers" in use. Hence, where furnace fires require to be "pushed," and there is no room to add another boiler, and so get the same amount of evaporation per hour by a rather slower fire, and smoke is not considered, the Sprinkler, with its light cloud of continuous smoke at the chimney-top, seems to be resorted to. Of course, it is manifest that boiler-room is an expensive item in town factories. It pays some firms better to work with quick firing and a better quality of coal in a cramped-up space, together with the smoke-producing use of the rake to break up and push the fires, than to go in for slower furnaces and more, and or larger boilers and chimney. Until the smoke penalties are enforced it is probable that in confined areas the furnace proprietors will go in for the Sprinkler.

Meanwhile public opinion will ripen slowly into demanding the total abolition of smoke at the chimney-top, and then, at all costs, boiler-houses will be enlarged, and the Coker will be King.

An influential committee formed in the Mayor's parlour at the Manchester Town-hall on Friday, November 8, 1889, has undertaken "to gather, test, and supply information of the present practice, performance, and uttermost capabilities of all the smokeless furnace apparatus in the market." We may be sure that that information will be reliable and exhaustive. Meanwhile, let us seriously ask ourselves if it is not a little uneconomical to be burning fuel at first hand in our boiler furnaces at all? Would it not be possible to convert our coal into gas in closed retorts before using the heat-giving properties as fuel? The chief inspector of the Alkali Works tells us that this is actually being done at the great chemical factory of Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co., at Northwich. The coal is there subjected to destructive distillation, and the ammoniacal and other by-products are retained and found of great value—sometimes equal to that of the cheap fuel itself—while the residue of the gas is used for furnace heating.

But, it has been asked, pending the time when all furnaces shall be worked by gas, what can be done to render smokeless the great iron puddling and steel-making works? They are the worst offenders, potteries only excepted. The answer is, use smokeless coal, coke, or anthracite; use Welsh steam coal, as is done largely in London; use the best screened bituminous coal, as has been done successfully at Wigan, and begin to believe that iron-works, as has been proved by John Cockerill & Co., at Liège, and by the Barrow-in-Furness Steel Works Company, can be carried on smokelessly if only some such furnaces as the "Bicheroux" at Liège, and the "Vicars Boiler" stokers at Barrow, are introduced.

Meanwhile, the difficulties met with in the working of the Public Health Act are enormous. In Black Bolton chimneys are not under

police control, as in the metropolis. In Lancashire local authorities have not yet agreed as to what amount of smoke constitutes a nuisance. Thus, for example, while in Manchester one minute of dense smoke in the hour is the standard for prosecution, here in Bolton the Smoke Inspector is told he is not to interfere unless the emission of dense smoke is of two and a half minutes' duration, or that of moderate smoke ten minutes during the half-hour.

Another complication arises in the various interpretations that are put on the meaning of the words "black smoke" in Section 91 of the Public Health Act. All smoke is black, and contributes to the general nuisance, and all smoke, ergo, is, by the Act, illegal; and, until this is recognised, any standard based on estimated degrees of density will vary according to the eyesight and taste of various inspectors, and the judgment of various benches of magistrates, and the private interests of the local authorities. The magistrates are not infallible; sometimes they are not entirely disinterested; and the having to prove to a bench of manufacturing magistrates in a manufacturing town that smoke has been seen issuing from the chimneys of their friends, "in such quantity as to be a nuisance," is often a task beyond the power of the local Inspector of Nuisances, or the Vigilance Committee, or the Sanitary Board.

But Bolton-le-Smoke has proved conclusively that all black smoke is a nuisance, and that all black smoke is needless, and that all black smoke can be prevented without in any way impairing the efficiency or ultimate success of the various manufactures that are carried on by means of steam-boiler furnaces. The words of the Act, "in such quantity as to be a nuisance," after what we saw in Bolton, sound ridiculous. All that seems really needed is that public opinion shall ripen as to which is the real nuisance—the smoke-maker, or the man who puts the law in motion against the smoke—and the wished-for end will be attained.

The Bolton authorities, on May 9, 1888, gave notice to all the steam users of the borough "that the smoke inspectors had been cautioned not to give the impression that abatement of the nuisance to any degree short of cessation would be permanently satisfactory, as the Council had it in evidence that the nuisance could be entirely stopped, with but slight exceptions, by day and night." Why, then, did we, as [redacted] in the Bolton mills, from one of the smokeless [redacted] were the dense clouds of unburnt and wasted carbon [redacted] in the day?

The answer [redacted] until [redacted] [redacted]

But, as we walked to the Bolton [redacted] [redacted] migh-
tily
with the thought that the mind of D [redacted] [redacted] conscience

ARISTOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

WHEN a man like Professor Huxley, who has long been looked up to as the most brilliant champion of advanced thought, propounds principles which are not easily distinguishable from those of the most fossilised old Toryism, it behoves those who believe in modern progress to review their position and make sure that they are standing on solid ground. The Professor has been moved to descend from the serene regions of science, and enter on the burning region of practical politics by two considerations.

1. He is alarmed at the progress of democratic ideas and institutions, by which, as he forcibly expresses it, the navigation of the vessel of State is to be entrusted to the votes of the "cooks and loblolly-boys instead of the officers," and when "the 'great heart' of the crew is called upon to settle the ship's course."

2. He specially distrusts such a democratic extension of the franchise, because he thinks that it leads straight to what he calls "Rousseauism," that is, to a disposition to throw all the fundamental institutions of society, and especially that of land and other forms of private property, into a crucible, and cast them into new and impracticable forms in accordance with visionary abstract theories of the natural equality of men.

It is clear that this argument is in substance that which has been used since the days of Thucydides, in the long controversy, as to the relative advantages of Aristocracy and Democracy; and that the "loblolly-boy" simile is in effect a pregnant and pithy way of putting the objections to the Reform Bill of 1832, urged by Sir Charles Wetherall and Colonel Sibthorp, and since repeated by every opponent of the great democratic reforms, which, in the course of the last fifty years, have so completely transformed the course of legislation. It

is a plausible argument; but it has certainly thus far shown no sign of satisfying that, which, after all, is the surest test of truth, whether in scientific, or in political and social evolution, "the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence."

And here let me begin by saying that it is a source of great satisfaction to me to find that in contesting Professor Huxley's conclusions it is a question of appreciation of facts, and not of conflict of principle. I entirely agree with him that social and political problems are so infinitely complicated that it is impossible to solve them absolutely by any recurrence to axioms or first principles.

If even the simple problem of three bodies revolving round a common centre of gravity by the law of gravitation, can only be solved by successive approximations, how hopeless must be the task of arriving at any hard-and-fast mathematical solution of the problem of thirty-five millions of people revolving each in its own individual orbit, determined by an infinite number of impulses of self-interest, sentiment, hereditary influences, race, country, education, and all the vastly varied action of a complex environment. In fact I am disposed to go even farther in this direction than the Professor himself, and to object that in his "loblolly-boy" simile, which contains the essence of his argument against democracy, he has stated the problem too generally, and not coupled it with the necessary limitations as to time, place, and other conditions which are indispensable to arrive at any practical conclusion. At the same time I so far agree with Herbert Spencer, as to think that it is not only interesting, but may be useful in arriving at practical conclusions, to trace back the results which have survived in the course of evolution of civilized societies, as far as possible to their origin or first principles, so as to see what factors have become permanent and inevitable, and what are temporary and evanescent. Thus it seems to me that while Huxley is perfectly right in rejecting the axiom that all men are born equal, he might study Herbert Spencer with advantage in tracing the conditions under which this axiom, absurd as an absolute conclusion, has yet in some cases a real element of truth. Thus he would scarcely deny that all classes and conditions of men, be they rich or poor, strong or weak, ought to be equal in the eye of the law. Nor would Spencer deny that questions of property and contract, of finance and franchise, are in their nature questions of more or less, of time and circumstance, rather than of absolute conclusions. In short, I hold that a right appreciation of first principles and of the history of evolution are useful in enabling us to state the conditions of social and political problems, though powerless to solve them. In order to define more closely the conditions of the problem of Aristocracy *v.* Democracy, we must greatly narrow the assumptions on which Professor Huxley's argument depends. In neither case is it a question of "cook and

been incurred in paper, depreciated far below its gold value. Surely here was a case, if ever, where the "loblolly-boys" and common sailors might have been expected to listen to the seductions of demagogues, who were not wanting, telling them that they ought not to submit to excessive taxation, in order to pay in full in gold, the cormorant capitalists who had advanced their loans in paper. But no! the maxim that "honesty is the best policy" was so engrained in the nature of the American masses, that they submitted cheerfully to a load of taxation, which converted the United States from one of the cheapest into one of the dearest countries in the world, and the demagogues, instead of riding into power on popular prejudice, found themselves simply ostracized from public life.

Those who wish to pursue the subject farther, and to understand the real effect of democratic institutions on social life, will do well to study one of the most admirable books of recent times, Professor Bryce's work on the "American Commonwealth." Space forbids my pursuing the subject farther, and it is sufficient to say, that I challenge any dispassionate observer to say that democracy has been a failure in America; and what is true of America is equally true, on a smaller scale, in all English-speaking colonies, with self-government, representative institutions, and a wide franchise.

Turning to our own country, the situation is more complex. The political education of the masses can only be said to have begun in the present generation, with Board schools, a cheap Press, and the extension of the franchise. On the other hand, the principle of aristocracy is not merely hereditary, but is reinforced by the numerous class who have risen to wealth; by the social influences radiating from the Queen on the throne down to the wife of a retired tradesman living in an Acacia or Beaconsfield Villa; by powerful professional and monopolist interests, such as the Law, the Church, and the publicans, which are either manned by members of the upper class or have grown up under its shelter; and by the conservative instincts which have made Englishmen as a rule slow to move and suspicious of novelties. Still there remains a large number of facts from which an approximate induction can be drawn. Take, first, the question of foreign policy. Here, certainly, if the "loblolly-boy" theory has any force, the superior wisdom of the Classes over that of the Masses ought to be most apparent. If an aristocracy has any *raison d'être* in times of peace, it surely lies in keeping alive sound traditions, and taking sound views of the relations of the country to foreign powers, and of the true and permanent interests of the nation, distinguished from temporary passions and prejudices.

1. Sympathy with Louis Napoleon, and the *entente cordiale* with the French Empire landing us in the Crimean war.

2. Sympathy with the Southern States in the war of the Union.

3. Sympathy with Turkey and an exaggerated Russo-phobia, leading to a policy alike cynical and stupid, of trying to bolster up the decay of the decrepit empire of the Sultan at the expense of the Christian populations struggling for their inevitable enfranchisement.

4. Sympathy with Austria in her wars, to prevent the creation of an united Italy and of a great Germany.

5. Violent indignation at the settlement of the Alabama claims by arbitration.

6. Successive Afghan wars undertaken in defiance of common sense and of the remonstrances of the leading authorities, like Lord Lawrence, who were practically acquainted with Indian affairs.

7. A Colonial policy of treating Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, as dependencies of Downing Street, by which our Colonial Empire would have been infallibly lost to us but for the tardy application of democratic principles.

Many more instances might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to show that, in point of fact, the "classes" have signally failed to make good their claim to be a real "Aristocracy," that is a Government of the best and wisest, and that in the very field where, if anywhere, their superiority ought to have been most clearly manifested.

If we turn to domestic affairs it is still more clear that the "classes" have not shown that superiority in political wisdom which is claimed for them over the "masses." It would be difficult to name one of the great and beneficial reforms of the last 60 years which could have been carried if the upper classes of society, represented by the hereditary aristocratic House of Lords, had been able to give effect to their opinions and wishes,

The Reform Bills, the Extensions of the Franchise and of Education, Free Trade, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Irish Land Acts, would all have been rejected, and it is not too much to say that, if the navigation of the ship of State had been entrusted to the select few, it would long ago have been among breakers, and instead of Reform we should have had Revolution.

If we inquire the reason, it will be found in the fact that the so-called aristocracy has ceased to be what its name purports—a selection of the best of the nation. Modern state of frequent great wars, or apprehension of them, has led to a system of military organization, in which the hereditary aristocracy can maintain its position. I read of the

been born in Germany instead of England. The stuff is there—the physical courage, the high spirit, the feeling that *noblesse oblige*—but how different has been the training. In the one case, duty, discipline, and the stern realities of the battle-field; in the other, the enervating influences of luxury and idleness. Compare the House of Commons, the crew selected by the nation, including, if you like, the cooks and loblolly-boys, with the House of Lords, the crew selected by hereditary succession, and recruited only from the upper classes. Any one who has stood a contested election must be aware, that in a great and increasing majority of cases, no one has a chance of being returned to the popular Assembly, who has not a good deal of the experience and qualities which make for statesmanship. He must be a fairly good speaker, well up in all the political and social questions of the day, with command of temper to stand heckling, of independent means, and of fair position and moral character. He must have done something to make his name known as a man who has succeeded in life or who has shown marked ability. The House of Commons is recruited more and more every day by men who, if some accident could discharge the duties of their office very creditably. Men like Mr. W. H. Smith from trade, Mr. Goschen from the City, Mr. John Morley from literature, Mr. H. Fowler from a solicitor's office, and scores of others who would do fairly well if they had the opportunity. Can the same be said of the House of Lords? Assuredly not! With a very few eminent exceptions, they do not even take a sufficient interest in politics to attend its sittings. And they are terribly biassed by what I have called the "personal equation;" they view things through the medium of West-end society, and the result is that nine-tenths of them are utterly out of sympathy with the public opinion and political views of a majority of their countrymen.

When an organ becomes useless in the course of evolution it is very apt to become injurious, and this, I think, may be said of the principle of hereditary aristocracy under existing conditions. The great mischief it does is in fostering the national defect of snobbishness. What is snobbishness? It is the tendency to bow down before a golden image, and worship rank and wealth rather than real merit. We hear loud complaints of this, the besetting sin of the age; but how can it be otherwise, when the fountain of honour flows in a channel the first condition of which is wealth? The man who is not to found a family, and keep his name, must be rich.

If there is to be a change, the names ought to be changed. The House of Commons ought to be called the House of the People, and the House of Lords the House of the Nobles.

in science; Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot in literature; Wordsworth, Shelley, and Browning in poetry; rather than men whose claim is opportune ratting, party services in contesting elections, excuses for excluding from Cabinets, in all cases with the condition of wealth, and, in many instances, with this obviously and obtrusively the sole qualification. Tennyson is the solitary exception, and his case shows more forcibly the degradation of hereditary honours, for a painful thrill of surprise ran through most of his admirers on hearing that the greatest poet of the age had condescended to accept a peerage.

There remains the bugbear of "Rousseauism." I call it a bugbear, for any one, who is practically acquainted with the House of Commons and the drift of public opinion, must be aware that it is as far as possible from being within the sphere of practical politics. Take the case of the Irish Land Act and the Scottish Crofters Act, which are, I suppose, the high-water mark of what the members of the Liberty and Property Defence League would call Socialist legislation.

I doubt whether ten members of the House of Commons have ever read the "Contrat-Social," or whether a single one of those who voted for these Acts was influenced by a belief in the axiom that all men are born equal, and that all property is a robbery. On the contrary, the arguments which were used, and which prevailed, were identical with those which Professor Huxley himself puts forward with so much force in his article on "Natural Rights and Political Rights." He says that "labour is the foundation of the claim to sound ownership," and instances the rude flint chipped into an axe by a palæolithic savage, and the green crop on the otherwise stony desert of Upper Egypt, which had been fertilized by the labour of the irrigator bringing to it the muddy water of the Nile. "Property," he says, "consists in fact of two elements; the soil or other raw material; and the labour applied to it."

Now the Irish question was this: that in a vast majority of small holdings, under £10 a year, comprising half the population of Ireland, and to a considerable extent in larger holdings, the landlord had contributed nothing but poor, rocky, and boggy soil, worth certainly on the average not half-a-crown an acre, and often not worth sixpence of annual rent, while the tenant had built the houses, drained, fenced, and reclaimed the land, and made all the improvements, which had created a present with some value. Was the law just which excluded the greater part of this labour from the full fruits of the soil? Was the law just which excluded the labourer from the full fruits of the soil?

extraneous sources such as harvest labour in England, and remittances from sons and daughters in America? That, in a nutshell, is the Irish Land Question.

And was it right or wise for the English nation to throw the whole weight of the Government, the law, the army, the police, and the whole system of evictions and Coercion, into the scale of the landlords to perpetuate this state of things, with the certainty of so exasperating the feeling of an intelligent nationality whom you have educated, and to whom you have given equal political rights, as to make Ireland a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Empire, and compel you, in case of war, to lock up a fourth of your available military strength in order to keep it in subjection?

That, in a nutshell, is the question of Home Rule.

These views may be right or wrong, but assuredly they are based on something quite different from the abstract axioms of Rousseau.

So far from denouncing all property as a robbery, we aim at recognising it by restoring to those who, on Professor Huxley's own principles, are the chief owners, some moderate share at any rate of that of which they have been robbed by unjust legislation.

But then it is said that you are violating the principle of the sanctity of contract which is the main object of the State to enforce, and which is the foundation of all civilized society. Here again we reply:—No, we are seeking to strengthen the principle of contract by making it a reality, and not a legal fiction. Even the English Law, harsh as it is in siding with the rich against the poor, the strong against the weak, admits that contract is only valid where the contracting parties are free and meet on equal terms, and not under irresistible compulsion. It does not hold in the case of minors, married women, or where undue and irresistible influence can be established. Now in the case of Irish and Scotch Crofters, Commission after Commission has established the fact that there was no real freedom of contract between landlord and tenant. Eviction is in effect what it has been so often called—a sentence of death.

There is so little independent employment for labour, that the cottier, if he is aged, infirm, or burdened with a family, has no alternative but to pay, or promise to pay, an impossible rent, or to turn out and die in a ditch. Even now, after the passing of the Land Act, such is his fate in the poorer half of Ireland, unless he can pay the arrears of what are admitted to be unjust rents. In Scotland it is different. There arrears of unjust rents are held to be unjust, and the Land Commission reduces them accordingly.

What first opened my eyes, more than 20 years ago, to the realities of the Irish question, was a conversation I had with an Irish labourer, whom I found trenching a piece of mountain land on the banks of the

Lake of Killarney. He told me that he was working for a farmer, that his wages were eighteenpence a day, but that he only got work on the average for 90 days in the year. I have since visited most of the poorer parts of Ireland and cross-examined innumerable labourers and cottars, and have found this statement confirmed, or rather aggravated, in the remoter districts. Take the case of Gweedore, where I once spent a month. I am certain that in an area of 20 miles round the scene of the recent lamentable events, with a population of 3,000 or 4,000, there is not employment at day's wages for 50 or 60 independent labourers. In the notorious Falcarragh estate, it has been stated in open court, and the figures have never been contradicted, that the ancestors of the present proprietor bought it originally for something like £500; that the landlords have never expended a shilling on improvements, and that the rental before the passing of the Land Act was £2,500 a year, and is still nominally from £1,500 to £2,000. Am I Rousseauist, if I say that this is indeed robbery, but robbery not by the tenant on the landlord, but by the landlord on the tenant?

To turn, however, from Ireland, whose burning questions of party and political interests obscure the view, what are the general questions respecting the rights and duties of property, and especially of landed property, which are within the sphere of practical politics? They are all questions of finance and of figures. Even Henry George, when he comes to the practical application of his able and ingenious, but often extreme and impracticable theories, confines them to the special case of land, and limits his practical demand to a transfer to it of the larger share of national taxation. This is a question, more or less, of compromise and practical adjustment, rather than of abstract theory. The principle is already admitted, by the income tax and succession duties, that property ought to pay something towards the support of the State, that is, for the common good; the question is whether it pays enough, and whether it is levied on the right sorts of property.

Here in England, apart from all questions of Ireland, there is a general and growing opinion that past legislation has not sufficiently kept in view the great and fundamental distinction between earned and unearned property.

The former, whether in land or personalty, is a natural, the latter, an artificial, right. That it is artificial is clearly proved by the fact that it is different in different ages and countries. England is the solitary exception in which the right of property has been strained so high as to carry with it the absolute right of the owner not only to do what he likes with his own, with what he has made by his own exertions and during his own life, but to do what he likes with it after his death. A millionaire may, if he likes, disinherit his family, and

leave his widow and children to be supported by the ratepayers. To a certain extent this is mitigated by settlements, but even these leave the first owner the power of tying up his estate as he likes for a long period, and the theory of the English law is that the absolute right of ownership persists after death. But this is an exceptional law; in the Roman law, and in the laws of France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and other civilized nations, and even in such an integral part of our own empire as Scotland no such theory prevails. On the contrary, the unlimited power ceases with life, and the disposal of property after the owner's death, is not left to him, but to the operation of law, by which the bulk of it goes to provide for the family.

Clearly the devolution of all property to those who have done nothing to earn it beyond, as the witty Frenchman says, "taking the trouble to be born," is an affair of laws, and the fortunate heirs may be expected to pay handsomely for the support of the law and order to which they are indebted for their windfall. This is a question not of abstract theory, but of the proper amount of succession duties, and of the incidence of the income-tax on the two descriptions of income, earned and unearned.

Then there is the case of the unearned increment. To take a practical illustration, there is a mountain valley in Wales which might have been worth, at the outside, £800 a year as a sheep farm. But coal and iron were found, works created, and a town of 10,000 inhabitants sprung up, and the landlord now gets a secure income of £8,000 a year. This extra value has been created by the outlay of capitalists, most of whom lost their money, and by the labour of the community who live on the soil.

Now I do not care how the landlord's ancestors got the land in the times of the Tudors or Plantagenets, nor would I propose to confiscate his income on the plea of equal rights or ancestral robbery. But, without being a Rousseauist, I may be permitted to say that I think the original legislation was bad which did not reserve the mining rights for the State or Commune, and that the modern legislation was bad which did not impose some large share of the local rates on the fortunate landlord, to provide the requisites of civilized life for the community, which had thus grown up, and to which he was indebted for his enhanced income.

Again in the case of betterments in towns. Am I a Rousseauist if I hold that where a street is widened at the expense of the ratepayers by taking one side of it, and the value of the other side is greatly increased, the owners ought to contribute some fair proportion of the rates?

These are the sort of questions which belong within the range of practical politics, and they are essentially different

sphere of ideas from speculations as to the original equality of mankind, and the abstract rights or wrongs of the principle of private property.

They will be solved not by any appeal to such abstract theories, but by what Professor Huxley admits to be the only method of solving such complicated social problems, by trial and error, by practical experience, and by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. Such solutions are not far off, and it is pretty clear in what direction they will be. In the meantime, I can only say that advancing years and closer observation make me every day less alarmed at the inevitable progress of democracy, better satisfied with the present, and more hopeful of the future.

SAMUEL LAING.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE CRITICS.

TWO notable articles have recently appeared in this REVIEW on what is called "the Higher Criticism," a name coined by Eichhorn for the criticism of the style and contents of Holy Scripture, as distinguished from the criticism of the Biblical text, which is called "Textual" or "Lower Criticism." One of these articles, by Canon Cheyne, was headed, "Reform in the Teaching of the Old Testament;" the other, by Canon Driver, bore the title of "The Critical Study of the Old Testament."

In his article of last August, Canon Cheyne pleaded for a reform in the teaching of the Old Testament from the pulpit, from the chair, and even from the desk. He asked for "a progressive movement" towards teaching the Old Testament "on the basis of the facts generally admitted by experts." "Why should not," he inquires, "a provisional compromise be entered into, in all suitable cases, between Church teachers and Old Testament criticism on the basis of the facts generally admitted by the experts?" Surely an innocent request, a proper request, nay, a commonplace and needless request. For how else can the Old Testament be taught, or how else has it been taught? Where the experts are agreed, the popularizers must follow.

The aim of Canon Driver's paper of February was, he told us, "to state, in untechnical language, the grounds upon which the criticism of the Old Testament rests, in the agency consists, and to illustrate some of the points that have been reached by critical study." It is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

While the

speak for a moment into the ear of our public teachers. Moreover, I would fain cry "halt" to some of our English experts themselves. Not that I like polemics. But, as Canon Cheyne has so admirably said, "There are times when even those who are most adverse to the 'strife of tongues' are forced to take up their pen in the service of truth, and to enter the arena of controversy; and if it so happens that the cause to which their life is given is evil spoken of, and deserted or half-deserted by its natural allies, they feel bound to run the risk of misconception, and not even refuse personal controversy." Besides, with Canon Cheyne I also believe firmly, and should be ashamed not to believe, that "it ought to be possible to remonstrate or to protest without violating truth and charity, and with the constant recognition that the points on which the antagonists agree are more important than those in which, perhaps only for a time, they differ." Further, if I hesitate in accepting some of the opinions either of Canon Cheyne or of Canon Driver, I do so to my great sorrow, and under a sense of unwelcome compulsion, for I cannot forget how much I owe to the careful scholarship and patient research of both these leaders in Old Testament interpretation.

Canon Cheyne referred in his article to "the unwise policy of branding critical inquiry as unchristian." The epithet "unwise" is mildness itself. Such a policy is dangerous, is destructive. A Christianity which cannot stand criticism will soon cease to stand. Critical inquiry into the Old Testament is absolutely necessary to any adequate understanding of the Old Testament. For what is criticism? It is inquiry by the critical method. And what is the critical method? It is the examination of the Books of the Bible by the same principles by which all literature is studied; it is logic; it is the application to the Law and the Prophets of that inductive method by which discoveries innumerable have been made in all walks of research. The critical method is the questioning of facts—the prosecution of knowledge by, first, classifying facts, and, next, reasoning from facts when classified. The Christian man who refuses to acknowledge the legitimacy of such a method in the study of the Old Testament is no friend to Christianity, and is, whether he knows it or not, either a tyro or a traitor. For who will long believe where he may not think, and who will long think in fetters? Freedom, freedom to follow where thought leads, is of the essence of thought, and thought, thought regulated by its own laws. Now the so-called higher criticism of the Old Testament is simply rational examination of the facts of the Old Testament history, its styles

seminaries and pulpits and schools ! For, I venture to assert, scholarly and thorough and balanced study of the Old Testament is one of the pressing needs of our times. Quite a dangerous neglect of the Old Testament, that unique literary monument of the past world, has characterized Christian thinking all too long. I have even heard of a prominent Nonconformist minister so preferring the New Testament to the Old in reading lessons as to use in public no part of the Old Testament except the Psalms. And even where the Old Testament has not been ignored, too frequently its poetry has been spiritualized beyond recognition, and its prose has been wholly removed from its historical setting ; whilst, as for its magnificent prophecy, it has been rendered unintelligible by crude extravagance. Is it not high time that so exquisite a literary relic—to use very insufficient language—should be studied at least as carefully and rationally and lovingly as the epics and histories and philosophies of Greece and Rome ? For, monumental as these, too, are, do they not fall short of the Hebrew literature in energy and in insight, in speculation and in elevation, in simplicity and in beauty, in humanity, in reflection of all things divine ? And how shall this splendid literature be mastered but by criticism ? “ Brand critical inquiry as unchristian ? ” Nay, let us welcome even one-sided and erroneous criticism if it recall attention to this priceless heirloom of religion. Let us rejoice in the proclamation on the house-tops even of false conclusions, if mankind is but made to listen. For error often proves useful in arousing the lethargic ; nay, error facilitates its own burial. For my part, I believe that the present movement in critical circles is not without its providential side, quickening interest and concentrating labour. Criticism unchristian ? Why, criticism is simply carrying out the very Christian advice of Paul to “ prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.” I cannot but hope that as this momentous century has seen the birth of an international and scientific exegesis, so it may also see the birth of an international and scientific “ Higher Criticism.”

But this is taking a wide view of criticism. After all, be it said, the critics themselves are largely responsible for the disrepute into which critical pursuits have fallen in many quarters. They have too narrow a view of criticism. Canon Cheyne affords an instance of this misleading limitation of view, as his article testifies. For observe the practical principle by which he proposes to carry out the reform he advocates in teaching the Old Testament. He asks “ the religious guides of the nation ” to act upon the rule *crede expertis*. “ Why should not a provisional compromise be introduced into between Church teachers and Old Testament criticism, the basis of the facts generally admitted by the experts ? ” To follow the experts in all facts generally admitted, cannot but be sound and good and wholesome. Canon Cheyne’s

experts? Germans all. The critics of varying schools in Protestant Germany are the experts he would have our religious guides follow. Now, ill as it would become me, who owe so much to German scholarship, to say that German scholarship is worthless, I do venture to enter a caveat against Canon Cheyne's canon, for four reasons.

"Do not, my friends, give occasion," writes Canon Cheyne, "to the Matthew Arnolds of the future to mock at your indifference alike to the truth of history, the charm of poetry, and the exquisite simplicity of early religion." Nor, I would add, to mock at your indifference to cultured judgment, to balanced criticism, to *tact*, the primary lesson Matthew Arnold strove to teach his age. For I cannot but agree with Matthew Arnold in his opinion on the value of German criticism. "In the German mind, as in the German language," wrote Matthew Arnold in his "Literature and Dogma," "there does seem to me something *splay*, something blunt-edged, unhandy and •infelicitous—some want of quick, fine, sure perception, which tends to balance the great superiority of the Germans in knowledge, and in the disposition to deal impartially with knowledge." "Of course, in a man of genius," Mr. Arnold continued, "this delicacy and dexterity of perception is much less lacking; but even in Germans of genius there seems some lack of it. Goethe, for instance, has less of it, all must surely own; than the great men of other nations whom alone one can cite as his literary compeers: Shakespeare, Voltaire, Macchiavel, Cicero, Plato. Or, to go a little lower down, compare Bentley as a critic with Hermann; Bentley treating Menander with Hermann treating Æschylus. Both are on ground favourable to them; both know thoroughly, one may say, the facts of their case; yet such is the difference between them, somehow, in dexterousness and sureness of perception, that the gifted English scholar is wrong hardly ever, whereas the gifted German scholar is wrong very often." "And then," as Matthew Arnold goes on to say, with his own characteristic directness, "every learned German is not gifted, is not a man of genius." "Whether it be from race," he suggests, "or whether this quickness and sureness of perception comes, rather, from a long practical conversance with great affairs, and only those nations which have at any time had a practical lead of the civilized world, the Greeks, the Romans, the Italians, the French, the English, can have it; and the Germans have till now had no such practical lead, though now they have got it, they may now, therefore, acquire the practical dexterity of perception. However this may be, the thing is so, and a learned German means, in general, a fine and practically sure perception of the facts to his learning. Give a Frenchman, an Italian, an Englishman the same knowledge of the facts . . . and you could, in the same time, give him more perception more than you can the German's." And this is the pertinence to the point before us,

Matthew Arnold adds, "This, I say, shows how large a thing criticism is; since, even of those from whom we take what we now in theology most want, knowledge of the facts of our study, and to whom therefore we are, and ought to be, under deep obligations, even of them we must not take too much, or take anything like all that they offer; but we must take much and leave much, and must have experience enough to know what to take and what to leave." The quotation is so singularly *à propos*, that its length may be forgiven. It expresses clearly and reasonably why the German experts are, in one respect, undesirable guides. It presents, with all the grace and insight of the writer, one reason why I dissent from Canon Cheyne's canon. Whilst I cannot but express the warmest gratitude to the great German experts in the Old Testament, I feel myself compelled, reluctantly, to avow that experience has led me to distrust the conclusions these experts have drawn from the facts they have so perseveringly marshalled.

"Then criticism is international," Canon Cheyne has said, oddly enough, in criticising me for not following the German trend of criticism in the matter of the Pentateuch. Just so; criticism that may be safely followed by our religious guides, who are not themselves experts, should be international. This is my second reason for not accepting Professor Cheyne's canon. In Old Testament matters there are happily, and in daily increasing proportion, critical conclusions which are accepted by the experts of different schools and various nations. These conclusions our religious guides, who are not themselves experts, may wisely accept. Critical researches are being carried on, with equal loyalty to truth and along similar lines of inquiry, in England and Scotland and America, as well as Germany, and a genuine international criticism is rapidly growing. Indeed, in critical studies as in doctrinal, the great need of our times, I think, is an international development. Criticism is, or ought to be, one and not many. National, nay sectional, development has run a course sufficiently long, and we now desiderate a catholic, an international, criticism instead of a German criticism, or an American criticism, or an English criticism. I am glad to find Canon Cheyne also aspires after an international criticism. But in framing this catholic criticism, peace cannot be yet whilst opposite opinions are so strongly held. Keenly controverted criticism can only reach its unassailable stage by long-continued conflict of opinion. A peace is more disastrous in the long run than war. A peace which would be a trumped-up peace which bids us accept of the results and ignore all results which are English or Scotch. Let Canon Cheyne have a little patience. If the advocates of the guides of the nation" will rapidly adopt them as guides of their

truth. Probably, too, these views would have the more favourable reception for being pooh-poohed for a while. Moreover, let Canon Cheyne consider how lamentable it would be if the views he advocates proved to be erroneous after all. For my part, I cannot forget that he who sides with the conclusions of this generation of German scholars takes sides against the many Biblical scholars of Great Britain and America who either controvert these German views or declare them unproven. Nor am I prepared to say that these English-speaking critics are less scientific, or are less lovers of truth, or are less balanced in judgment, or are less competent to form an opinion, or are less characterized by that peculiarly scientific attribute of caution which refuses to announce an hypothesis as proven theory without many-sided verification. It is because I believe in the possibility of an international criticism, and because I believe that this international criticism—one, impregnable, universal, true—is on the way that I urge our "religious guides," who are not themselves experts, to wait a while. It is wiser to suspend judgment than to say hastily what it may speedily be necessary to unsay. Great men may have poor opinions, nor, I believe, does the greatness of a critic make his poor opinions more precious.

And there is a third reason why I cannot but object to constituting the German schools of critics, however opposite to each other in their conclusions, reliable guides for those who are not experts. The critics of the two opposed German schools, the followers let us say (for clearness, if not in perfect accuracy) of Wellhausen and Dillmann, both agree in conceding certain fundamental postulates which it seems to me should not be granted without further inquiry, and both coincide in teaching certain results which will show themselves, I suspect, quite otherwise than legitimate when narrowly scrutinized. The whole history of the Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch would have to be cited in support of this objection. Still, I will endeavour to outline very briefly the evidence on which it is based. Let us suppose that a modern Romanist is asked why he believes in the Immaculate Conception: he would probably reply because he believes in the infallibility of the Pope; if asked why he believed in the infallibility of the Pope, he would probably cite the infallibility of the Vatican Council; if urged to state why he believed in the infallibility of Councils, he would probably allege the common traditions of the Church; and if pressed as to the ground of his belief in the infallibility of ecclesiastical tradition, he would call attention to the apostolical tradition. A similar reasoning whenever a full statement is asked for of the grounds of the Higher Criticism in its common form to-day. The full grounds of the theory of Wellhausen are not to be found in the Bible, but it assumes the results of the school of Dillmann, and the results of the theory held in common by

Dillmann and Ewald and Knobel and Schrader (to cite prominent names only), are not to be found in Dillmann or in any of his associates, they assume the results of the school of De Wette and Tuch and Bleek; but again, the full grounds of the theory of the school of Bleek are not to be found therein, they assume the results of the school of Eichhorn. Now Canon Cheyne asks the religious guides of the nation to accept as proven all results in which the schools of Dillmann and Wellhausen are agreed; he might as logically ask us to accept the dogma of the Immaculate Conception because the Pope and the Vatican Council are agreed. Indeed, I venture to assert that when our English Old Testament scholars undertake the laborious but indispensable task of checking the conclusions of the German critics, *ab initio ipso*, they will express their warmest thanks for the facts which the German critics have laboriously unearthed, but will draw for themselves the very different conclusions which to them the facts appear to warrant. Submission to authority is good, if the authority is reliable; but it is just the reliableness of the judgment of the authorities, to whom Canon Cheyne would have us bow, that I venture to impugn. I do so after having some years ago cordially, nay enthusiastically, believed in their value. But maturer and more protracted examination has led me to utterly distrust the more serious results announced by these authorities.

And there is a fourth reason why "the religious guides of the nation," who are not themselves experts in criticism, should pause, I think, before popularizing the results of the German experts, especially upon the origin of the Books of the Law. That reason lies—let the truth be said—in loyalty to the religion in which they are guides. As a matter of fact, the prominent German critics who have made the present phase of Pentateuch criticism have not been in warm sympathy with supernatural Christianity. It is true that, if I understand Dr. Cheyne's contention, he denies this of Wellhausen and Kuenen. Thus he says, speaking of a leading American scholar, "Dr. Chambers knows more than I do of Kuenen and Wellhausen, if he can assert that either of them is a pure naturalist." I do not know what Canon Cheyne means by "a pure naturalist," especially when he adds his confusing remarks about "pure supernaturalists;" but I do venture to say that there is little ground for asserting that either of these great scholars is a believer in supernatural Christianity (I use the seemingly tautologous qualification because it is difficult to understand what some folks mean by Christianity when they banish therefrom predictive prophecy, and express revelation, and miracle), and I venture so to say, as regards Wellhausen on his own authority. For, in Schaff's "Encyclopædia of Living Divines," under the heading of Julius Wellhausen, this great critic's own statement is transcribed—"that he left the theological faculty at Greifswald of his own accord,

in the consciousness of no longer standing quite on the basis of the Evangelical Church and of Protestantism" (*in dem Bewusstsein, durchaus nicht mehr auf dem Boden der evangelischen Kirche oder des Protestantismus zu stehen*). Again, what says Kuenen in his "Religion of Israel"? Does he not frankly state that his desire is to show "a natural development both of the Israelitish religion itself and of the belief in its heavenly origin?" Then, after Kuenen and Wellhausen, what greater name in the initiation of the theory is there than Graf, or shall I add Vatke (from whom Wellhausen acknowledges himself *das Meiste und Beste gelernt zu haben*—to have learnt best and most)? Did these men, eminent as they were in scholarship, hold those Christian tenets, that catholic faith, which the Eastern Churches and the Western, the Anglican and the Lutheran, and the Reformed Churches, agree in teaching? Or what must be said concerning the more prominent English critics, Kalisch and Colenso? True, some of the upholders of this latest phase of the Pentateuch question are conspicuous adherents of the catholic Christian faith (the issue of opinions is not always seen at once), but the fact remains that the leaders in this momentous change of view upon the Law and the Prophets are, for the most part, advocates of a naturalistic evolution of the Christian and Hebrew Scriptures. Is there not in such a fact cause for caution? Supernatural Christianity has so many reasons in its favour, "the religious guides of the nation" are wont to consider, that any theory which seems to be alien to supernatural Christianity is *ipso facto* rendered suspect—not without justice. It is not wholly unreasonable to judge a theory by its consequences or by its postulates.

However, never mind the bias, Canon Cheyne says in effect; it has not influenced the judgment of the German critics in any undue manner; the duty of the expert who disagrees with them, is to show where their facts are partial or their inferences incorrect. "The other leaders of criticism are, and always have been, what Baur was not," the Canon says, "pure historical critics; . . . if it can be shown that a bias of a definitely philosophical nature ever does lead them astray from the right historical course, accuse them of it." Very good. I do not think it would be difficult to show in very many instances how "a bias of a definitely philosophical nature" has influenced the critical interpretation of facts. How could it be otherwise? If a critic—to begin with, and for what appear to him conclusive reasons—disbelieves, for example, in supernatural revelation (as from the mercy-seat in the tabernacle), believing only in the naturalistic evolution of all religion, surely he must re-shape the Old Testament to his taste, and is very liable, I should say, to emphasize some facts unduly and unduly ignore other facts. But I do not delay to instance. I am anxious now to leave general principles, and

to deal, in what space remains, with the facts alleged, and with the facts alone. I will occupy myself with "the leaders of criticism," on the assumption that they are pure historical critics. In short, I would turn from Canon Cheyne's paper to Canon Driver's, and show why the facts of the case do not, in my opinion, warrant the conclusions drawn therefrom. In doing so, let me again say that I have too high a respect for Canon Driver's conspicuous ability in Old Testament studies to be in any danger, I trust, of transgressing the bounds of Christian courtesy. We are, alas! in opposite camps at a time when conflict is inevitable, and when plain speech is inseparable from the discharge of our duty to man and to God. Would it were otherwise!

A few brief explanations before proceeding. And, first, let me again repeat that I have no quarrel with the method of the Higher Criticism as such. In my view, the Higher Criticism is, as I have said, legitimate, inasmuch as it is but the study of the Bible by the common method of all science, the inductive method; or, as Canon Driver expresses the same thing, "all theories framed by critics respecting the structure of the different books are endeavours to co-ordinate and account for the phænomena, of the nature indicated, which the books present." Again, I call attention, and content myself with simply calling attention, to the limited use by Canon Driver of the term "critics" for those who hold what are called "advanced" views. Further, let me state distinctly that I quite agree with what Canon Driver has said concerning the pluralist authorship of those historical books of the Old Testament which form in the Hebrew canon the Earlier Prophets; indeed, in my Congregational Union Lecture, I have given my reasons for saying—what my own researches have led me to say; and what I believe has not been pointed out before, at any rate so fully—that these so-called Earlier Prophets—the books from Judges to Kings, were produced by the labours of several generations of prophets—by Samuel and Nathan and Gad, by Abijah and Iddo and Shemaiah, and by Jehu and Isaiah, and probably by other prophets; and I also agree with Canon Driver that the Books of Chronicles are compilations of a relatively late date. Yet, again, I also believe with Canon Driver in the composite authorship of Genesis, holding a view upon that authorship which I have also stated at length in my Congregational Union Lecture.

I make these explanations that irrelevant matters may be excluded from a controversy already sufficiently complicated. Where I join issue is with Canon Driver's assumption that the method of the Chronicles, or the method of the prophet writers of the so-called Earlier Prophets, all of which books seem to me themselves to suggest their composite authorship, is the method of the writer or writers of the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, which bear

on their face their authorship by Moses. Let the issue be clearly kept before all critics. That issue is whether the Books from Exodus to Deuteronomy are, so to speak, substantially the journal of Moses, or whether these books arose during the lapse of centuries. The issue is, whether these four Books of the Law are substantially contemporary with Moses, or whether these four Books of the Law arose "gradually out of pre-existing sources," as Canon Driver believes, "which took shape at different periods of history, and represent phases, by no means contemporaneous, of Hebrew legislation." This is the problem which the Higher Criticism has to solve (Canon Cheyne and Canon Driver would say which the Higher Criticism has solved), without bias and by the aid of its own peculiar methods. And for the solution, be it added, important doctrinal problems wait.

Two rival theories, then, on the authorship of the Books of the Law (excluding Genesis) occupy the field in Higher Criticism, which may be called for handiness the Journal Theory and the Evolutionary Theory. According to the former, the homogeneity of the Books of the Law is due to their contemporaneity with the events described. Moses preserved for after times a record of his age (which probably underwent in after times some conservative revision). According to the latter (I utilize Canon Driver's description) "the parts of the Pentateuch do not all date from the age of Moses. When we ask positively to what age the several sources belong, decisive criteria fail us, and in some cases divergent opinions are capable of being held. J and E" (the earliest stratum of the three strata said to be discernible in the Law) "are usually assigned by critics to the ninth or eighth century B.C." (more than six centuries after Moses). . . . "Deuteronomy is placed, almost unanimously, in the reign of either Manasseh or Josiah, though Delitzsch and Riehm think that there are grounds which favour a slightly earlier date—viz., the reign of Hezekiah" (say eight centuries after Moses): "the Priests' Code" (the third stratum said to be discernible in the Law) "is held by critics of the school of Graf and Wellhausen to be *post*-Deuteronomic, and to have been committed to writing during the period extending from the beginning of the exile to the time of Nehemiah" (completed, that is, nearly a thousand years after Moses): "Dillmann, the chief German opponent of Wellhausen, assigns the main body of the Priests' Code to about 800 B.C., but allows that additions, though chiefly formal and unimportant ones, were introduced afterwards, even as late as Ezra's time."

In evidence of the truth of this analysis of the Pentateuch, Dr. Driver, like Dr. Cheyne, insists strongly upon the unanimity of the German critics; "the analysis," he says, "in its main features cannot be controverted; if it had rested solely upon illusion, there would not have been a succession of acute Continental critics, who are ready enough to dispute and overthrow one another's conclusions, if able to

do so—virtually following in the same lines, and merely correcting, or modifying in details, the conclusions of their predecessors.” This appeal to authority may be passed over without additional remark after what has been previously said. In further support of this evolutionary theory, Dr. Driver does not profess to give more than a few illustrations. Not even upon these skilfully chosen illustrative instances do I delay. For, as Canon Driver says so pertinently, when “a doubtful detail is represented as if it invalidated the entire theory with which it is connected, this argument overlooks the fact that the detail may be unessential or capable of modification.” Of course the general view, based upon a careful survey of the entire evidence, naturally guides the interpretation of isolated facts and difficulties. Besides, as Canon Driver also says so admirably, “where there are rival theories, the proper course is to examine the grounds on which they rest; this will generally show either that one has a more substantial basis than the other, or that the case is one in which the data are insufficient for deciding between them, and we can only say that we do not know which is correct.” Moreover, as the Canon emphasizes, “the strength of the critical position lies in the *cumulative argument* by which it is supported.”

Assuredly. The argument for the Evolutionary Theory is cumulative. The argument is to be judged, not by this detail or that, but by the frank recognition of all the evidence in its favour. To dream that this momentous Pentateuchal controversy will be solved either by Mr. Skim-the-surface or by Mr. Facing-one-way is to show total incapacity for understanding the question at issue. As Dr. Driver insists, there is a great cumulative argument for the Evolutionary Theory to be considered before any solid conclusion can be reached. Let the indubitable fact be carefully weighed. *But*, while the advocates of the Evolutionary Theory of the origin of the Books of the Law emphasize the cumulative argument on their side, and resent the attempt to judge their views by a criticism of a few details, let them, at the same time, never forget, what they have shown themselves very liable to forget, that “*the strength*” of the JOURNAL THEORY also “*lies in the CUMULATIVE argument by which it is supported.*”

Two rival theories, then, of the authorship of the Books of the Law hold the field. Let the evidence relied on by the advocates of each theory be briefly outlined.

On the one hand, the argument for the Evolutionary Theory of origin runs as follows:—

1. According to the twofold evidence of style and contents, comparison of style and comparison of contents, there are three strata of laws in the Pentateuch—viz., the so-called Prophetic Code (Exod. xx.-xxiii., together with the repetition of parts of Exod. xxiii. in Exod. xxxiv. 17-26), the so-called Priests' Code (viz., the elaborate

and minutely differentiated legal system contained in the rest of Exodus, in Leviticus, and in Numbers), and the Deuteronomist Code (contained in Deuteronomy). These three strata of laws are declared so to differ both in style and contents, as manifestly to belong to different authors and ages. Thus Dr. Kuenen has written :—"The position that all the laws of the Torah *are from a single hand* really does not merit refutation. The very form of these laws, apart from their contents, reduces the supposition to an absurdity." Further, when the contents of these laws are considered, "comparison reveals," he says, "important, nay irreconcilable, contradictions."

2. But, it is further maintained, these three strata of laws are imbedded in narrative, which, also judged by the double test of style and contents, discloses three authors—viz., the Jehovistic or Prophetic writer, who shows a preference for the name of Jehovah for God, the Elohist or Priestly writer, who shows a preference for Elohim for the Divine name, and the Deuteronomist.

3. Further, as the Evolutionary Theorists assert, not only do these three sections of the Law show different hands, but different ages. For, when these three sources are minutely examined, sundry anachronisms suggest that they belong to very different centuries of the Israelitish history, and, moreover, mutual comparison turns this suggestion into actual proof. For instance, a comparison of the Deuteronomist with the Elohist shows, it is said by the Wellhausen school, that the Deuteronomist preceded; although, according to the Dillmann school, comparison shows that the Elohist preceded. In short, the age and succession of these strata are stated by Dillmann to be Elohist (some century before 700 B.C.), Deuteronomist (circ. 700 B.C.), Jehovist (some centuries after 700 B.C.); whereas the age and succession of the three strata are said by Wellhausen to be Jehovist (before 700 B.C.), Deuteronomist (circ. 700 B.C.), Elohist (some centuries after 700 B.C.).

4. Further, the Evolutionary Theorists add, the unhistorical character of the contents of all these three sources shows them to be very far from contemporary with the events they record. To quote Kuenen again: "The exodus, the wandering, the passage of the Jordan and the settlement in Canaan, *as they are described in the Hexateuch* (Pentateuch and Joshua), simply *could not have happened*." And Canon Driver endeavours to show *reason why* the narrative in Genesis of the death of Isaac cannot be historical.

Such is a brief outline of the cumulative argument of the Evolutionary Theorists, which they support with abundant acuteness and infinite detail. The argument cannot be further criticized here. But I would add that whatever I have written here or elsewhere upon this theory has been written after as full knowledge as I have been able to acquire of the whole history and characteristics of the theory, and no

German or English expert has hinted at any unfairness in my presentation of their views or my own.

On the other hand, let the Evolutionary Theorists ever remember that the argument of the Journal Theorists is also cumulative. Briefly put, that argument runs somewhat as follows:—

1. The Journal Theorists allow that there are in the Pentateuch three strata of laws, although they regard these three strata as substantially belonging to the same early age in Israelitish history. The first stratum was, in their view, given, as it assumes to have been given, three months after the Exodus, as the general conditions of national obedience, in the new covenant relations between Jehovah and the ransomed people. If the phrase may be allowed, this first stratum of laws, Exod. xx.-xxiii., is the *rough sketch* of the coming theocratic government. The second stratum of laws, the remaining legal injunctions of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, were given by Jehovah to the Hebrews, as the permanent code of the theocratic rule in the wilderness. The third stratum, Deuteronomy, was a popular presentation of this theocratic law made forty years after, and immediately prior to the entrance into Canaan; this Deuteronomy or second law showing, in many points, specific adaptations in view of the passage from nomad to agricultural life.

2. The Journal Theorists deny that three strata are visible in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch as a whole.

3. In Genesis, however, some of them see, both in style and contents, traces of a composite structure, which they explain by saying that its author used earlier materials of various kinds.

4. But in the narrative from almost the beginning of Exodus to the close of Deuteronomy they see, on comparing the style and contents throughout, only one hand; as testified to by the singular unity of style, by the unstudied but palpable maintenance throughout of the diary form, and by the matter-of-factness, the pragmatism, of the contents reflecting everywhere the desert life.

5. As for the anachronisms cited by the Evolutionary Theorists as necessitating a later date of composition, the Journal Theorists regard them very largely as exaggerated and partly as witnesses to a subsequent revision of those books with a view to making them intelligible to the Jews of a later and post-exilic age, such a revision having been certainly conducted by Ezra, if not by successive prophetic schools.

6. Further, the Journal Theorists show how strikingly the chronological order of events is maintained from the commencement of Exodus to the close of Deuteronomy.

7. And further, they call attention to the unity of the whole contents of these Books of the Law, which receives accessions of evidence daily, so to speak, from archaeological, philological, and other branches of

8. Yet again, the Journal Theorists remark on the simplicity of their theory. Taking these books at their word, they do not find that they are doing an irrational thing. Difficulties many they meet with, as might be expected in a document of so ancient a date, but they find it quite as easy, to say the least, to explain these difficulties on the theory of the Mosaic authorship as on the elaborate Evolutionary Theory.

9. Still they quite see how, if the possibility of miracle is denied, and especially the possibility of that form of miracle which is seen in supernatural revelation, it is impracticable to regard these books as veracious, and how it is necessary, in order to give them any practical value, to entirely reconstruct these books according to an evolutionary theory.

10. And yet again, they cannot but add that, in their view, these books (excluding Genesis) claim to have been contemporary with the events they describe, and suggest by express passages that they were written by Moses.

11. Further, the entire series of later books of the Old Testament seems to them to have as a background the very political, social and religious life which these books describe, while references innumerable are made therein to both facts in history and details in legislation which are recorded in these books.

12. Nor do the Journal Theorists see how they can do otherwise than emphasize the numberless adjustments which the Evolutionary Theory has necessitated. The Levitical legislation, which at the earliest date given by the German critics was written seven centuries after Moses, and at the date now more commonly held by the Germans was written a thousand years after Moses, forms manifestly the background of the Book of Joshua. Therefore these critics relegate the Book of Joshua to a post-exilic date. Again, the Psalms, ascribed by their Hebrew headings in many cases to David, assume the same Levitical legislation as a background, as is also manifest; therefore these critics now deny the Davidic authorship of any of these Psalms. And these two conspicuous adjustments are typical of very wide-reaching changes that the Evolutionary Theory has been and is still necessitating. In fact, Canon Driver's article shows signs of another adjustment. The Levitical legislation is said, by the evolutionary critics, to be of a date subsequent to the exile; but unmistakable references in the earlier and later prophets to characteristic sections of Levitical legislation; and this is not to be denied, Canon Driver holds, though it is a recent position—but it is the law as it stood post-exilic.

13. Yet again, the Journal Theorists cannot but point out, Jesus and His followers regarded these Books of the Law as Mosaic.

14. And yet again, the Jewish tradition has been almost unanimous as to the Mosiac authorship, and surely the Jews ought to have some knowledge of the matter.

15. And lastly, and possibly most important of all, the inter-relations between the Law and the New Testament—inter-relations beyond the power of man to devise—show that the revelations recorded in the Law have about them the signs of a Divine authorship; for being beyond the comprehension of any pre-Christian man, whether priest or prophet, they are also beyond the productive power of any pre-Christian man. The evidence is large; and this fact of specific revelation once patent, the Evolutionary Theory will have to adjust itself again, or—vanish.

Upon each one of these points many pages would have to be filled if any satisfactory survey of the evidence was to be presented. But the aim of this article has simply been, to adopt Canon Driver's words, "to state in untechnical language the grounds upon which the criticism of the Old Testament rests; to explain wherein their cogency consists, and to illustrate some of the principal conclusions that have been reached by critics," using the name "critics" for another school of criticism than that advocated by Canon Driver.

At least the crucial points in the controversy have been suggested in this article, and the two eminent exegetes who have been so frequently referred to here would confer an incalculable benefit upon the cultivated religious public, who after all must be the jury in this new Trial of the Witnesses, if, without appealing to the authority of the the Higher Critics of the Continent, they would *clearly indicate* for the benefit of English readers who are not themselves experts—

First, *the anachronisms* upon which the theory of the composite authorship and late date of the Pentateuch is based;

Second, *the contradictions* in the Pentateuch which demand a composite theory of authorship;

Third, those *parts* of the Pentateuch which have been, apart altogether from the evolutionary theory, proven to be *unhistorical*;

Fourth, the *interpretation* they place upon the constantly recurring words of the Law, "*Jehovah said*" (unto Moses, Aaron, &c.); and

Fifth, criticizing the antagonistic theory as well as constructing their own, the *grounds* of their disbelief in the Journal Theory of authorship of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers.

ALFRED CAVE.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

Of all the questions which press for an answer at the present moment none is fraught with weightier issues than the Labour Problem. The wealth of the world grows apace; and in its creation the labour of the industrial classes fulfils functions of very great importance; but the share of this wealth allotted to the working-men is considered by them to be unjustly and intolerably insignificant; and in this view thoughtful persons, no matter to what class they may themselves belong, must admit that there is no small degree of truth. On all sides men are asking themselves whether it may not be possible, under some novel method of industrial organization, to satisfy the reasonable claims of the working-classes. Among the most important of the methods which have been suggested with this object is that which is known as Co-operation.

“Co-operation” is a much-abused word; and many of us have begun to doubt if it has any definite meaning. In these pages Co-operation will be used in the sense in which it is applied by the co-operators themselves. The Co-operative Union, the central organization of the British co-operators, thus defines its objects:—

“This Union is formed to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice, and economy in production and exchange.

1. By the abolition of all middle dealing, either (a) direct, by representing any article produced by the producer other than what it is known to the producer or vendor to be, or (b) indirect, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor, so that the purchaser may be enabled to judge of the value of the article purchased.

2. By conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, and by a suitable division amongst them of the fund commonly known as profit.

3. By preventing the waste of labour now caused by unregulated competition.”

The Central Co-operative Board (the representative council of the Co-operative Union) has, by the authority of the Co-operative Congress, published a "Manual for Co-operators,"* from the preface to which we learn that the aim of Co-operation is by means of association "to control and bring into obedience to the highest moral law the processes of production and distribution of material things;" while in the chapter on "the relation of Co-operation to religious faith," we are told that Co-operation is "a new manifestation of the counsels of God for the redemption of man out of the slavery of the flesh to the freedom of the spirit." These are eloquent generalities. But what, we inquire, is the method of organization by which the lofty ambition of Co-operation is to be attained? It is, as Mr. Holyoake, the distinguished historian of the co-operative movement, informs us "that, in which the purchasers and servants take all the profits of the store, and in which the workmen and the customers take all the profits of the manufactory."†

Co-operation, therefore, is the association of different persons contributing their money, or labour, or both, for the purpose of earning profits, upon the terms of such profits being equitably divided between all the contributors.

Excluding all "bastard" associations, and treating as co-operative only those recognised as such by the co-operators themselves, we find that there are in the United Kingdom more than 1,500 "genuine" co-operative societies, whose members, belonging (with few exceptions) to the working-classes, number upwards of 1,000,000, and which possess between them in share and loan capital fully £21,000,000.

The various forms of co-operative enterprise divide themselves into three principal categories; first among which comes that form of Co-operation in which the "conciliation of the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, through an equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as profit" is effected by allotting the whole of the profits to the capitalist. Instances of this type of Co-operation are the ninety odd cotton-mills at Oldham, "the most co-operative town in the world," as it was called in the address of the Chairman at the last Co-operative Congress. These mills have a capital of between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000; among the shareholders are included some thousands of working-men, who—it is not unworthy of remark—prefer to hold shares in mills in which they are not themselves employed.‡ The entire profits of

* Edited by Thomas Hughes, Q.C., and Edward Vansittart Neale, General Secretary of the Co-operative Union.

† "History of Co-operation," by G. J. Holyoake, vol. ii. p. 231.

‡ See "Working-men Co-operators," by Arthur H. Dyke Acland, M.P., a former, and Benjamin Jones, a present, member of the Central Co-operative Board, p. 92. It was stated in 1885 that "not more than 2 per cent. of the shares of any one mill are

these factories go to the shareholders. This type of Co-operation may be thus described. A number of working-men, having come to the conclusion that the class to which they belong is unjustly treated by the middle-class capitalists, decide to invest their savings in the shares of joint-stock companies, and thus to become themselves the capitalist employers of the labour of their fellow-operatives! The creation of this novel hybrid—the servant-master—having taken place amid the plaudits of admiring humanitarians, we find that the employees of these working-men co-operators are treated in a manner in all respects identical with that in which their workmen are treated by the non-co-operative, middle-class capitalists. The wages paid to the workers employed in these Oldham mills are, no doubt, somewhat higher than those current in certain other towns engaged in the same industry. But this fact, which is attributable to the exceptional strength of the trades union organization of the Oldham workpeople, is used by their co-operative employers as a reason for declining to give any share in the profits to their “hands,” who are told that “they are receiving in wages a full share of the products of the joint exertions of labour and capital.” It is easy to imagine the howls of indignation that would be raised by the advocates of Co-operation, if language such as this were used by any mere middle-class employer.*

Next we have Co-operation of what may be called the Rochdale type, in which the conciliation of the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser is effected by treating the remuneration of capital as a fixed charge, and, when capital has received, say, 5 per cent., giving all the profits to the customers of the business under the name of “dividend on purchase.”

This type of Co-operation must be considered under two aspects. In regard to distributive Co-operation, it must be remembered that the bulk of the articles sold in the stores are purchased from outside dealers; and it is clear that, with the best will in the world, the co-operators could not well transfer a part of their profits into the pockets of the workmen employed in the production of these articles. But what the Rochdale form of Co-operation, when applied to distribution, might do, and, if “the equitable division of the profits” is not an empty phrase, ought consistently to do, is to allow the clerks, salesmen, and other officials employed in these stores to share in the profits. Why this is not done, we are authoritatively

now held by the workers in that mill” (“Report of the Industrial Remuneration Conference,” p. 307). The shares in these co-operative factories are gradually passing out of the hands of working-men into those of middle-class capitalists.

* Compare the speech made by Mr. Holyoake as representative of the co-operators at the Trades Union Congress of 1888:—“We deny that wages are an instalment of profit. They are merely a business charge. Interest is the rent of capital, wages are the rent of labour. Profit is made between them, and should be divided between them, &c. &c.” (“Report of the Co-operative Congress of 1889,” p. 45.)

informed in the recognised text-book of practical Co-operation: "Some committee-men would gladly apply the principle if they could prove to their members that a real saving is effected by it. If it is to be conceded as an abstract principle of justice, not many societies will carry it on this ground." Under these circumstances, to talk of the Rochdale Co-operation, a method under which all the profits go to the customers, as a system based upon considerations of equity is—to put it plainly—sheer nonsense. The fact of the matter is this. The working-classes, as a rule, are accustomed to buy on credit; and, before Co-operation was invented, those working-men, who ultimately paid their debts, were mulcted in many ways. They had to defray the rent of too many shops, to provide a living for too many shopkeepers, to give a ruinous rate of interest for credit, and to make good the losses sustained owing to the non-payment of their accounts by defaulters; at the same time, the quality of the articles supplied to them was often very inferior. Then Co-operation came forward, and said in effect:—"If you will agree to make all your purchases at our store, and to pay for them in cash, we will undertake to work for a return of 5 per cent., neither more nor less, upon the capital invested. We will sell you goods of excellent quality, for which we shall charge you, in the first instance, the current prices; then, after paying all out-goings (including salary of manager), we will divide among you all that is earned over this 5 per cent, retaining out of the money due to each enough to make him a shareholder. The ordinary middle-class shopkeeper makes enormous profits" (this statement was quite untrue, but was readily accepted, owing to the ignorance of commercial affairs prevalent among working-men); "we will give you all the profits" (this statement was scarcely exact; for the "profits" which Co-operation allots to the purchaser are only the balance remaining after paying interest on capital and the remuneration of management, both of which items are included in the "profits" of the shopkeeper); "you shall have the fullest rights of partners, shall see all our accounts, and shall have the power to compel us to keep faith with you." In fact, Co-operation allowed its sleeves to be turned up and its pockets to be searched, so that no one could suspect it of playing a hidden ace. The result was that distributive Co-operation soon won the favour of the masses. Although cash payments are by no means universal among co-operators (for a recent return shows that, out of 1,255 societies in Great Britain, 721 give credit in some form), yet much has been done towards popularizing thrift. The spirit of association has been evoked, with moral results of great value; and the associated workmen are imbued with a profound conviction of their own love of equity, which, as they firmly believe, forms the basis of the co-operative system.

* "Working-men Co-operators," p. 54.

All the same, equity has nothing whatever to do with this type of Co-operation, which is nothing better (nor worse) than "a new device of gain;" this is the term applied to it by the historian of the Co-operative movement in a very lucid pamphlet, in which Mr. Holyoake has the commendable frankness to assert that "the consumer was not given a share of store profits from any theory of its being right, but because it paid."*

So much for the "equitable" character of Co-operation of the Rochdale type, when applied to distribution. As to the claims of this form of Co-operation, when applied to production, whether in the workshops in which some of the distributive societies manufacture a part of the goods sold in their stores, or in those belonging to associations whose sole function is production, here the fact that the right to share in the profits is wholly denied to the employees can leave us in no doubt. The "conciliation of the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser through the equitable division amongst them of the fund commonly known as profit," which is inscribed upon the banner of Co-operation, is seen to be but a deceptive device. And—be it clearly understood—the form of "co-operative" production in which the workers are altogether excluded from participation in profits is that which prevails over all others.

"The majority practise Co-operation in the form which has been denounced by some as 'un-co-operative,' 'a sham, and a delusion.' The amount of production carried on by them in the Retail Societies, the Wholesale Societies, and the Corn Mills is fully three millions of pounds a year; while the amount of all the many other forms of co-operative production is only one-tenth of this, being less than three hundred thousand pounds a year."

These are the words used by Mr. Benjamin Jones, author of the text-book already cited, and one of the first of living authorities on Co-operation, in his official address at the Ipswich Congress (alluded to above). While we shall hardly feel ourselves called upon to imitate the example of those who hurl against the big battalions of "un-co-operative" Co-operation the vain weapon of vituperation, we must allow ourselves to recall the eloquent passage with which Mr. Holyoake has concluded the preface to his "History of Co-operation":—"What an enduring truce is to war, Co-operation is to the never-ceasing conflict between labour and capital. It is the peace of industry"; with the reflection that language such as this, however applicable it may be to the theory, is yet wholly inapplicable to the prevailing practice of Co-operation. Year after year the great Parliament of Co-operation—the Co-operative Congress—passes, amid salvoes of enthusiastic applause, resolutions affirming, in the clearest possible language, the inalienable right of the worker to share in the profits of industry. But there the matter ends. Resolutions cost nothing; and

* "The Policy of Commercial Co-operation as respects including the Consumer," by G.J. Holyoake, p. 144.

sound well. The participation of the employees of these working-men capitalists in the profits of co-operative industry remains, in the teeth of these resolutions, a counsel of perfection.*

"*Deteriora sequi*" is, however, not the rule of life with all co-operators, without exception; and the form of Co-operation practised by the small minority who admit the worker, as well as the capitalist, and the customer, to a share in their profits (our third category of Co-operation) is not the least interesting type of this industrial method. Here, at any rate, we have the opportunity of watching the operation of a system entirely novel in the history of the organization of industry, an experiment, in which the endeavour is made, with more or less of earnestness, to reconcile the conflicting claims of labour and capital by a just apportionment among all the persons engaged in a commercial enterprise of the realized profits of the undertaking.

When we examine the working of this, which we may call the "complete" form of Co-operation, we shall discover that, when applied to distribution, or to production in the workshops of distributive societies, although no absolute uniformity prevails, its custom, in very many cases, is to allot to the employees a "dividend on labour," at the same rate per £1 of wages as that paid to purchasing members on each £1 expended at the store, the addition thus made to the normal wages being, in a fairly successful society, equivalent to from 5 to 10 per cent. In the societies, whose sole function is production, we find that, in the division of their profits, the greatest possible divergence exists between the methods adopted by different associations. As a rule, the purchaser gets back a part of the price of the goods which he has bought in the shape of a dividend, a percentage of the profits, the amount of which is different in different cases; by some, however, of these societies the claim of the customer to share in the profits is entirely ignored. Capital, in all cases, takes a fixed rate of interest, generally from 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., sometimes without any further right to share in the profits: very often, however, capital takes both a fixed interest, and also a proportion of the profits, the amount of which varies widely in different cases. With regard to the proportion of profits allotted to workers, the most bewildering variety of methods of division obtains. In some cases a certain proportion of the surplus profits (remaining after payment of the fixed interest on capital) is given to the workers; this may be as much as 50 per cent., as, for instance, in the rules of the North Seaton Dairy Farm (which, however, pays a fixed 10 per cent. on its capital, and never has anything left to divide among its employees), or as little as $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., as in the case of the Sheerness Economical Corn-mill

* The resolution of the 1889 Congress to the above effect having been officially notified to 1503 co-operative associations with an inquiry whether they were prepared to act upon it, 179 societies employing labour in production expressed their willingness to share profits with their employees; 1016 did not answer.

and Bakery; more often the dividend to labour is from 30 to 40 per cent. of the surplus profits. Sometimes, again, these profits are divided between shareholders and workers in the proportion which the capital bears to the aggregate sum of the wages earned in the year by the employees, or in that which the fixed interest on the capital bears to the total amount of the wages, rateably at so much in the pound; or at the rate of 2 on each £1 of interest to 1 on each £1 of wages; in other cases they are divided between the workers and the customers according to the relative amount of wages and of purchases. In short, the attempted "equitable division of the fund commonly known as profit," leads to a chaotic confusion, in which it is absolutely impossible to discover any principle whatever.

However, there is one important question, at any rate, which the balance-sheets of these co-operative associations enable us to answer—the actual addition made to the wages of the workers by this, the purest of all the forms of Co-operation. In the "Returns relating to Productive Societies" (which show the division of profits between capital, labour, and custom) contained in the Report of the Co-operative Congress of 1889 (p. 35), we read the names of 60 associations (engaged in various branches of manufacture) which are constituted on the principle of sharing profits (when profits are earned) with their employees. Omitting 9 societies, which made their first start in the course of 1888, or had not at the end of that year yet commenced operations, we find that out of the whole number of 51 societies, all professing to give to their workmen, in addition to their wages, an "equitable share" in their net gains, 17 only are stated to have actually paid to their employees anything whatever beyond their wages; the total sum distributed as bonus by these 17 societies amounting to £2,482. When we inquire what was the ratio which the bonus received by these exceptionally 'fortunate co-operative employees bore to their ordinary wages, our statistics show us that, taking an average of 16 out of these 17 societies—in regard to one society the Return is silent on this point—the addition made to the normal earnings of the workpeople by means of the dividend on labour was a little less than 5 per cent.

Here we have a decisive test of the efficiency of the co-operative method, when applied to production, as a means of increasing the remuneration of labour. Although the employees of all these 51 co-operative associations, stimulated by the hope of obtaining under this specious system a just share in the profits of industry into putting forth their utmost exertions, undoubtedly work (fighting, as it were, for their own hand) with far greater assiduity than they would display if working in the service of an ordinary middle-class employer, yet, in the large majority of cases, these operatives receive nothing whatever beyond their bare wages; and, even in those comparatively few

instances in which they do receive a dividend on labour, the addition thus made to their normal earnings is very often considerably below the fair money value of that extraordinary zeal which they have exhibited. The accuracy of this assertion may be proved by comparing the average dividend on labour of less than 5 per cent. paid in these 16 co-operative factories with the bonus earned under the method known as Profit-sharing, or Industrial Partnership. Under the method of Industrial Partnership, of which a full description was given by Professor J. Shield Nicholson in the January number of this REVIEW,* the employer tempts his workmen to exercise an extraordinary degree of industry and carefulness by giving them a share in his profits. It is of the essence of Industrial Partnership that the total amount paid away in bonus shall be recouped to the employer by the increase in his profits which the extra zeal of the workers produces. So that in no case is the bonus paid more than the money value of the extra services rendered by the profit-sharing employees. But the pioneer of Industrial Partnership, Leclaire, who always asserted that he adopted profit-sharing on a strictly commercial basis, giving his men rather less than more than the money value of the extra zeal called forth by the profit-sharing system, paid during a period of seventeen years a bonus averaging more than $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on wages—wages fixed according to the full standard of the trade; and, speaking generally of the whole body of profit-sharing firms, it may be said that, even in years of only average prosperity, it is very common indeed to find a bonus of 10 per cent. earned and received by the employees †.

The facts already stated in regard to English Co-operation may be taken to be fairly representative of the system throughout the world. The co-operative associations of the United States, whether distributive or productive, are distinguished by the simple and uniform manner in which they deal with the claims of labour. The American societies (with the exception of about a dozen, mostly societies quite recently founded upon Socialist lines by the Knights of Labour) have settled the question of "the equitable share of the worker in the profits" by resolutely declining to recognise the claims of labour at all, and dividing their entire profits among their shareholders in strict proportion to the amount of capital held by each. ‡ Recent statistics in regard to the distributive associations of the French co-operators give their number as 26, out of which 2 alone allot any part of their profits to their staff.

* See also on this subject the articles by the present writer in *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1889, and in *Charity Organization Review*, Jan. 1890

† In the Pillsbury Flour Mills the bonus has in good years been 33 per cent. on wages; in the furniture factory of Fourdinois the bonus was in 1873 equivalent to 25 per cent. on the wages of the men; in the Maison Leclaire it was in 1864 equal to 24 per cent; in the Godin ironworks the bonus declared in 1883 was at the rate of from 30 to 15 per cent., according to the position of the employee.

‡ See "History of Co-operation in the United States," edited by Dr. Ely, Baltimore, 1888.

The most noteworthy feature of the productive societies in France is that, in very many instances, the associated workmen, by rigidly refusing all applications for membership, convert the society after a short lapse of time, into a close corporation, which employs, for the benefit of a few partners, a large number of "auxiliaries," to whom no share whatever in the profits is accorded. Thus we have the celebrated "*Société des Lunettiers*" which consists of 58 associates, with 50 "adherents" and 1,200 "auxiliaries;" the "adherents" take only a very small interest in the profits, in which the auxiliary workmen do not participate in any manner whatever. The Co-operative masons, who some time ago wound up the flourishing business which they carried on in Paris, were 90 in number, owned between them a capital of £100,000, and employed from 1,500 to 1,600 "auxiliaries," who were not allowed to receive any share in the profits of the association. The Paris Co-operative Coach-builders were, in 1887, three in number, who employed 60 workmen; all the profits went to the three associates, who have now sold their workshops and retired from business with fortunes of a substantial character. So, again, a Co-operative Association of Carpenters, founded at Tours in 1868, began in 1873 to employ "auxiliaries," who received no share in the profits; soon, two alone out of the original associates remained; and these men acquired considerable wealth by employing some two hundred of these subordinates. The Paris sofa-makers, who, also, exclude their employees from all participation in profits, are stated by Signor Rabbeno to say of themselves (what is true of very many among the French Co-operative societies): "*l'association est devenue une maison de commerce: et dans le commerce on ne peut pas faire du sentiment: il faut devenir, comme on dit, des épiciers.*" *

The German co-operators appear to take much the same view: for neither in their distributive, nor in their productive associations do the employees receive anything whatever beyond their bare wages; and we are told by Herr Schenck in his Reports for both 1887 and 1888 upon the German Co-operative Associations (p. xii) that the productive societies "object to admitting new shareholders, since they desire to escape the necessity of dividing their profits among a greater number of persons than at present." Thus it has come about that, in the words of Dr. Schneider, "in many old and successful productive societies the number of members is slowly diminishing. In some, though this is not publicly known, the number of members has shrunk to such an extent that they are no longer societies, but have become trading partnerships." † In Italy the distributive societies decline to

* "*Le Società cooperative di produzione*," Milano, 1889, p. 196.

† "Seventeenth Report of the Massachusetts Labour Bureau," 1886, p. 134. If this spirit of exclusiveness is very rare in English Co-operation, the reason is to be found, not in the superior virtue of our countrymen, but in the provisions of our legislation, which practically compel our co-operative societies to admit new members without limit, under pain of forfeiting their right to exemption from the payment of income tax.

give any share of their profits to their employees; while, though many (but by no means all) of the productive associations allot a fraction of their gains to the workmen engaged, yet, as Signor Rabbeno points out, the statistics given by him "show very clearly the preponderance given to capital and the insignificance of the share taken by labour in the division of the profits." *

We have now completed our survey of the application of the co-operative method to the organization of industry, and are in a position to consider how far the pretensions advanced on behalf of this system are capable of justification. Co-operation has certainly enabled many working-men to supply their daily wants in an economical manner, while it has incidentally done much to promote thrift and something to develop intelligence among this part of the population. But that Co-operation has gone far in the direction of conciliating the conflicting interests of capital and labour, or even in increasing the remuneration of industry, we shall scarcely feel able to assert.

For the economist the method of Co-operation possesses a high degree of interest. The system of dividend on purchase, and that of dividend on labour both rest on a firm foundation. For the bribe of bonus is, perhaps, the only means by which the unfortunate repugnance, which is entertained by so numerous a section of mankind to paying their just debts honestly and promptly, can be overcome, and by which the working-man can be stimulated into displaying the highest possible degree of industry and carefulness. On the other hand, the theory of Co-operation involves economic fallacies of the gravest character, in regard both to the nature of profits, and to the character of the functions performed by the *entrepreneur*.

"In former times," says Mr. Holyoake, "capitalists hired labour, paid its market price, and took all the profits. Co-operative labour proposes to reverse this process. Its plan is to hire capital, pay its market price, and itself take all profit," †

"The workmen hire, or buy, or build their premises; engage or appoint managers, engineers, designers, architects, accountants, or whatever officers they require, at the ordinary salaries such persons can command in the market, according to their ability. Every workman employed is paid wages in the same way. If they need capital in excess of their own, they borrow it at market rates, according to the risks of the business, the capital subscribed by their own members being paid for at the same rate. Their rent, materials, salaries, wages, business outlays of all kinds, and interest on capital, are the annual costs of their undertaking. All gain beyond that is profit, which is divided among all officers, and workmen, and customers, according to their salaries or services." ‡

It will be seen that the key-note of the theory laid down in this well-known passage is the belief that, after capital and labour (including the labour of management) have received their full remuneration

* "Le Società cooperative," p. 292. † "History of Co-operation," vol. ii. p. 87.

‡ *Ibid* pp. 123-124.

at current rates, there remains a balance of profit capable of "equitable division" in the manner prescribed by the doctrines of Co-operation. Dearly cherished as is this belief by those "inside the movement," it is one which the uninitiated vulgar, persons who still feebly cling to the idea that some sort of law exists governing normal profits, must find it far from easy to accept; nor, indeed, will it be possible for such persons to watch, without betraying their incredulous amusement, the ingenious process by which the accounts of the co-operative societies are manipulated in order to persuade the onlooker that, under the new system, two and two make, at the least, five. If we watch this process, we shall find that, while the view expressed by Mr. Holyoake in the two passages just cited, that the remuneration of capital should invariably take the form of a fixed rate of interest, capital being altogether excluded from participation in "profit"—a view borrowed from the special features of distributive Co-operation—is carried out in some cases, the method adopted in very many instances is as follows:—The capitalist, who could fairly claim, say, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for his money, receives, first, a fixed rate of, say, 5 per cent., which, in flat defiance of the facts of the case, is alleged to be "the market rate according to the risks of the business," and then, in addition, a super-dividend, varying with the gains of the concern, which, taking one year with another, may, and often does, amount to an average of at least 5 per cent. more, thus securing a total yield upon the investment of 10 per cent. or upwards. This super-dividend is called "the equitable share of capital in the profits." In most cases the customer, again in the sacred name of equity, takes a dividend on purchase, which is partly discount for cash, partly a trade dodge intended to tickle the palate of the purchaser, a sum added to the price of the goods in order to be taken off again. As to the remuneration of labour, the secret of the juggle is very simple. The wage of the worker is treated by the co-operative theorists as the market price of all the services rendered by him. As a fact, of course, the wages or salary received by the employee of a co-operative association represents the money-value, not of all the services rendered by him, but of that part of these services which may be termed ordinary. In addition to these ordinary services he has exhibited an extraordinary degree of assiduity, called forth by the promise of a share in the profits, profits which this assiduity tends to raise above the normal level. Now, on the one hand, the total amount divided between any body of co-operative employees in respect of this share—their dividend on

* Among societies practising the "equitable" division of their profits among workers, customers, and capitalists will be found one, in which the fixed interest of 5 per cent. and the share of profits allotted in addition together brought up the total remuneration of capital at one time to nearly 18 per cent., and in which the average return upon capital since it commenced business has been rather more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and another, in which the super-dividend added to the fixed interest of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. habitually raises the total yield upon capital to over 14 per cent.

labour—can never (assuming that the workmen have already received their full wages and the managers their full salaries at current rates, and that the capital is to receive not less than its market rate of remuneration) exceed the money value of their abnormal assiduity; on the other hand (as the figures quoted above from the balance-sheets of the co-operative associations indicate) this dividend, as a matter of fact, in many, if not in most cases, falls considerably short of that value. Co-operation, however, not content with obtaining from its employees two shillings' worth of extra work for one shilling, invites them to consider that shilling as a free gift, presented to them, over and above the price of their labour at its current money value, from purely "equitable" considerations by this wonder-working system.

Such are the methods by which the delusion of the co-operative working-men, that by "becoming their own employers" they enter into a sort of boundless Tom Tiddler's ground of gains, is sedulously fostered—a pleasing hallucination, which a few moments' consideration of the obvious fact, that by no amount of shuffling is it possible to increase the size of the pack, or, in other words, that profits are limited by the value of the product, would rudely dispel.

That the ideas of the co-operative working-men in relation to the true nature of profits should be inaccurate, is scarcely to be wondered at. But the false conception of the functions of the capitalist *entrepreneur*, whom the co-operators regard as a sort of fifth wheel on the coach, is all the more remarkable, because this conception is no mere vagary of the working-class intellect, but has received the high sanction of philosophical approval.

"The form of association which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, and workpeople without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves."*

This emphatic prophecy was uttered more than thirty years ago, not by a working-class visionary, but by the foremost economist of his day, John Stuart Mill. Let us inquire what signs there are of its fulfilment. As to the idea that the working-classes can dispense with the capital of the middle-class employer, is it not difficult to understand how an economist of the first eminence can have seriously imagined that, in an age, in which machinery on the one hand, and credit on the other, play so important a part, it would, except in comparatively rare instances, be possible for the workmen engaged in a manufactory to "collectively own" the capital necessary for carrying on the business?

* J. S. Mill: "Political Economy," fourth edition, vol. ii. p. 344

In a cotton-mill from £200 to £300 is required for every worker employed. Enter the carding-room of a woollen yarn factory, and you find three women in sole charge of machinery worth £2,000. The Co-operative Printing Society, with a capital of £28,226, employs 200 workmen. The co-operative corn mills, with a capital of £500,000, are said to employ between them only 300 persons.* The capital needed to provide raw materials and machinery and to cover outstanding debts is, in many branches of manufacture, much smaller than this. But the industries, in which the necessary capital is of dimensions so modest as to be within the means of the working-men employed, are certainly anything but numerous, and their number unquestionably tends more and more to diminish. As a matter of fact, the capital required by the co-operative associations now at work in this country is not "collectively owned" by their employees, but is supplied by minute contributions, from many pockets, only a small part of it being furnished by the actual workers.

If the idea of the collective ownership of the capital by the labourers themselves is seen to be incongruous with the actual facts of industry, what are we to say of the conception of their "working under managers elected and removable by themselves"? Out-numbered as they nearly always are by the non-working shareholders, the members employed in a co-operative factory must always be liable to be hopelessly out-voted in the appointment of managers, as in all other matters. Nor, indeed, is any consistent attempt made by the practical co-operators to allow to their employees any real voice in the selection of managers, or any effectual control over the operations of the business. In some of the most important among their associations (including the two great wholesale societies—societies possessing a joint capital of more than £1,500,000, of which about £130,000 is devoted to production) the employees cannot even hold shares: in many other societies the rules provide that no person employed by the concern shall be eligible to serve on the committee of management. Thus, instead of enabling men to work under managers elected "by themselves from amongst themselves"†—for Mill, of course, meant, and Thornton expressly declared, that the manager of the ideal co-operative association is to be chosen by the workmen actually engaged in the workshop from their own number—all that Co-operation is able to gain for the workers is the substitution for the single middle-class employer of the many-headed working-class employer. Whether the moral and the material results of this substitution can justly claim to possess a high degree of value, appears to be open to question. It is often said by working-men that the most exacting of all masters are those who have risen from the ranks, men whose favourite axiom is "what was good enough for me is good enough for them;" and there

* "Working men Co-operators," p. 102.

† Thornton, "On Labour," p. 396.

are many who think that the worst master of all is a trading company of small working-class capitalists.* Certainly the hardships endured by workpeople employed by persons who themselves belong to the working-classes, form a prominent feature in the revelations made before the Lords' Committee on the Sweating System. Nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the manner in which many co-operators treat their employees is considered by their fellow working-men to be so little just and so far from generous, and the tendency which the co-operative associations exhibit in labour disputes to take the side of "the masters" to be so marked, that Co-operation is regarded by the English trades unionists with dislike and distrust, and by the *syndicats ouvriers* in France with the strongest detestation. For ourselves, though desirous to avoid harsh and hostile criticism, we shall hardly be able to escape the conclusion that the method of Co-operation necessarily places the employee-employer in a position in which it is difficult for him to reconcile that open-handed liberality, which his natural sympathy with his own class might be expected to dictate, with his no less natural regard for his own interests.

Passing from the moral aspect of the co-operative organization of industry to consider the economic efficiency of this system, we find this adequately indicated by the very large number of instances in which, notwithstanding all the economic advantages admittedly possessed by the co-operative methods, trading societies formed and managed by working-men have met with financial disaster. As far as it is possible to get at the facts, it would appear that not much more than 50 per cent. of the distributive, or than 25 per cent. of the productive, associations of this nature have attained success.

So far as distributive Co-operation is concerned, "the elimination of the middleman" is of the essence of the method; the management of the store by the purchasers is the guarantee against fraud and extortion which alone can secure their custom. But in regard to production it is submitted that a serious error lies at the root of a system which attempts to dispense altogether with the services of the middle-class *entrepreneur*, or which, at any rate, seeks to impose upon the directors of an industrial enterprise a degree of dependence upon the votes of the employees, which no man belonging to the middle-class (whether he have been born into that class, or have won his way into it by his superior abilities), who is capable of taking the command of a body of workmen and of controlling the financial operations of a

* It is a significant fact, that at the last Trades Union Congress, when the usual complimentary vote of welcome to the representatives of the co-operative movement was brought forward, it was found necessary to add a rider expressing the desire of the Congress that the co-operative societies should be urged in future to pay to their employees the recognized trades union rate of wages. These representatives officially reported that they had been received by the general body of trades union delegates with a marked absence of cordiality.

business concern, can reasonably be expected to regard otherwise than as an insuperable obstacle to his acceptance of the post of manager.*

But how inaccurate a conception of the nature of the functions performed by the *entrepreneur* must have been entertained by that school of thought—a school at the head of which stand the great names of Mill, Cairnes, and Fawcett—which could bring itself to believe a method of industry, under which these functions are confided to a working-man, however intelligent a workman he may be, or to a committee of working-men, elected by their fellows, to be that “which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to pre-dominate”! These are the economists, who, when they speak of the remuneration of the *entrepreneur*, make use of that singularly inapt phrase, “the wages of superintendence;” as if the duties of the employer were identical in nature with, and but little superior in character to, those of a foreman or overlooker, and who, when they treat of Co-operation, argue as if the industrial army could be led to victory by sergeants elected by the privates from their own number, without the slightest assistance from the commanding authority and the strategical capability of superior officers. As Bagehot justly remarked: “You might as well call whist superintending the cards.”† The generalship of the *entrepreneur* is of paramount importance in the organization of industry. It is the *entrepreneur* who “settles what goods shall be made, and what not: what brought to market, and what not. He is the general of the army, he fixes on the plan of operation, organizes its means, and superintends its execution. If he does this well, the business succeeds and continues; if he does it ill, the business fails and ceases. Everything depends on the correctness of the unseen decisions, on the secret sagacity of the determining mind.”‡ These are functions which cannot successfully be exercised except by a man possessing, in most cases, special and lifelong training and, in all cases, natural abilities which, however much mankind may “continue to improve,” will always be rare.

The organization of modern industry is highly complicated; and the co-operative ideal, which would fain abolish differentiation and specialization in regard to the functions of the *entrepreneur*, is inconsistent with success in the struggle for existence. The *entrepreneur* is the brain of the industrial organism: but a co-operative association is like a mollusc, with brains all over the body, and not much of them anywhere.

In those cases in which production can be carried on with an insig-

* In two cases (those of Mr G. Thompson, woollen manufacturer, of Huddersfield, and Mr. F. Curtis, builder, of Brixton) a middle-class employer has turned his business into “a co-operative association,” but in each case the rules have been so framed as to take the removal of the head of the concern and the control of the business out of the hands of the employees. Both these associations are, for all practical purposes, industrial partnerships.

† “Economic Studies,” p. 42.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 52.

nificant capital, in which success depends almost entirely upon the exhibition by the operatives of a high degree of zeal and carefulness (especially zeal and carefulness, the presence or absence of which cannot conveniently be tested by supervision), and to but a small extent upon the business instinct and training of the *entrepreneur*, in which mercantile, as distinguished from technical, ability is almost useless, in which sudden and secret decisions are seldom, if ever, required—here the method of Co-operation has a fair field. By experiments made under conditions such as these associated industry has conferred in the past, and will—it is fervently to be hoped—continue to confer in the future, upon energetic and painstaking workmen advantages, both moral and material, of the first importance. Why is it that we have in England no counterparts of those co-operative groups of labourers, which, under the name of *artel*, are to be found all over Russia and Bulgaria? Or of the similar organizations, which have been formed in Italy among men engaged in road-making, earthwork, &c. (*braccianti*)?

"The meagre capital required was readily obtained by savings from wages, the par value of the shares being placed at a low figure. Almost the only outlay required was for pickaxes, barrows, &c., and in many cases these were already possessed by the workmen. The plan of operation was simple. Large contracts are taken by the society at fixed rates, and sub-let in sections to members, who work by the piece. By this plan individual remuneration is in proportion to the work performed. The workers become directly interested in the work, and their efficiency is proportionately increased. The middleman is abolished, and the labourer is brought into immediate relations with the proprietor who controls the undertaking. Under these advantages men who previously earned from 7½d. to 1s. 2½d. a day have increased their wages to 2s. 5d. and in some cases to 3s. 2½d. or 4s. daily."

Towards all forms of Co-operation, in which it is practically possible for working-men to become, really and truly, their own employers, all of us who have at heart the well-being of our fellow-citizens must entertain the liveliest goodwill. But with that large, indeed predominant, section of the co-operative movement, in which the actual workers are the servants of a number, much greater than their own, of working-men shareholders, more especially when, as is very frequently the case, the treatment of these workers by their masters is characterized by no faintest trace of liberality, it is impossible to feel more than a moderate degree of sympathy.

Association and thrift—these are two excellent things, which Co-operation has done much to promote. But Co-operation cannot claim to be the only form of association possible for working-men, or to possess a monopoly in the promotion of thrift. The growth and extension of working-men's clubs and institutes merits, in an eminent degree, the fostering care of the social reformer; nor can any more useful task be undertaken by the leaders of the working-classes than the development, upon lines making greater concessions than hereto-

* "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Labour Bureau," 1886, p. 143.

fore to the claims of social morality, of the trades unions, combinations which; in addition to their duty of organizing resistance to unduly onerous conditions of employment, make provision, by means of their sick, out-of-work, and superannuation funds, against the terrible hardships to which the precarious character of his income too often exposes the wage-earner. Of the great value possessed by friendly societies and savings banks established upon a sound basis it is needless to speak. Nor have we by any means exhausted the opportunities for discreet investment which are, or could, and ought to be afforded to the prudent and industrious artisan. Let the working-man be persuaded to buy Government Stock through the Post Office Bank; let him be enabled—arrangements can easily be devised to make this practicable—to invest his savings in debentures or mortgages, such as might be selected by the trustees of a middle-class marriage settlement; or, better still, let him secure to himself an old age of independence and comfort by purchasing by easy payments a deferred annuity from the Government, or from some thoroughly sound insurance company.

That the industrial classes shall possess property, and shall acquire those prudential instincts, which the possession of property can alone engender, is eminently desirable. The existence of a "naked proletariat" must be deemed to constitute a grave social danger. But every form of property is not equally well suited to be held by the industrial classes. And, with all due respect to those unquestionably sincere friends of labour who are convinced that the salvation of the working-classes depends mainly upon the unlimited multiplication of joint-stock undertakings owned by working-men, it is difficult to believe that the best use that a working-man can make of his money is to place it in that very hazardous form of investment, the shares of a co-operative factory, or to gamble with it by "bearing" and "bulling" such shares, as he does in the Oldham beer-houses; and that the only possible solution of the Labour Problem is to be found in the universal adoption, in every branch of industry, of that very unsystematic system which goes by the name of Co-operation.

DAVID F. SCHLOSS.

* See "Report of the Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 307.

ROTTERDAM AND DUTCH WORKERS.

IF any city in the world has a physiognomy of its own, that city is Rotterdam. Whichever way it is approached, whether by the Moerdijk railway-bridge or by the Maas, or through the new canal traversing the Hoek of Holland, its unique character strikes the traveller. From the viaduct which passes through the town, connecting the railway from Belgium with that to South Holland, Rotterdam appears a network of canals, bristling with funnels and masts, and lined with trees and houses. This singular port has no docks in the ordinary sense; the whole city being, so to speak, a great dock, vessels coming from the Indies and America lying moored within a short distance of the warehouses for which their freights are intended.

Rotterdam has existed so long that its origin is prehistoric; probably its inhabitants were too much engaged in maintaining their own existence to find time to worry or rob their neighbours. However, the universal enemy found them out: the Norse pirates ever and anon paid them a visit, and destroyed in a night the labour of years. But the damage was repaired, and Rotterdam slowly grew, the germ of a busy mart, to which the four winds of heaven long brought the treasures of both hemispheres. And with steam this old port took a new lease of its life, its merchants having in the present generation advanced in prosperity beyond any other city in Holland. While the Rhine trade through Amsterdam steadily declines, it just as steadily increases by way of Rotterdam. And the respective progress of the two cities is reflected in that of the growth of their populations, the increase during the last fifty years in Rotterdam as compared with Amsterdam being as 3 to 2.

At the outlet of two such rivers, as the Rhine and the Meuse, with

the Thames gaping on the opposite shore to receive their produce, Rotterdam has an exceptional position. Germany is ever increasing her downpour of exports, while a crowd of vessels, mainly carrying the British flag, fill the port.

Although recognised as a city, and affiliated to the Hanseatic League before the close of the thirteenth century, the early progress of Rotterdam was so slow that, at the close of the War of Independence, it was not regarded as one of the great cities of the Netherlands, but took its place in the States-General as first among the minor cities. It had endured something for the cause, having been, by an act of infamous treachery, seized by the Spaniards, and four hundred of its inhabitants murdered.

The War of Independence, like the Thirty Years' War, created hordes of brigands, and the North Sea was stained with many devilish acts. Dunkirk was a pirate den, and one of these fiends, a certain Admiral de Waecken, made war on the Dutch fishermen, who, being Mennonites, offered no resistance. Pillaging a vessel, he threw the crew overboard, or fastened them to the cabin, and then, scuttling the ship, he left it to sink. In 1605, a Dutch skipper, Lambert Henrickzoon, captured the then Admiral of the Dunkirk pirate fleet, and brought all the crew that remained alive after the action to Rotterdam, where sixty of them were hanged the next day. On the way to the gallows some made their escape, and were not pursued, though surrounded by a population who might have been expected to feel, not only exasperated, but vindictive. The explanation can only be found in the fact just stated; if the mass of the people in Rotterdam were not professed Mennonites, they were so far affected by the doctrine of Menno that they would not even help to bring their most cruel enemies under the sword of justice.

An authority on Anabaptist history, Dr. Ludwig Keller, archivist of Munster, says, "The more I examine the documents of the time at my command, the more I am astonished at the diffusion of Anabaptist views, an extent of which no other investigator has had any knowledge;" and he says further, "The coast cities of the North Sea and East Sea from Flanders to Dantzic were filled with Anabaptists." In 1530 there was scarcely a village in the Netherlands where they were not found. One hundred and fifty years later, a writer on "The Religion of the Dutch" divides the population of Holland into three parts—Reformed, Roman Catholics, and Anabaptists. And the descendants of the latter people must, to a great extent, have remained the working classes of Holland, for their creed cut them off from ascending into the ruling class, if that had been easy, which we shall see it was not. "It is not lawful," they said, "for Christians to swear, to exercise any charge of civil magistracy, or to make use of the sword,

not even to punish the wicked, or to oppose force with force, or to engage in a war, upon any account or occasion."*

The Anabaptists suffered not only for their attitude of reproof to all who took the sword of authority, but also for the terror with which in the Peasant Revolt, and in the fanatical outbreak at Munster, their predecessors had inspired the rulers. Their martyrology is full of touching incidents, some of which occurred in Rotterdam. In 1539 Anna Tautzen, returning from England, whither she had fled, was denounced for having sung a hymn. On her way to prison she asked a baker in the crowd to take charge of her infant. The child bore the name of Jessias de Lind, and lived to become burgomaster. Its mother was drowned in company with another woman, the betrayer throwing herself into the water immediately after.† About the same time several men were beheaded, and other women drowned. One of the latter was a girl of fourteen, who, among other things, said, "I will risk my body and my goods, I will deny my friends and give up all for Jesus' sake."‡ The elevation of soul which enabled these poor people to face their dreadful fate comes out in another woman, thus murdered, who left four children, to whom she wrote a long letter, containing this prayer:—

"O holy Father, sanctify the children of Thy servant in Thy truth, and preserve them from all evil and injustice for the sake of Thy holy Name. O Almighty Father, I commit them to Thee for they are Thy creatures, take care of them for they are the work of Thy hands. Let them walk in Thy ways. Amen."§

In 1558 the Rotterdam people rose in rebellion against these atrocities. The executioner doing his work very slowly, the crowd got exasperated, and, proceeding from one point to another, drove away the judge and his officers, stormed the prison, and delivered all who were to have been burnt.|| Thus it is clear the Rotterdam people were much affected with Anabaptist views, and that even when in religious profession they were Roman Catholics or Reformed. A proof that this sympathy was common to the townsfolk is the way the Rotterdam authorities intervened on behalf of Anabaptists badly treated in Switzerland. They addressed a long letter to the Council at Berne, entreating them to do justice to their Mennonite subjects, and assuring them that they had no cause to regret the liberty which had been accorded to Anabaptists in Holland, through the inflexible determination of William of Orange, and that notwithstanding the opposition of the most powerful of his followers.¶ The great leader in the War of Independence seems to have understood what later

* "The Religion of the Dutch." By an Officer in the French Army. 1680.

† "Geschichte de Martyren," Königsberg, 1780.

§ *Idem.*

|| *Idem.*

‡ *Idem.*

¶ *Idem.*

research is proving—that the Anabaptists represented the heart and soul of the people. They, on their part, had the true instinct of national life, recognising in William of Orange a heaven-sent protector. When they brought him their contributions towards the struggle, he asked them if they made any demand. "None," they replied, "but the friendship of your grace, if God grants you the government of the Netherlands." This friendship, continued by Prince Maurice, secured the Mennonites toleration, and they seemed to have recovered their numbers, which had been thinned by persecution.

At the close of the seventeenth century the cities of the Netherlands were full of Mennonites, who had their public assemblies, and an absolute liberty of exercising their religion.*

This alliance between the House of Orange and the people of the United Provinces was a necessity under a constitution which permitted the entire domination of the States to fall into the hands of the influential citizens of the towns.

As every city was, like every province, a State in itself, the United Provinces formed a federation of independent communities, each ruled by a few families, strong in their common interests, and their complete knowledge of the management of public affairs. In Overijssel, Groningen, and Middleburg, the inhabitants had some part in the election of their rulers, but in Utrecht and in Holland generally the rulers recruited themselves with the help of a small number of privileged electors to whom they gave a share of the official sweets.

The dislike of the Dutch people to the oligarchy displayed itself effectively during the minority of William III., afterwards King of England under the same title. The oligarchy had completed its own power by suppressing the Stadtholderate altogether. In 1658 there was great popular agitation at Rotterdam, the Prince's party being so strong that the Regents could not prevent it making levies on the fleet. In 1672 there was a general rising in Holland; and in Rotterdam, by the complicity of the city guard, the Orange party surrounded the great church of St. Lawrence during worship, compelling the citizens as they came out to declare for the Prince or the States. The result was a demand for the nomination of a Stadtholder and the hoisting of the Orange flag on St. Lawrence's, an intimation being conveyed to the members of the City Council that their houses would be destroyed if they did not sanction the resolution. With one or two exceptions they obeyed, and it was next morning conveyed to the Prince.

Thus urged, the deputies of Rotterdam took the lead in proposing to the States-General the restoration of the Stadtholderate, and the Prince of Orange was elected under the style and title of William III.

* "Religion of the Dutch," 1680, p. 39.

But the people, suspicious of the influence of the party which had ruled so long, wished to purify the State of all its adherents, and the hostility between the latter and the Dutch democracy may be gathered from the words of a contemporary:—"There are people who, considering that foreign domination is far less intolerable than an anarchy, and that the tyranny of the populace is the most unsupportable of all domination, would have better liked to submit themselves to France than to remain exposed to the insolence of an insurrectionary and furious rabble."

The residence of William III. in England had a serious effect on this popular attachment to the House of Orange, and under his successors that attachment grew weaker and weaker. In the later half of the eighteenth century the Republicans became the real national party. An insurrection in 1787, suppressed by the assistance of the King of Prussia, gave warning of the change that had taken place in the popular mind, and when, towards the close of 1794, the French revolutionary army, under Pichegru, menaced Holland, the Stadtholder found himself deserted, and the proposal to flood the country, as on former occasions when the national independence was at stake, energetically opposed by the Dutch people. The nearer the French armies drew to the confines of the United Provinces, the bolder and more explicit was the avowal of the people at large of a determined partiality in their favour. So much, indeed, was this the case, that the Stadtholder's own party was itself affected, and could not resist the general enthusiasm. A severe winter enabled Pichegru to enter Holland over the ice-bound rivers; the French armies entered Rotterdam on January 20, and Amsterdam on the 22nd. Scenes of popular rejoicing occurred, recalling the great days of the French Revolution. The writer possesses two large prints of the time, representing the great square in front of the Town Hall at Amsterdam filled with thousands of people, mostly of the humbler classes. A circle of men, women, and children are dancing round a pole surmounted by the cap of Liberty, and several smaller parties are engaged in other parts of the square in the same festive manner. This change of feeling towards the House of Orange shows that its former basis had been the belief the people entertained that it was their best palladium against tyranny, that with reference to *their* rights it would fulfil its motto, "*Je maintiendrai*." But when the Stadtholderate fell into the same vice as the old rulers, and supported itself on an oligarchy, it lost its hold on the people, and the last Stadtholder, William of Orange, left the Hague in 1795, pursued by popular execration.

But the admission of the French into Holland proved a woful mistake. Napoleon, having given the *coup de grâce* to the Revolution, put his foot on the neck of Republican France, and upon those of her

allies. Holland was chained to his triumphal car, and, without having struck a blow, the Dutch saw their whole history reversed. Once more they associated the national cause with the House of Orange, and William V., welcomed back in 1815, was created King of the Netherlands with the title of William I. It was a veritable reaction, for with him came back the oligarchic rule, and thus, notwithstanding all its revolutions, Holland is, as it has ever been, ruled by a small class of influential people. The suffrage is limited to 300,000 electors, not one workman in twenty possessing it. In Rotterdam not a single dock labourer has a vote for either the deputies to the Second Chamber or the City Councillors. The mass have, as ever, no part or lot in appointing their rulers, or in making the laws they have to obey. No wonder that the interests of the workers have not only been neglected, but powerfully opposed.

It is clear, however, that among the Dutch ruling class there are some who struggle for justice, and one or two disgraceful laws have recently been removed from the penal code, and a few positive reforms have passed into law. Until 1872 it was penal for workmen to attempt any combination whatever which tended to fetter work or raise the price of labour; any one joining in such a combination, or in a denunciation of particular directors or managers of a factory for such an end, was liable to imprisonment from one month to three, and the leaders or originators to two to five years' imprisonment, with subsequent police surveillance for another three to five years.* Other efforts have been almost stifled by governmental dilatoriness. In 1863 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the conditions of child labour in the factories, but eight years elapsed before the Report was published, and then another three years passed away before a law was enacted prohibiting the labour of children, except in agriculture, under twelve years of age; and it was not until fifteen years later still—that is, in 1889—that a second law was obtained limiting the labour of women and young persons under sixteen years of age to eleven hours a day, with a pause of one hour, and interdicting them from night work and Sunday labour. Another Commission into the condition of the working class commenced its inquiries in 1887, but it has only as yet covered a fraction of the country.

There has also been considerable improvement in the dwellings of the poor. It is a peculiar trait in Dutch family life to desire to have a house to itself, however small. Thus, there are many streets in the suburbs of Rotterdam composed of houses of two rooms; if larger ones are erected they are so built that the families no more interfere with each other than in houses semi-detached. Formerly they lived

* "Reports of H.M. Representatives Abroad: Holland." By Sidney Locock. Dec. 10, 1869. "Accounts and Papers, 1870," lxvi.

in courts leading out of the lanes between the larger streets. Here even they had, as in the suburbs, miniature gardens, and the interiors were, considering the circumstances, peculiarly clean. But even this national characteristic of cleanliness was decaying in the presence of poverty induced by low and uncertain wages, and its too certain concomitant—drink.

Holland is, above all things, a commercial country, and its well-to-do classes are among the richest in Europe; nevertheless, its workers are miserably paid. Wages average throughout the country from 11s. to 12s. a week; in a city like Rotterdam from 16s. to 20s. One of the dockers in Rotterdam sent an account to a newspaper of his wages during seven years. The annual average was £38 16s. 1½d., a little more than 15s. a week. For such wages the Dutch workmen, and especially the dockers, labour long hours. A skilled workman—as, for example, a carpenter—works from six in the morning until eight at night, including pauses for rest and meals, and cannot make more than 4s. a day. A painter must be very clever if he makes 4d. an hour. As to the hours of the docker, Pieter Sas, the leader in the late strike, gave me his own case. If he worked in unloading a ship in the grain trade the hours were from six to eight at 4d. an hour (since the strike, 5d.); if it was in the iron-ore trade, he would have to work sixteen hours a day with eight hours off, the working time being sometimes at day, sometimes at night. As his home is three-quarters of a mile from his work, he loses, with the time consumed in washing and taking a meal, three hours, reducing his rest to five. No wonder, with such exhausting labour, the workers die off prematurely, and that old men are not numerous among them.

The well-to-do classes in Holland live as generously as in any part of the world, but the working-man is miserably fed. He rarely tastes meat, especially if he has a family. Vegetables and tea are his chief diet. One excellent authority describes the food of the workers as consisting of “potatoes and gin.” And it is a fact that the consumption of alcohol has considerably increased in Holland of late years. In 1870 the Dutch drank 7·46 litres of alcohol per inhabitant, in 1887 it had reached 9·02 litres. This is nearly half a litre less than in 1884, but this cannot count for much in presence of the fact that the excise on gin in Holland yields annually £2,000,000 sterling. At the same time we have Pieter Sas’s authority for stating that in Rotterdam drunken workmen are the exception, and not at all countenanced by their mates. No one, however, could be surprised if the ginshop should have attractions for a people worked in this manner and fed on such a diet—a diet all the more strange in a city which exports in one year to England 24,250 cattle, 19,850 calves, 22,880 pigs, and 258,000 sheep.

It will be seen from the above facts that the process of "beating God's people to pieces, and grinding the faces of the poor," is as much the custom in Holland as in other commercial countries.

The Dutch worker's misery may be further illustrated by the following facts extracted from the "Statistical Year-Book of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for 1887."* Out of a total of 1,300,115 houses in Holland in 1886-7, 258,630, had only one room; 479,642, two rooms; 241,551, three rooms; 104,908, four rooms; 67,710, five rooms; and 147,674, six rooms or more. If, then, we consider families living in houses of three rooms and under as the poorer class in Holland, and those living in houses of six rooms or more as the richer, it appears that the poorer class is *seven* times as numerous as the richer—that nearly one-half of them live in houses of two rooms and under, and more than a quarter of them in houses containing only one room.

Rental returns show a similar result, and that the general poverty these facts indicate is not confined to the artisan class is shown by the returns of failures in business. The figures in 1876 and 1886 are respectively 403 and 888, considerably more than double, and these failures were mostly among the smaller tradesmen. Naturally, the trade of the *monts de pitié* increases, and the pauperism of Holland is portentous. In 1871 an eighteenth part of the population were in this condition, and more than half of those unable to support themselves were heads of families. The increase in the number of persons supported in 1888 by the Reformed Church at the Hague, as compared with the number in 1880, shows the rapidity with which the pauperism of the country is increasing. In 1880 the number was 1163, in 1888, 1950—an increase of more than 67 per cent. in eight years.

Thus we see that the bulk of the Dutch people are on the road to that terrific gulf which yawns in every great city in Europe and America, and that they have no means of making themselves heard, for in no country in Europe does poverty more completely imply loss of political power.

Hardly anywhere, on the other hand, is wealth and political power so concentrated in a few hands. Between the persons who live in houses of four rooms and less, and those who live in houses of six rooms and more, there is a great gap, filled only by a small contingent of five-roomed householders. Those who live in houses of six rooms and more form only a ninth part of the population, and this ninth part engrosses the enormous wealth of this rich little corner of the earth, the reservoir of the treasures of the Indies. For, be it remembered that the Dutch Colonial possessions exceed the mother-country fifty-four times in area, and seven times in population, the European element being comparatively infinitesimal. Probably Java alone transmits to

* "Jaarcifers omtrent bevolking, landbouw, handel," enz. 's Gravenhaag. 1887. 8vo.

Holland a sum little short of a million pounds sterling a year. It may be that the progress in national wealth is stationary, but the returns of failure in business show that it is not the great merchants, and above all the companies, that are suffering.

Such is the nature of the power against which the Rotterdam dockers lately set themselves, and over which, notwithstanding all odds, they momentarily have come off victorious. For it cannot be doubted that their success was due to that of the London dockers, and that its maintenance will depend upon what happens to labour in England and Germany.

There is one great oppression under which the Dutch workmen have fallen in common with their fellows in Germany—Sunday labour. Under the pious rule with which that latter country is blessed an attempt was lately made in the German Parliament to stop Sunday work. It was supported by the Conservatives and Social Democrats, but Bismarck put his foot on it, speaking five times against it.* He rejoiced that there was no English Puritan Sunday in Germany; but it is permissible to believe he spoke as the organ of grasping manufacturers, and some miserable workmen, who would make, not seven, but eight working days out of the week if they could. How much more truly the humble dockers of Rotterdam expressed the best interests of their class when, in demanding double pay for Sunday labour, they said that, if they could, they would like to make it an additional 200 per cent., so as to render it impossible altogether. It seems that the law only allows it when necessary, and there must be a special permit from the burgomaster, but this is said to be quite illusory, as that official appears to be anything but a martinet on such occasions.

But when it came to evading the law in the interest of the workmen, how different was the action of officialdom. When it became clear that the dockers were in earnest and meant to prevent the employment of "blacklegs," an old law was found forbidding more than five people to meet in the street, and in its support not only were the police sent, but also the militia with drawn swords.

This immediate appeal to military force seems the usual plan in Holland, and reveals more than anything else the immense gulf between the rulers and the ruled, the entire want of sympathy officialdom has with the heart and mind of the people. There has been for some time a movement going on in the Reformed Dutch Church against the extreme heterodoxy of its ministers and in favour of a freer ecclesiastical organization. The representatives of eighty-seven Churches in Holland, besides those of eighty societies or groups of Christians, met at Rotterdam for the work of reformation. The lay character of the movement is shown by the fact that, whereas

* "Evangelical Christendom," 1885, p. 178.

thirty-two out of thirty-three elders, and twenty-four out of thirty-two deacons, forming the Kirk Session in Rotterdam, joined the movement, only two out of the fifteen ministers in the city went with them. At Leidendorp, near Leiden, the minister and the large majority of the congregation joined the reform movement. The President of the Kirk Session shut them out of the church, and the minister he had invited was escorted through the village by mounted police, while police, armed, were stationed in and around the church. The people, indignant at the sight, rose in tumult, whereupon the burgo-master at once sent to Leiden for a detachment of troops to restore order, while the pastor of the dragooned people was cited before a court of justice at the Hague on the charge of causing the disturbance.*

In the great struggle for independence in the Netherlands, nothing perhaps did more to arouse and sustain the courage of the people than the earnest letters which William of Orange addressed to them from time to time. "Resist, combine"—such was the burden of his appeals. "'Tis only by the Netherlands that the Netherlands are crushed. Whence has the Duke of Alva the power he boasts? Whence his ships, supplies, money, weapons, soldiers? From the Netherland people. Why has poor Netherland thus become degenerate and bastard?"†

Because its people and its cities had each sought their own interests. Disunited they were all of a different opinion. "*L'un veut s'accommoder ; l'autre n'en veut faire rien.*" The result would be as in the fable of the old man and his sons. They would lose all, and wish too late they had remained bound together in unity as the bundle of darts. This is the lesson for the masses in Holland to-day, this is the lesson for the peoples of every country. Let them combine among themselves, and let each united people federate with those in other lands.

"If," said William, "the little province of Holland can thus hold at bay the power of Spain, what could not all the Netherlands—Brabant, Flanders, Friesland, and the rest united?"‡ If the Rotterdam dockers could, when united, conquer by so short a resistance, what could not all the workers in Holland effect by combination? And if those of all Europe were united the whole position of affairs would rapidly tend to a permanent settlement on a just and equitable basis.

"Toute puissance est faible, à moins que d'être unie"

"Therefore, good lords," concluded this most illustrious of Dutchmen, "as loving brothers reflect seriously, throw aside all slippery timidity and pluck up your spirits in manly fashion, make common

* "Evangelical Christendom," 1887, pp. 113, 114. † Motley, ii. p. 488. ‡ *Idem.*

cause with the people of Holland, and with all the people of our country, yea, as brothers of the same flesh and blood, join hands, that our poor downtrodden fatherland be not assuredly delivered up to tyranny, nor will you, venerable and gracious lords, recover old rights and privileges under obedience to the king, and by striving to maintain your accustomed tranquillity, or bring back to a State, worn out by prostitution, the bloom of its early prosperity. Let us not be in doubt; God Almighty shall lead both you and us, divinely helping us in our right to the increase of His kingdom in glory.”*

Resist, combine, and God will give the victory. Such was the faith by which Holland’s civil and political rights were won, and such is the lesson of this short study of Rotterdam and the Dutch workers.

RICHARD HEATH.

* 1 Pieter Bor, 6 Boek, p 464.

THE "MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM."

WE have heard of a member of polite society who on being asked his opinion of some play of Shakespeare's not often represented on the stage, replied, in an aggrieved tone, "I do not like to *read* things of that sort." A play, he intimated, was something to watch with the help of scenery, lights, an orchestra, and good acting; to expect one to study it in a book was as unreasonable as to present a sonata of Beethoven's in response to a petition for a little music. A recent evening at the "Globe" has awakened a certain sympathy with this non-literary hero, whom, indeed, in spite of conventional assumptions, we regard as singular rather in his candour than his practice. We do not deprecate the practice of reading Shakespeare. But we would urge all readers to make acquaintance with our great dramatist, wherever it be possible, through the medium for which he himself intended his production; and we venture to promise all who attend the present performance of the "Midsummer Night's Dream" that however intimate they may be already with Oberon and Titania, Snug, Bottom and Co., they will know them better after the performance. Such at least was our experience, and we would as far as possible share it with our readers.

All admirers of the too sparing genius of Mr. Holman Hunt must have noticed the striking effect produced, in his latest picture, by his inversion of the ordinary rules for any artistic representation of the supernatural. In his "Flight into Egypt" it is the spirits of the murdered innocents which are distinct and brilliant; the mortal travellers show beside them as dim and ghostlike forms. We feel ourselves transported to the new region which those babes have entered and look back on earth as the realm of shadows. A kindred influence is manifest in the most charming and spotless of Shakespeare's

creations. The poet takes us into fairyland as the painter into a more solemn region; this everyday world is pallid in both. Was there ever a less interesting quartette than Helena and Hermia, Lysander and Demetrius? Whether they scold, or whether they woo, they leave us equally unmoved; here and there a gem is spared them from the poet's treasury, but for the most part he seems hardly to attend to his pen as it discourses of them. Theseus and his court have more life, and so have the clodhoppers who appear in masquerade before him; but the true interest of the piece lies in fairyland. Its queen is the central figure, and it is interesting to watch her grow in Shakespeare's imagination, from "that very Mab" of Mercutio—the elf half-hidden in a hazel nut, charioteered by a gnat, whose sole business it is to inspire mortals with fantastic dreams—to the Titania beloved by Theseus, and jealous of Hippolyta, who seems as much of a goddess as of a fairy, and whose quarrel with her spouse might come straight from Homer. She has, in the change, grown as much in outward form as in character; instead of the midge-like Mab, appears a stately queen, for whom a human child is a fitting page; and we see the little hand within that jealous clutch, with which, in the representation at the "Globe," we fully sympathised. She is full of human preference, human jealousy; she cherishes her page from the recollection of his mother, her faithfulness to whom puts to scorn the fitful friendship of Helena and Hermia. Her "young squire," too, has a faint affinity, with classic mythology, but he is more of a modern on the whole. With him the modern fairy tale is born; he survives in that enchanted land where we have all wandered in years gone by; where the happy boy or girl awakens from some mysterious slumber, and finds himself or herself at home amid a quaint bright throng where earth is forgotten. That Indian princeling is the Columbus of fairyland, and all who have trodden its soil since, down to Alice in Wonderland, are followers in his track.

Shakespeare, says Gervinus, is as much a creator of the fairy mythology of Teutonic Europe as Homer is of that of Greece. We might hesitate to accept a tribute perhaps hardly allowing enough to German popular legends, if it were not paid by a German. A similar hesitation might be inspired by the legendary lore of our own country. A well-known ballad of "Robin Goodfellow" would seem to prove (according to the usually received date), that the knavish imp played his pranks before his summons to the court of Oberon, where indeed, according to our text, he appears as somewhat of a stranger. But something like this, probably, may be said of Homeric legends, and still it is Homer who makes the gods and heroes of Greece living figures to the modern world. And Shakespeare in like manner has made the denizens of fairyland familiar objects to the mental vision of all readers, not only of his own country, but of his own civilisation.

He has exchanged the sombre colouring in which our Scandinavian ancestors had clothed the tradition of elf-land for the bright hues in which Oberon and Titania flit before us, and finding Puck a hobgoblin, with horns, hoof, and a tail (the representation given in an old print), the traditional Satan, in short, he has left him a dainty sprite, twin brother of Ariel, a creature hovering between a butterfly and a child, that painters have laboured to portray as the ideal of fantastic loveliness and sportive gaiety.

His fairies indeed are bright creatures, though all their associations are of the night. They trip after the moon's sphere, they take flight before sunrise; but they are no spectres banished at cock-crow, they linger, as Oberon reminds us:—

“Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams.”

There is a moment in every morning and evening when night and day seem to embrace; when the flower in the hedge is as clear as the planet in the sky, when all commonplace objects seem half-luminous, and the painter who merely copies them accurately presents us with a poem on canvas. This moment, we know, is the kiss of the wave of amber light that floats for ever around this earth, and in this dim yet glowing atmosphere the fairies live and move. They come with the evening twilight, they linger till the morning, but they know nothing of darkness till they call it up for their own purposes; they are like those cloudlets in the northern sky, of which Scott says that

“Morning weaves
Her twilight with the hues that evening leaves.”

While Earth is dull and dark, they are bathed in opalescent radiance, which falls on the dewdrop or the cowslip as they draw near, and does not desert them as they enter the house where all lie wrapt in slumber. They bring a “glimmering light” into the palace of Theseus when the embers are dying on the hearth (we refuse to surrender that radiance at the bidding of the commentators), and the glimmer is altogether of good omen, prognosticating a happy awakening from the slumbers that are thus watched. Their visits can be no more unwelcome than that of the dawn which is their atmosphere and their home.

The influence of the Renaissance is less visible here than in many plays which would appear to give less scope for it. The reminiscences of classic mythology which we have noted are not, on the whole, so numerous as we should have expected in a drama for which Shakespeare has chosen the scenery of legendary Athens. The dewy, bird-haunted glades with their cowslip border, the green corn seen through the tree stems, and the lark singing above—all are English, the elves are their fitting inhabitants, and we meet no fawn or dryad.

It is not, as in the fairy-land created by an imaginative Frenchman—Edgar Quinet—where the gods of Greece are discovered to have shrunk and dwindled into the elves of the northern mythology. That is the imagery of satire, not poetry. The genius of Hellas expands the legends of the north, but does not fade into them. Yet something there is akin in the two; the spring-time of the Renaissance, we feel as we read, was the budding-time of a mythology that found a new Olympus at the Court of Oberon, and a new Cupid in Robin Goodfellow. And when we turn to the human court, so much less interesting than that of Oberon, we feel the influence of the same spirit which lights up the legends of heathen mythology and renders natural on the page of Shakespeare much classic allusion which would be intolerably pedantic in any similar utterance of our own day. The picture of the Athenian prince, as compared with the authorities from which Shakespeare drew it, manifests very clearly the charm possessed by every classic name in the world of the poet. The reader who will peruse that laborious piece of antiquarianism, Plutarch's "Life of Theseus," will probably allow that the tiresome half-hour so spent has yielded no single distinct or vivid conception whatever. Yet from this *hortus siccus* of withered legends, Shakespeare has drawn the ideal of a princely and finished gentleman, which seems to stand in some relation to this legendary lore, because it has a certain similarity to the only picture of Theseus worthy of being placed by its side, and which was painted 2000 years previously. We suppose it must be mainly accident that Theseus in the "Midsummer Night's Dream" recalls here and there Theseus in the "Œdipus at Colonus." Shakespeare can hardly have read Sophocles, and Sophocles certainly never read Plutarch. And yet there is something in the prince who shelters the weary Œdipus, and the prince who defends and counsels the runaway lovers, which seems to point to a common type. To one who is familiar with the earlier conception, the later one seems to point backwards.

And then, on the other hand, in the attitude of Theseus towards the supernatural, there is something essentially modern. It is very much in the manner of Scott, or rather there is something in it that reminds one of Scott himself. We see, wherever our great novelist enters the world of magic and legend, that he regards it through the medium of a cool, shrewd, eighteenth-century scepticism. He is ready to turn an unbelieving ear to the best accredited instance of the supernatural the moment it appears under the guise of history; yet, on the ground of imagination, he welcomes it with an impulse of taste and sympathy so deeply seated that we can hardly speak of the logical denial as amounting to unbelief. He thought that any contemporary who believed himself to have seen a ghost must be insane; yet when he paints the appearance of the grey

spectre to Feargus MacIvor, or what seems to us his most effective introduction of the supernatural, that of Alice to the Master of Ravenswood, we feel that something within him believes in the possibility of that which he paints, and that this something is deeper than his denial, though that be expressed with all the force of his logical intellect. It seems to us that the eighteenth-century element in this is exactly what is given in the well-known speech of Theseus:—

“’Tis strange, my Theseus, that these lovers tell of,”

says Hippolyta; and he replies:—

“More strange than true, I never may believe
These antiques fables, nor these fairy toys.
Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends.

* * * * *

Such tricks has strong imagination,
That if it would but apprehend some joy,
It comprehends some bringer of that joy,
Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush supposed a bear!”

The genius of Shakespeare takes in the genius of Scott, what the lesser *was* the greater *imagined*. Theseus, explaining away the magic of the night, is Scott himself when he drew Dousterswivel, or when he describes the Antiquary scoffing at a significant dream. And the other half of Scott—that in which the legendary beliefs of his ancestors survived in some dim region of his being and swayed his imagination towards all that enriches our human world with a borderland of the invisible—this is here too and fills the whole foreground of the picture. The dual impulse gives exactly the right point of view for an artistic representation of the supernatural. To paint it most effectually, it should not be quite consistently either disbelieved or believed. Perhaps Shakespeare was much nearer an actual belief in the fairy mythology he has half created than seems possible to a spectator of the nineteenth century. And yet Theseus expresses exactly the denial of the modern world. And we feel at once how the introduction of such an element enhances the power of the earlier views; the courteous, kindly, man-of-the-world scepticism somehow brings out the sphere of magic against which it sets the shadow of its demand. The belief of the peasant is emphasised and defined, while it is also intensified, by what we feel the inadequate confutation of the prince.

The play of the tradesmen which at first one is apt to regard as a somewhat irrelevant appendix to the rest of the drama, is seen, by a maturer judgment, to be as it were a piece of sombre tapestry, exactly adapted to form a background to the light forms and iridescent colouring of the fairies as they flit before it. But this is not its greatest interest, to our mind. It is most instructive when we watch

the proof it gives of Shakespeare's strong interest in his own art. It is one of three occasions in which he introduces a play within a play, and in all three the introduction, without being unnatural, has just that touch of unnecessariness by means of which the productions of art take a biographic tinge, and seem as much a confidence as a creation. How often must Shakespeare have watched some player of a heroic part proclaim his own prosaic personality, like Snug, the joiner, letting his face be seen through the lion's head. We are told, indeed, that the incident is copied from one which did actually "create great sport" at some pageant of the day, and which is reproduced in Scott's "Kenilworth." But its interest lies in the satire, rather than the history embodied in the speech of Snug the joiner, and the satire lies near the deepest pathos. In the speech of Theseus ordering the play, we may surely allow ourselves to believe that we hear not only the music, but the voice of Shakespeare, pleading the cause of patient effort against the scorn of a hard and narrow dilettantism. "What are they," he asks "that do play it?" and Philostrate, the courtier and fine gentleman, answers scornfully:—

- "Hard-handed men, that work in Athens here,
Which never laboured in their minds till now,
And now have toiled their unbreathed memories
With this same play, against your nuptial.
The. And we will hear it.
Phil. No, my noble lord,
It is not for you; I have heard it over,
And it is nothing, nothing in the world
Unless you can find sport in their intents,
Extremely stretched and conned with cruel pain,
To do you service.
The. I will hear that play,
For never anything can be amiss
When simpleness and duty tender it.
Hipp. He says they can do nothing in this kind.
The. The kinder we, to give them thanks for nothing.
Our sport shall be to take what they mistake,
And what alone poor duty cannot do,
Noble respect takes it in might, not merit."

And his rebuke to his bride is in the same strain as that to the courtier. "This is the silliest stuff I ever heard," says Hippolyta, and his answer, while it calls up deeper echoes, is full of the pathos that belongs to latent memories. "The best in this kind are but shadows, and the worst are no worse, if imagination mend them." Here the poet is speaking to the audience; in Hamlet, when he addresses the players, his sympathy naturally takes the form of criticism; what the Athenian prince would excuse the Danish prince would amend. But in both alike we discern the same personal interest in the actor's part, and feel ourselves listening as much to a confidence as to a creation. We learn that the greatest genius who ever lived was the one who could show most sympathy with incompleteness and failure. There is nothing scornful, nothing merely critical in his delineation of the

rough clowns who shadow forth the loves of Pyramus and Thisbe. On the contrary, almost every touch has a certain delicacy. With the exception of a single obscure allusion, they utter hardly a word that might not fall from the most refined among the audience. Shakespeare throws himself into the part of the actor. He remembers all the patient effort needed to produce a very mediocre result, he pleads that this result shall be regarded through a medium of sympathy. He seems to write of actors with the feeling expressed in his own Sonnet:—

“Oh for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide
Than public means which public manners breeds.”

We catch the accent not only of the immortal poet, but of one who has felt himself “in disgrace with fortune and men’s eyes,” who has “troubled deaf Heaven with his bootless cries, desiring this man’s art, and that man’s scope.” Whatever be the feeling which inspired the lament of the Sonnets, it is not wholly out of relation to the art which delineates the performance of the Athenian tradesmen, the criticism of the unsympathetic spectators, and the pleading in which the Prince unites the canons of the truest art with those of the widest courtesy, and the deepest human kindness.

For Shakespeare’s sympathy with the members of his special craft is as a window, whence he looks on life as a whole, and sees in its hurry, its transiency, its strange misfit of capacity to claim, of knowledge to impulse, a repetition of the experience of the player. That truth, which is wrought into the very structure of language, whereby the Latin name for a mask has become the modern *person*, reminding us that there is within each of us that which “sounds through,” not only our outward surroundings, but much that in the eyes of other men makes up ourselves; this could not but haunt the mind of one who knew the players’ part both from within and without. “All the world’s a stage;” every man is in some sense an actor, most often an untrained actor, ill at ease in his part, and often tempted to exclaim:—

“The time is out of joint, O cursed spite
That I was ever born to set it right.”

The sense of all that is difficult in the part of the actor passes into a type of life’s vain efforts, and varied futilities:—

“We are such stuff as dreams are made of.”

That line haunts us all through the “*Midsummer Night’s Dream*.” We feel the adventures of the night no mere play of fancy, but a parable of the confusions, the mistakes, the shifting vicissitudes, the inexplicable changes of human attraction and repulsion.

“The course of true love never did run smooth,”

seems a bitter theme for so sweet and fanciful a setting, but it is the theme of the whole play. Theseus and Hippolyta have begun with conflict, they may perhaps have a serene interval before them, but we doubt even so far as to Lysander and Hermia, Demetrius and Helena, Oberon and Titania. Even poor Pyramus and Thisbe, murdered by the clowns, how does their history in its caricature repeat the lesson of misfit, barriers, impediments; and then when these are removed, mistakes and misunderstandings, which have just been set before us in the adventures of the night. Was the whole play an expansion of that compliment to Elizabeth, which naturally links itself with the lament over the course of true love? Did Shakespeare mean to imply that "the imperial votaress who passed on in maiden meditation, fancy free," had chosen the better part? Was he repeating the lesson which his hero receives from the weary Oedipus in the other play, in which a kindred genius has given a representation so curiously similar?

"Oh Theseus, gods alone know nought of death.
 All else Time, the victorious, withereth.
 Faith fades and perishes, distrust is born:
 What man or State has loved, each learns to scorn.
 The sweet grows bitter, then again a joy,
 And lightest touch can firmest bond destroy."

Doubtless the instability of all human relation was in his mind, the feeling which led Madame de Stael to exclaim mournfully in reviewing her life: "J'ai aimé qui je n'aime plus, j'ai estimé qui je n'estime plus." But we hear the voice of Bottom, waking from his metamorphosis, "Man is but an ass, if he go about to expound my dream." What can the wisest of us add to that reflection of the awakened clown, reviewing the part he has unawares been called on to play, so strangely contrasted with the heroic character he has chosen? As the time of awakening draws near, do we not all with the most varied memories and anticipations echo those words of his? Do we not feel the summary of all the confessions, all the vain hopes, all the bitter disappointments, and then the wonderful revivals of our human experience gathered up in that decision, "The dream needs some wiser exponent than he who has dreamed it, or than any son of man."

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

THE CRETAN QUESTION.

IT has rarely happened in our time that five successive years have passed without a disturbance in Crete. No less than twice in this century have the outbreaks of its population been dangerous to the existence of the Turkish Empire, as, indeed, any recurrence of them may be again. The record of the struggles and sufferings of this pugnacious and irrepressible race should be in the mind of those who attempt to judge of, or, directly or indirectly, repress, agitations like the present, which, unintelligently treated, threatens to repeat the lesson already twice disregarded. Pashley has left us a tolerably complete history of the destructive and horrible conflict of the period of the Greek revolution, a history unique in the long story of Mussulman conquest in its lurid painting of a contest, religious as well as ethnical, but always merciless, and on one side as determinedly exterminating, as on the other determinedly defiant of extermination. He gathered the story in all its details from participants and survivors, or from those who were near the scene of its events. I myself have known and talked with some of them, and at least one of the chiefs of that struggle and many witnesses of it are amongst those who are now in the recesses of the mountains of Crete waiting for the spring to loosen the bonds of a new insurrection. The old spirit is not dead, nor have any of the circumstances so changed that the history of that struggle may not become the story of another.

In 1865 I was appointed by the Government of the United States of America as its consul in Crete, and was an eye-witness of the tragedy which began in the following year, and, lasting three years, left Crete devastated and half depopulated, but was still more disastrous to the Turkish Empire, bringing it to the verge of bankruptcy, draining its finances, demoralizing its army, and preparing the road for

the successful movement in the Herzegovina. The cost of the insurrection of 1866-68 to the Turkish Treasury was not less than 200,000,000 francs, and the losses in the army—more from maladies, the hardships of mountain warfare, and the inclemency of the seasons, both winter and summer, than from death in battle—amounted to no less than 50,000 men. Besides this, the expenses of the Egyptians called into aid, after the example of 1828, were, as I knew from the European representative of the Viceroy in the island, above 50,000,000 francs; while of the splendidly appointed army of 22,000 men, sent from Alexandria in the summer of 1866, only about 12,000 remained to be recalled when the failure became apparent at the end of the second year, the rest having been sent home broken down, or having died in the mountains or in battle. The losses of life amongst the Cretans, as we found when the accounts were made up, after the affair was over, were about 5000 of the Musulman men and about 25,000 of the Christians, including women and children who died from hardships or starvation, or were killed by the troops and irregulars.

That insurrection began, as this agitation has begun, in the intrigues and ambition of the Governor-General, for the purpose of prolonging his occupation of the position, stimulated by a rascality and greed on the part of the representative of the Sultan such as now is impossible. Then, as now, the correction of a part even of the abuses complained of would at the beginning have stopped the agitation, for in neither case was there any preparation or desire for an insurrection, whatever may be the standing hostility to the Turkish rule. But in 1866 the agitation grew, as there is danger of its growing now, to a great disaster, through the obstinate refusal of the Porte to make any concession, even the most just, to the Christian population; and in large measure, as now again, through the neglect by the Powers of the state of the Christian populations, due largely to the indifference of their consuls in the island to the symptoms of trouble and the habitual contempt of men who have passed their lives in the influences prevalent in the Turkish Empire. The prolongation of the parallel depends in all probability on the retrieval of this error within the next few weeks.

In 1866 the political sky was clear, and the consequences of the agitation against the Governor-General caused no apprehension to anybody. The only demand the Cretans made was for the recall of the Governor, and later for the withdrawal of certain taxes which they had been exempted from by special firman, dating from the conquest of Crete, and which the Porte now proposed to impose. The Greek Government, of which Coumoundouros was, if I remember rightly, the head, and Tricoupis the Minister of Foreign Affairs, discouraged the Cretans strongly and refused any assistance, and even Russia did not

at first show any disposition to fan the flames, for the affair seemed utterly hopeless; but as it grew, in gravity there came into the question a new element which, though it had no permanent influence on the dispute, serves to show how ill the guardians of the peace of Europe did their duty. The Viceroy of Egypt, then entirely under the influence of France, had an ambition to extend his realm, and an intrigue was evolved at Constantinople between the Porte, the Viceroy and the French Ambassador, to delegate the conquest of the island to the Egyptians, and, when it was effected, to transfer the island by way of compensation to the Viceroy, who was to pay a stated sum down, and tribute, beyond that paid for Egypt. The details were arranged between the French Consul-General at Alexandria, the Consul at Canea and the agent of the Viceroy, who was Shahin Pasha, the Minister of War of Egypt.

As it happened, in the early stage of the agitation the Governor-General, finding it advisable or necessary to obtain the assent of the Consuls to the coercive steps he desired to employ, called them to consult and approve in a body, not apprehending any opposition on that side, and with great justice, for they were almost friendly to the views of the Porte. As the United States had no political interests in Turkey, and as I had been educated with certain prejudices in favour of the Greeks and was especially interested in the Cretans from my short acquaintanceship with the island, I took my position seriously. My opinion was asked in the Consular Council: I gave it, and when it was overruled, I made a formal protest against what seemed to me a violation of the legal privileges of the Cretans, who had so far committed no act of violence or rebellion, but had simply met in syncretic assembly, as their immemorial custom was, to petition the Sultan for the dismissal of the Pasha and the withdrawal of the new taxes proposed. The Pasha desired to disperse the Assembly by employment of the troops and to arrest the principal agitators, and I energetically protested against the use of violence. This led to a reconsideration of the decision, and the Italian Consul supporting me, followed by the Russian, a Greek by birth, we were three against the English, French and Austrian representatives, supported by some honorary consuls of the minor Powers who had no weight in the scales of justice or policy. The Pasha was disconcerted and withdrew his order to the commander of the troops, who had already begun to move. This incident, so slight and unforeseen in its consequences, led to a division of the consular corps on the question of the treatment of the agitation; and, owing to my exclusion from all the politics of the Empire, I became the leader of the opposition to the Pasha. This course, with my previous tendencies, caused me to be considered by the Cretans as their champion and best friend, and gave me the position of greatest influence, which with all the Greeks is always assigned to the man

who advises them to do what they had decided in advance or desired to do.

When the shrewd Shahin Pasha, finding that he made no headway in the affections of the Cretans (who remembered the subjugation of 1830, and feared Egypt more than the Turks), and that, after spending some thousands of pounds in baksheesh to the chiefs, schools and mosques, besides promising banks and roads, he was no nearer the desired petition for the transfer of the island to the Viceroy, thought to change his tactics, he asked some of the oldest Cretans who there was who could help him, and was told that the only persons who had any influence with the agitators were the American and Russian consuls. His dragoman at once waited on me, and opened the matter with all the frankness of a man who proposes a fair bargain, offering me any sum I should name if I could help his master to the desired end. He gave me, without any suggestion on my part, all the plan, including the establishment of a great naval station at Suda, invited me to a grand dinner on board the flag-ship, and had the yards manned as I came on board! He made new and more favourable propositions to the Cretans, but at the same time did not neglect to despatch a strong body of troops to the point which would make him master, as he hoped, of the military position, in case the bribes did not suffice. I sent the propositions to our Minister at Constantinople, and he laid them before Lord Lyons, which produced some trouble at the Porte, and probably stopped the intrigue. But in the meantime the Cretans, who had hitherto avoided all collision with the troops, finding that the Egyptians had occupied a position in the Apocorona which enabled them to cut all their own communications in case of hostilities, ordered them to evacuate it, and on their refusing to comply, surrounded them, and cutting them off from the water sources, compelled them to surrender unconditionally, 4000 strong. The troops had leave to march out with their arms and ammunition, and two days to remove their artillery—though the Cretans were at the time only armed with old flint-locks and pistols, and the rifles of the troops would have been a priceless aid in the contingency of fighting—so anxious were the Cretans to put no needless obstacle in the way of a peaceful solution of the difficulty. There was no dream of annexation to Greece, or even of independence or autonomy, but simply of the preservation of rights long accorded. But the Powers were still apathetic, and except some friendly remonstrances on the part of Lord Lyons, whose personal tendencies were Phil-Hellenic, nothing was done by the powers to render the position of the Cretans endurable. Greece did not interfere in any way till the affair of Vryses and the surrender of an Egyptian army to the half-armed Cretans had made the pacific solution improbable, when patriotic committees in Greece began to run the blockade with arms and ammunition, and the Government to

afford facilities for procuring them. The Porte threw into the island heavy reinforcements, and sent to command them Mehmet Kiritly Pasha, the conqueror of the island in 1828-30. War began in earnest. Mehmet besieged the convent of Arcadi, the depôt of the insurgents, and stormed it after a bombardment, and in face of a bloody and heroic resistance, only succeeding in entering it by driving the Egyptians into the breach at the point of the bayonet as a mask for the Turkish regulars behind them. He put the garrison and hundreds of the women and children to death, the Christians completing the tragedy by the well-known incident of the explosion of the powder magazine, which made the fight famous the wide world over, and for the first time enabled me to hope for the success of the movement. Up to that time I had steadily-discouraged armed resistance, but it seemed to me then impossible that the civilized world should not interfere. I was still an innocent. Lord Lyons had been succeeded at Constantinople by an Ambassador of different sympathies, and the affair went on. The American government, in obedience to the popular feeling, openly expressed its sympathy with the Cretans, our Minister at Constantinople and myself received orders to co-operate with the Russian representatives, and thenceforward I received my instructions from General Ignatieff. Moral aid came, and contributions from all the civilized world, and the course of disaster was from that time almost unbroken for the Turkish arms. Mehmet Kiritly, Hussein Avni, the renowned Sirdar Ekrem, Omar Pasha, not to mention minor men, were recalled in disgrace, and a better general than any of those, Reschid Pasha, died of a wound received in battle with the Greek chief, Coroneos; the attempt to conquer the island by arms had distinctly failed, and A'ali Pasha, the Grand Vizier, came with offers of concessions, which amounted to practical independence. The army was demoralized to such an extent that the men deserted from regiments ordered to Crete; the Greek Government began to make preparations to carry insurrection into the continental provinces; Servia agreed to rise, but accepted concessions, and violated her agreement; the ferment began to spread into all the provinces of the Empire, and A'ali Pasha used in vain every appliance in his power to induce the Cretans to come in. The end of the Eastern Question seemed at hand. At this point the Russian Government interfered. The general movement which was pending would have gone on under Hellenic auspices, and this interfered with the Pan-Slavonic movement which Russia was preparing.

The Russian Minister at Athens induced the King to dismiss the Ministry of Koumoundouros and, when the Chamber refused to accept the new Cabinet, to dismiss the Chamber and bring in one which was pliant. The Russian Minister then proposed to Tricoupis, that if the Koumoundouros Ministry would accept the Russian plan of a general

movement, it should be reinstated in office and the movement should go on uninterruptedly. The proposition was refused, the Cretans were gradually deprived of the means of maintaining a resistance, and finally, by an intrigue too disgraceful to be believed if it were not substantiated beyond dispute, the island was handed helpless over to the Turkish commander, who had at the time not 5,000 men to put in the field out of the eighty Turkish battalions sent for the subjection of Crete. Those who care to read the story more in detail will find it in the *Times* of November 26, 1874, in a *résumé* of a little book, now out of print, in which, for the preservation of the material for history, I recorded from diary, letters and despatches, the three years' events *quos vidi et quorum pars magna fui*. The Porte withdrew all concessions.

In 1878, profiting by the Bulgarian complications, the Cretans rose again, and with little difficulty obtained the concession of an autonomy with a Christian Governor and an elective Assembly under a constitution, which is said to have been of Midhat Pasha's contriving, as unfit for the Cretans as it was possible to make it in a single trial. The most disastrous defect in it was the provision for the renewal of the term of office of the Governor at intervals of five years. The term of office began with intrigues for its renewal for another term, and a clever Pasha, applying the maxim *divide et impera*, succeeded in avoiding revolts against himself or the Sultan by an extremely complicated system of quarrels which he provoked between districts and individuals, in consequence of which the island became what it now has been shown to be, a complete anarchy. His feuds have resulted in not less than 600 partisan murders during and since his direction of the Government, and the condition has steadily grown worse since it compelled his recall, while his successors have only averaged a little more than a year of office.

In this condition of affairs the last Governor, probably conceiving that the control of the insular assembly was the key of the position, instead of attempting to abate or dominate this factiousness, which was ruining the island, formed an alliance with one of the two parties into which the numerous minor factions had become grouped, and gave his best energies to creating for himself a majority and strengthening its control of the Assembly. All the devices ever employed in a closely contested election by an American democracy were here outdone. Where the mayor was of the Governor's party the matter was simple—the returns were reversed if against it; where that functionary was of the other party, the appliances were more complicated; in some cases the leading men of the opposition were charged with some offence and thrown into prison a day or two before the election, the result of which was that the opposition was more or less intimidated and abstained from voting; in others, the pressure called by the Americans “bull-dozing,” was applied—*i.e.*, a leading partisan was

here and there assassinated; all the influence to be gained by the promise of the offices in the gift of the Government was given to its candidates, and the majority having, by one or the other or all of these methods, been secured in the Assembly, was made more triumphant by the arbitrary invalidation of the elections of obnoxious members on the sufficiently good ground, as one of the "majority" said to me in Canea, "that we don't want him in the Assembly." This would have been incredible, even to me who know the ways of that part of the world, had I not happened to be in Canea while the process of purification and elimination was going on. The "opposition" thus evolved, representing, as is well known, three-fifths of the population of the island at the lowest estimate, only mustered thirteen votes out of eighty. The sixty-seven was what the official despatches from the island represented as the legal majority!

As I have before said, partisan rancour had been growing more and more bitter in the island for several years, and amid the corruption and favouritism growing out of it justice had nearly disappeared from the tribunals; the judge being elective, no person not of his party had a right to expect a favourable decision, and had no motive for appearing at the tribunal; murders went unpunished except by retaliatory murder; olive-trees were cut down where murder was impracticable or considered too severe (one of the soberest Cretans of my acquaintance estimated the number of olive-trees cut down at not less than 40,000, and he had lost several hundred); vineyards were laid waste; cattle and beasts of burden were killed or mutilated all over the island; and all without any attempt on the part of the executive authority to find a remedy. Last year the suffrage was made universal, and the prevailing state of things was intensified by the new electoral activity which threatened or effected the dismissal of all the functionaries yet remaining who belonged to the "opposition;" so that the real majority, and, by general confession of all parties, the large majority of the well-to-do element of the population of the island, were menaced with exclusion not only from office, but from the enjoyment of the fundamental rights of constituted society. They were in fact threatened with a proscription like that we associate with the names of Marius and Sylla. The protest which followed, and which has been dismissed with contempt by most of the consular despatches from the island as the movement of an insignificant and petulant minority, was simply a rising against this condition of things, a revolt against anarchy, not against the Sultan, who was implored to send a force which could re-establish security and tranquillity in the island. Amongst the signers of the protest were the most respectable inhabitants, who had been the chief sufferers by the disorder, and there was no difference of religion in the movement, the best of both religions being included in it.

During the entire period of this contest the consuls of the European Powers, with the exception of the Russian, would pay no attention to the representations of the islanders, whose petitions that the consuls would see that the law was respected were not received. No petitions were to be accepted against the Governor, and he stopped all the telegrams to the Porte, while his statements were accepted without hesitation, and the complaints of the Cretans dismissed as the contentions of habitual grumblers. When I reached Canea at the end of June, I was told by the entire body of consuls that there was nothing serious in the agitation, that the whole trouble was the work of a few discontented office-seekers in an Adullam's cave in the mountains, and that it would be put to rest in a few days. "The majority," I was told, would arrange matters at once when the Assembly was organized, and meanwhile the expulsion from office of the few remaining officials of the "minority" was going on as rapidly as possible and the agitation consequently getting more desperate. I was at first myself deceived by the earnest assurances of the Governor and the general consent of the consular body, but a few days' investigation on independent lines made the matter clear. Some of my old friends of 1866 came in to see me, and amongst them Costà Veloudaki, a hero of the "great revolution" (as that of 1827-30 is always called), and the president of the Epitropé, or general committee, of 1866; a man past ninety-five, tall and straight, and clear-eyed, and who, as soon as he heard that I had landed, walked in from his village to Canea to see me. "When they told me you had come," said he, "I rose up, and I thanked God, for I knew you would help us, and I came straightway to see you." He told me their story, of which the important part was that no one was disposed to revolution; but they were tired of anarchy and robbery and murder, and like men on an uneasy bed were disposed to turn on it, feeling that nothing could be worse than what they suffered. Nobody wanted to fight, nobody favoured a revolution, nobody, except the five foolish deputies of the minority, who had conceived the idiotic notion that to proclaim the annexation of Crete to Greece was a way out of their trouble, thought of Greek aid. This piece of childish folly gave the pretext that was needed to put the island under martial law, and had the Porte at the same time sent a reasonable and acceptable Governor with full powers to treat and modify, the interregnum of military *régime* would have permitted the modification of the defective constitution and the cancelling of all the illegal acts of the Assembly. This was what the malcontents wanted, not an insurrection, nor did the bulk of the population take any part till very lately in any illegal agitation. They were fully warned by the Greek Government that they would get no help from Greece, and urged in the most pressing manner to remain quiet; the Russian consul did uphold them in their opposition to the Governor, but, as I

satisfied myself, did not encourage an insurrectionary movement. He knew, as I soon did, that the Governor was incapable—he had neither the energy nor the wisdom to retrieve the position. There were unfortunately in the island, as there are always in any democratic community, and especially in a Greek one, a number of those incendiary demagogues who are the especial danger of Greek politics. If some of these had been arrested and sent to Damascus or Beyrut it would have done great good, for they were the disseminators of alarm and disorder. They were not disturbed however; but spent their days in the *cafés* of Canea declaiming, and each one trying to prove himself a better patriot than his neighbour. Since the annexation had been proclaimed, and the authors of the proclamation were undisturbed in their daily propaganda in the *cafés*, the others could not be left behind in their Pan-Hellenism, against the day when they might be candidates for the *Voulé* at Athens. So they all signed an adhesion to the proclamation of the five; and the demagogues across the *Ægean* were assured that the population of Crete was unanimous for annexation to the Mother-land. The “majority” were no less vigorous in their protest than the five who were supposed to represent the “minority”; but at the same time they kept up the extirpation of the opposition functionaries, the Governor obeying blindly all their exactions, and dismissing every remnant of respectability in the *kaimakamlis*, tribunals, &c. Mr. Biliotti finally threw off his official reserve and earnestly represented to the Governor the consequences of what he was doing, and the proscription was stopped. This induced a lull in the agitation, and the appointment of an Imperial Commissioner to investigate the difficulty improved the situation so much that I concluded the danger of a collision had passed, and left the island in the end of July, shortly after the arrival of the Imperial Commissioner. A little tact and goodwill at that time would have ended the crisis. Thus far the Porte had given no justification for the agitation, which had been caused solely by the excess of liberty accorded to the Cretans and their misuse of it, no interference with the constitutional rights of the Cretans having been attempted. The only blame that could have been attached to the action of the Imperial Government was that it did not dismiss the Governor as soon as his illegal practices had been brought to notice but since the Consular body had up to this moment been declaring the Governor was blameless, and that the demonstration had no importance or justification, we may, up to this point, discharge the Turkish Government from any responsibility for the difficulty. The Cretans, again, had not attempted any act of rebellion against the Sultan. And even much later in the progress of the trouble, when Shakir Pasha arrived with troops, the Cretans received him with no diffidence or defiance; he met with no opposition in occupying with

his troops positions which the Cretans could have defended with the utmost ease if they had been disposed to hostility. It has needed a good deal of blundering and some bad faith to bring the matter to where it now is.

The trouble was inherent in the constitution of the Government and in the condition of Crete. Since the adoption of the compact of Khalepa in 1878, the Cretans had been doing the best they could to break down the authority of the Governor-general, the terms of office of all the later *Valis* had been shortened by popular demonstrations, and the habit of driving out the Governor had become so confirmed that a new one was no sooner in office than an intrigue was set on foot to drive him out. The decay of the central authority had gone so far that anarchy was incurable without radical change. If the people had had the political education for their position, they would have seen that the evil was of their own creating, and must be cured by their own action; but they only felt that there was no law, and they only knew by experience of one remedy, and that was the *Epitropé* or general assembly of the Cretans, with protests or petitions to the Sultan, and an insurrection shadowed forth in the background if the petitions were not granted. This governor had failed and they wanted another—they had been for ten years trying to break down the central authority, and now they demanded its reinforcement. But the Cretans suffer, as people in their state of civic development always suffer, from extravagant ideas of those who take the lead amongst them. The majority has always been passive in the hands of the agitators, who are mostly young men who come back from school at Athens, educated for lawyers and school-teachers and doctors, but utterly unfitted for the life of a condition like that of Crete; filled with the idea of their political importance, and, having no property except their castles in the air, they have no appreciation of the consequences of an insurrection in the devastations and destructions which have for generations impoverished the island. The majority are composed of simple peasants, ready to fight for what they consider their rights, but mainly anxious to secure justice, and always ready to obey a decision which shows itself just. They are only drawn into these conflicts in their acute stage, when the Porte, with its usual want of discrimination, begins to apply its only rule of conduct in case of insurrection—to strike the whole population in order to be sure of hitting the guilty; labouring under the persuasion common with uncivilized governments, that cruelty applied to the unoffending relatives and compatriots reaches and overawes the offenders whom it cannot reach directly. This of course drives the peacefully disposed into the ranks of discontent, and though it may succeed with a Mussulman or a timid Christian population, it never succeeds in Crete, where every demonstration is turned into an insurrection because, instead of the justice and redress

of maladministration which the people demand, they are offered repression. Knowing the Cretans as I do, I am convinced that a just and firm governor would maintain tranquillity in the island so long as he was supported by the Imperial Government against the intrigues of Stamboul.

The Porte followed its usual rule in this case. The Imperial Commissioner met and listened to the propositions of the Committee of the discontented Cretans, and sent their complaints to Constantinople, where they do not seem to have received serious consideration and were rejected, and the Commissioner was recalled, apparently because he was disposed to consider the position rationally. Looking back on the affair in the light of more recent events, I am convinced that there was a *parti pris* at the Porte, and that the Government, considering the opportunity a good one to finish with this perpetual source of disturbance while its hands were free on every other side, had determined to reduce the Cretans to unconditional submission and this the more readily that the Cretans had provoked an intervention without any fault of the Porte. They had obtained all their concessions at times when the Empire had its forces occupied elsewhere and none to spare for Crete, and now they had raised a question when they had no complaint against the Government at Constantinople, and were themselves entirely in the wrong. They had secured the indifference of all Europe by disturbing the peace it wanted to preserve, and it could not be expected to look into all the details of a minute question like this, and see that only the demagogues of Crete were responsible for the disturbance. All the world knew that the Cretans had enjoyed an almost absolute autonomy for ten years, with their own Diet and their own laws, levying their own taxes, and paying no tribute, doing what they pleased in the interior of the island, and only having to submit to the Turkish rule when they came into the fortified cities, electing their own judges and police, and suffering no interference in their insular affairs from the military authorities, no matter what happened. The Porte had even assigned half the customs' receipts to the island, and only suffered a large pecuniary loss by the retention of the island, as the cost of the garrisons exceeded the customs' receipts. Everything but absolute independence had been accorded to the Cretans.

The appeal for annexation to Greece as the remedy against the excess of liberty which has made government impossible was absurd, and, while it prejudiced their cause with the Powers, it aroused all the animosity of the Turkish Government and the native Mussulman population, the former consenting, under pressure, to the concession of reforms, but never to the cession of a province, and the latter bitterly hostile to Greek citizenship. This has been the weak side of the later Greek agitations—that they take the form of an appeal for annexation to Greece

rather than for the extension of local reforms and liberty, making the aggrandizement of the Hellenic kingdom the end of every movement, rather than the improvement of the condition of the Greek communities. In this case it was clearly fatal, as furnishing the Porte with a plausible and logical reason for suppressing the movement. No Power can be expected to cede a province except to *force majeure*, no matter by what title it is held, and the condition of Europe at this moment is such that the Powers cannot safely or wisely put coercion on the Sultan for a question so deeply prejudiced as that of Crete, hardly, in fact, for any question involving Greek nationality. The attempt to do so would at once throw him into the arms of Russia, and whether this would be a bettering of the chances of liberty in the Balkan provinces anybody can judge as well as I. Moreover, the Turks see as well as we do that the successful result of a pressure on them to cede Crete would be the signal for the beginning of an agitation in Epirus or Macedonia. The Greeks of the kingdom do not seem to have the common-sense to see that the true way of securing the extension of their national interests is to profit by the neutral tendencies of the Turkish suzerainty to strengthen the Greek element by improving its condition against the day of final dissolution of the Turkish Empire in Europe. The commonest remark of people who stay long enough in Greece to judge the character of the people, is that the Greeks are children, incapable of mature judgment or action. They cannot control their impatience to seize what they desire; in their impatience to gather the golden eggs they have to be prevented by force from cutting the throat of the goose that is laying them. Like children, they exaggerate their own importance, and over-estimate their own powers. They have qualities which make them invaluable in the future reconstitution of the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean world, but by their crude insistence on the recognition of the right to anticipate their share in the inheritance of the sick man, they compromise not only their own but the general good. Tricoupis is the only Greek statesman who has always seen this, but the public impatience neutralizes all his efforts to maintain a conciliatory policy towards Turkey.

The present crisis in Crete is peculiar, and peculiarly difficult to treat. The Sultan being in no wise responsible for the state of the island, at any rate prior to the first of August last, there would be no justice in depriving him of a possession recognised by treaties and by international law, on account of it, and no room to demand extensions of a liberty which was already excessive, and led to abuses fatal to the well-being of the Cretans, and which was too great for their governing power. Yet anarchy prevails and order must be restored in the interest of the general good. The partisan rancours which have been for years ruining the island, and causing a war of faction more desolating than the rising of 1866, can only be brought under control

by the strong hand of a Government which has a military force at its disposal; and what can this force be but Turkish? Europe has to deal with the Ottoman Empire; and until it can be dispensed with we must respect its sensibilities, for its prerogatives are protected by international law, and the maintenance of this law, so laboriously evolved, is of far more importance than any local or temporary object to be gained by its violation. All Governments recognise the right of revolution, but they also recognize the right of other Governments to suppress them, and by their own methods so far as they involve no needless severity or cruelty, and we respect the rights of the Czar in this respect in reference to excesses which we do not have to complain of in Turkey. The Turks have only Mussulman soldiers to maintain their authority, and this condition is known to all in advance of any appeal. The Cretans knew it too well, alas! but have invoked it and must accept the consequences.

But, on the other hand, what had the Cretans done? They had not revolted, for the foolish act of the five deputies had no real effect, and the island welcomed the arrival of the troops of Shakir Pasha as the restorers of order; imperial intervention was received as the solution of the problem. The treatment implies bad faith. Its excess justifies my conclusion that the Porte had decided to avail itself of the opportunity to revoke all the concessions gained by the Cretans through the long and varying struggle of the century. Under the circumstances an intervention was indispensable, but it would be difficult to show that because the Cretans had risen against their local authority and protested against too much licence—that therefore they should be deprived of all liberty. The Porte has treated the revolt against the Governor and Assembly as if it had been against the Sultan, and the prisons are full of people who can at most only be accused of holding subversive opinions; for no overt act had been committed against the Suzerain prior to the reign of terror now obtaining, and all that has been done since is simply the consequence of the unprovoked severity of the military régime which is the only government accorded the island. The refuges of the mountains are full of men ready to carry on the war of independence as soon as the spring shall open, and several thousands are in exile in Greece, instruments of a substantial and dangerous rebellion when it shall suit the Greek Government to launch it. However the beginnings of the present crisis may have differed from the events of 1866, the position is now almost identical with that in which the island was in the beginning of the month of April of that year, the only important difference being that the Cretans are better provided for hostilities, and the Greeks are more ready to begin. This is to a certain extent counterbalanced by the possession by the troops of positions which would have to be fought for; but there are no roads in

the island, and no fortifications in the interior, and the positions to be held are pretty much in the air. With the facilities which the island affords for running the blockade, the Greek committees will have no difficulty in throwing into the island sufficient ammunition and provisions, and we shall have in the first year of the war the position which was only reached in the second of the former. How it will end it is useless to conjecture. Under any circumstances, there will be two results which the Porte ought not to desire, the intimacy of the relations of the island with Greece will be closer, and the establishment of a true autonomy of it more difficult; and the division between Mussulman and Christian, lately almost healed, will become inveterate. It must not be forgotten that there are in Crete 50,000 Mussulmans, as much Cretan as the Christians, and as much entitled to the protection of the Powers. They are even less than the Christians responsible for the present imbroglio, having been practically out of the Government, and in general most pacifically inclined. They are irreconcilably opposed to the annexation to Greece, and will resist to the last such a solution of the problem, while the sympathy for them in the Empire will compel the Sultan to refuse any cession of the island to Greece if even he were disposed to it. This is of course a point to which the Greeks give no consideration.

I long ago satisfied myself, however, that the great majority of the Cretans are indifferent to annexation, except as an escape from the interference of the Turkish Government with their affairs, and that they would as willingly accept, and better maintain, a protected autonomy which assured them against any such interference. Regarding, as they do, however, the union with Greece as the only solution which offers this benefit, they do not dare to commit themselves to the consequences of a declaration which would be visited on them in a probable future, and when the cry of annexation is raised no one dares to risk the future reprobation. A prominent and influential Cretan said to me this summer: "We are not ready for annexation to Greece; we ought to be under one of the Powers for fifty years, as the Ionian Islands were, before it comes." Again, there can be no doubt that the inveterate hostility of the Turks to reform is due to the perception that it will be made the way to independence, a final result which we see to be inevitable, but which they may be pardoned for refusing to accept till they must, and resisting by fire and sword. If the interests of the Cretans are to be consulted primarily, they must be distinctly and unmistakably separated from Greek ambitions. The incapacity of the Greeks to perceive this is only another evidence, where we have many, that they are devoid of political circumspection, or that they are willing to sacrifice their ethnical kindred to the territorial aggrandisement of Greece.

But supposing the conflagration to be for the moment stifled by

expedients of force which can only last while the force weighs, we have always the embers ready for another outbreak when the opportunity comes. What is the use of plastering over a volcano? The Sultan will never be permitted to extirpate the Christian Cretans, and every day of a false policy increases the difficulties. And while it is just and inevitable that the Cretans shall one day decide for themselves on the question of union with Greece, it is not so clear that that day is near at hand. It must be left to the logic of progress when and how the union shall take place. What is most important for Crete is, that it should not be driven to fight for annexation by the intolerable rule of corrupt pashas, or the hardly more grievous edge of the scimitar. If the conflagration is to be avoided, not only to-day but to-morrow, and Crete preserved from a decimating and desolating struggle, which may be also disastrous to the Turkish Empire, the autonomy of the island must be reorganized at once, and without that satisfaction to Turkish *amour propre* which the complete subjugation of the island would afford. The Cretans have suffered already more than they have offended. Having had a larger experience of them and their peculiarities than the authors of the present policy, I venture to indicate the lines on which such a reorganization must be conducted. The gravest defect in the old constitution was the renewal of the term of the office of the Governor at intervals of five years. English experience is, I am told by a very high authority on this question, opposed to the principle of life-governorships, and if there were fit men waiting for such appointments in the employ of the Turkish Government, I should admit this experience as conclusive. I do not say that it is not, but when we know that there are very few men in the Turkish employment who could be trusted with a mixed province and a difficult one like Crete, we have to think what must be said on the other side. I only know of one man who is in that position, and that is Adossides Pasha, who was Governor of Crete for a short time in the early days of the Constitution, and was dismissed by the Sultan because he disarmed the Mussulman police when they were selling their Martini rifles to the dealers.* The Porte seems to have tried every available man. The difficulty is in the intrigues for and against a renewal of the term. These can only be prevented by making the office tenable for life or for a term of years without the possibility of renewal. The former has been tried in Samos, with very good results on the whole to the peace of the island. The second has never been tried. Whichever may be adopted, it is imperative that the governor shall not be disturbed by the intrigues of the palace or of the factions in the island, which cannot make use of him. To secure this, his position must be put under the guarantee of the Powers

* The Christian branch of the force were armed with Sniders or Chassepots, which being inferior weapons, were not in demand.

or the majority of them. My opinion is in favour of a life governorship (principality), the approval of the majority of the Powers being requisite for an appointment or for a removal in case of violation of the constitutional obligations. But to induce the Turkish Government to accept this intervention it must be protected against the new concessions being made steps to a secession; the same Powers must maintain, by the same guarantee, the autonomy accorded against the Hellenic propaganda as well as against the reaction of the Mussulman element in Turkey; the autonomy of the island must be guaranteed for its natural political life, and the position of the Governor assured equally against insurrectionary intervention from Greece and official intervention from Constantinople. The fruit of agitation being thus forbidden to both parties, the islanders will be allowed to develop their own institutions in the way their own interests lead. And this I maintain, not from any opinions I hold as to the Greek Government, or from distrust of it, or from any objection to the annexation of the island to Greece, but because I am convinced that as long as the question of annexation is held up to the Cretans as their only way of escape from their present position, so long any scheme of pacification is impracticable. The Greeks will of course regard this provision as one hostile to their nationality, while it is, in fact, only the means of preservation of a branch of it from the danger of destruction, and makes its prosperity independent of the Greek agitators. They would probably prefer to see it desolate and depopulated to knowing it to be prosperously independent.

The Governor (or Prince) of the island being definitely confirmed in his place, he must be enabled to maintain order by a police which is absolutely independent of the local influences, and therefore must be foreign. The Cretan police was one of the worst elements of disorder, and if it is distinctly understood that the island will not be allowed to go to Greece, and that the Governor is not to be at the mercy of the intrigues or agitations of Athens, Stamboul, or Canea, and is not subject to the exactions of *baksheesh*, there will be no difficulty in maintaining order with a small force of Albanian police.

The elective judiciary was one of the gravest causes of that partisan fury which was the *causa causarum* of trouble, for the judge who did not reward his partisans in his judgments had no chance of being re-elected; and it must at all hazards be abolished.

The Assembly should be reconstituted as a necessary satisfaction to the principle of self-government; but it was much too numerous. The recent suggestion of a secondary election seems to me a good one for a population in the condition of that of Crete, where a proportion between the representations of the two religions is indispensable; but the veto in its acts should be exercised, not, as heretofore, by the Sultan, but by the Governor, whose authority should be strengthened

in every possible way, instead of being held in check by every other element of government. The Governor had really no power except to intrigue; he had an administrative council which bullied him, and a legislature over which he had no honest influence, and which he could not dissolve when there was a dead block; and, being a Christian, he had a Mussulman suzerain who was always ready to listen to any intrigue against him from the discontented Mussulmans in the island, or from any one who wanted his place.

If the conditions I have indicated are considered impracticable, and not within the limits of responsibility assumed by the Powers, there is nothing left but to let the struggle wear itself out, or break out anew at another time. The general opinion is that the Cretans are very difficult to govern. I believe this is only the case when they are governed in absolute disregard of their character. They have immense respect for a just, even if severe, man; but a just, impartial, and inflexible government has not been tried on them except during the short period of Adossides Pasha, who has left a reputation in the island as its Haroun al Raschid; Turks and Christians praise Raouf Pasha; and I have often heard the old Cretans speak in praise even of the government of the bloody Mehmet Kiritli after 1830 as just and impartial. The Cretans have, what is absolutely lacking in the continental Greek, the sentiment of gratitude; they never forget the man who has shown himself their friend, and will always listen to him. I believe that if the late English Consul in Canea (Sandwith) had been still there, there would have been no disturbance last summer, for he would have listened to their complaints and they to him; he knew them and they him, and there was the mutual confidence between them which should exist between governor and governed.

Bygones are bygones, but the blood and the tears of Crete have reddened and salted her soil long enough to bring the wisdom of Europe to find some stay for them. It seems to me that the case justifies the extreme intervention of Europe as much as did the Greek crisis of four years ago, when the right was assumed in order to enforce peace. It may well be that nothing less will at once put an end to the violence and illegality which have made life almost intolerable in the island, and at the same time secure the dignity and recognised rights of the Sultan, without which interference would only substitute a greater for a lesser European danger.

W. J. STILLMAN.

SCHOOL FEES AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

THE subject of Public Elementary Education gathers round itself a group of questions which touch the daily life and the highest interests of the people more intimately, perhaps, than any of the other sets of subjects with which the politicians of to-day alternately enlighten and mystify a bewildered public. To a considerable extent the interests of Public Elementary Education have escaped from the partisan entanglements of political warfare, and the great parties in the State each profess, what I do not doubt is a sincere desire, to place them upon secure and firm foundations. This disentanglement rendered the settlement of the Act of 1870 possible. If the whole subject is again to be reopened in the light of the experience of the last twenty years, both parties in the State will have to bring a dispassionate consideration to the issues which will be raised. And at the outset it is no slight consideration to reflect that multitudes of the electors with whom the decision will ultimately rest have received their own education as a result of the non-partisan settlement of 1870.

It is not difficult to foresee that the agitation for the abolition of school fees may lead to a total revision of our present educational arrangements. And the agitation has reached a point at which it may be possible to make a fairly successful attempt to appreciate its force, to understand its meaning, and to forecast its results. For the demand is not the outcome of the Act of 1870. It existed long prior to that date, and as Mr. Lyulph Stanley reminds us,* it formed an essential part of the programme of the National Education League in 1869. For twenty years the scattered remnants of that organisation have been advocating the policy before an enlarged electorate, and now it stands behind the question of Home Rule in the first rank of the

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March 1890, p. 440

subordinate planks in the platform in the most numerous section of the Liberal party.

When the agitation for any demand has reached that point it compels the consideration of all parties in the State. But the first essential to the rational consideration of any question is that the issues should be accurately defined. Unless that be done, politicians of all parties will be satisfied with piously repeating their creed, and, as in some other cases, incontinently postponing its application.

The main difficulty of the present position is the strange avoidance of any definite explanation of what they desire to do on the part of those who are advocating the demand. The cry of "Free Education" is dinned into the ears of enraptured multitudes who are vaguely led to believe that it refers to some boon which they are about to receive from politicians who are deemed to be as open-hearted as they are open-mouthed. Such politicians never explain that the policy means simply the taxation of the whole community for the benefit of a single class within the community. Instead of this, perhaps Mr. Stanley's Liberationist lecturer* comes upon the scene, and explains to the villagers, "with justice" or without it, that on the whole it would be best to make the Church pay the cost of the change, and he raises the cry, "Pay the school-pence by the disendowment of the Church!" If shouting loud is to be the chief test of political wisdom there would be no difficulty in these days in saying where wisdom was to be found; but if there is a desire to ascertain what all the shouting is about, and to what end it is directed, a much more complex problem presents itself for solution.

For, stripped of its rhetorical trappings, the policy of "Free Education" is the policy of relieving the parents of children attending public elementary schools of a slight proportion of the cost of educating their children, and of placing the entire burden upon the community. At present parents pay, in their position as parents, small sums which in the aggregate amount to nearly £2,000,000 per annum. If the policy of "Free Education" is to prevail in Mr. Stanley's sense of the term,† no parent sending a child to a public elementary school will be allowed to pay a school fee, nor will the managers of such a school be permitted to receive it; and consequently the taxpayers, or the ratepayers, or both, will have to provide from the taxes or the rates a yearly amount of £2,000,000, now provided by the parents who directly and immediately profit by the education received by their children.

It is obvious, therefore, at the outset, that a financial question of enormous magnitude is at once raised, which can be dealt with apart from any strictly educational question whatever. Upon that point the leaders of both political parties are agreed. Lord Salisbury

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March 1890, p. 453.

† *Idem*, p. 448.

believes it "to be a question for the Chancellor of the Exchequer."* Mr. Gladstone in his speech on the Address,† seized upon the same point and expanded it. "I do not mean," he said, "to express more than a general opinion that it is undoubtedly a large financial question, and that it involves a great number of considerations over and above the mere extension of your liberality to a point somewhat beyond that which it has heretofore reached." A moment's consideration shows that a perpetual charge of £2,000,000 and upwards every year is no light burden for even a rich nation to undertake. It is equivalent to increasing the National Debt by a sum of over £70,000,000.

If there is anything in the present condition of our educational arrangements to render so costly an experiment necessary, the expense of it ought cheerfully to be borne. But it is precisely at the point when the necessity for the change has to be proved that the difficulties in the way of accepting it become most overwhelming. It must be remembered at the outset that when the £2,000,000 yearly have been spent, the standard of efficiency in our elementary education will not have been advanced by a single step. If the nation can afford to spend £2,000,000 a year more upon education than it spends now, would it not be better to spend it in a way which would not leave its condition exactly as it now is? For years past it has fallen to my lot to insist, with varying success, upon frugality in the expenditure of public money upon educational uses, not only because all wastefulness is injurious in itself, but because profuseness of expenditure involves a limitation of efficiency and of improvement. The more costly our educational arrangements become, the less opportunity shall we have of perfecting and of extending them. The demand for the expansion of our educational arrangements in the direction of the systematisation of Secondary and Technical Schools, together with the establishment of Continuation Schools, is one which presses upon public attention with increasing urgency. To satisfy this demand would be to improve our educational system. An annual grant of £2,000,000 would render these improvements possible to a large extent. Why, then, if we have the means, should we not set before us as our first aim, the completion and perfection of our plan of education?

From this point of view it is essential to observe that the advocates of the compulsory abolition of School Fees must undertake the task of advancing reasons in support of their policy. It is they who are urging the change upon the nation, and the main contention which they are bound to make good is, what advantages the nation may hope to gain from their proposal. The supposed advantages fall into two groups, one of primary and the other of secondary importance. And the remarkable feature of the whole agitation is the manner in which those of secondary importance are insisted upon with considerable

* Speech at Nottingham 1889.

† February 1890.

vehemence, whilst those of primary importance are comparatively ignored. We are told that we shall gain in increasing regularity of attendance, in diminishing friction in the enforcement of the laws relating to compulsory attendance, and in setting free for teaching purposes the time now spent in collecting the fees by the teaching staff. Every one of these advantages is of the nature of a prediction. For reasons which I need not again urge here, I am of opinion that the total abolition of the school fee will make no perceptible difference whatever in either regularity of attendance, or in the enforcement of compulsion; whilst the proportion of the teacher's time occupied in the collection of the school fee, as distinct from the general work of school registration, is so slight as not materially to affect the consideration of the question. And yet these supposed advantages are those which are most strenuously asserted; but, as often happens, their importance is in inverse ratio to the vigour of their advocacy.

The main recommendation which the policy professes for the great bulk of its supporters is, that the compulsory abolition of school fees must necessarily involve what Mr. Lyulph Stanley calls "the abolition of private management" of the schools. The abolition of school fees, and the abolition of private management are "two changes," which must "go together." That is the burden of Mr. Stanley's plea in the article which he contributed to the March number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. By "private management," Mr. Stanley means the management of every public elementary school not aided by a rate and managed by a School Board. At other times, these schools are referred to as "Denominational" schools, and then, what is meant is that formulas of Christian faith or practice can be taught in these schools without let or hindrance. Now these schools combined, considerably outnumber the schools under School Boards. The number of children in average attendance in England and Wales in these so-called "privately managed" schools was, at the date of the last return, 1888-9, 2,236,961, against 1,378,006 in Board Schools. Compulsorily to alter their whole character and position constitutes an undertaking of no mean importance. It is not the first attempt of the kind which has been made. The compulsory abolition of school fees, however, in Mr. Stanley's judgment, will work the revolution.

In what manner do the leaders of the great political parties view this aspect of the question? Lord Salisbury, in his speech at Nottingham in the autumn of 1889, said: "I venture to repeat now that the gift of free or assisted education must be so conducted as not to diminish in the slightest degree the guarantee that we now possess for religious liberty as expressed by the voluntary schools. If it is to suppress the denominational schools, free education would be not a blessing, but a curse." Upon this observation it is only necessary to

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March 1890, p. 440.

make one comment. In the opinion of the Royal Commissioners of 1888, Lord Salisbury has set himself an impossible task. That curiously constituted body was fairly unanimous about a few things, and one of those was that school fees should be retained, partly because the evidence preponderated in favour of their retention, and partly because they knew of no practicable means of abolishing school fees consistently with the maintenance of voluntary schools:

A few months, however, after Lord Salisbury's speech came the debate upon Free Education in the House of Commons (Feb. 21, 1890). In the course of that debate Mr. John Morley described the attitude of the Liberal party thus:—"Our position I think is this—that when a school is intended for all it should be managed by the representatives of the whole community. Where, on the other hand, the school claims to be for the use of a section of the community, as, for example, the Catholics or the Jews, it may continue to receive public support as long as it is under the management of that sect. . . . That appears to me to be a position which we, and even the gentlemen below the gangway, may consistently take up." Immediately upon the conclusion of this speech "the gentlemen below the gangway" proceeded to "take up" that position, whether consistently or not it is not at present material to inquire. Mr. Sexton accepted the "declaration just made," "on the part of the Liberal party," "that when a school is under the management of persons of a particular creed, it may still remain under that management after the system of free education had been adopted," and straightway he voted with his followers for Free Education.

By general consent this proceeding constituted a singular episode. Mr. Stanley's explanation of it is that Mr. John Morley and Mr. Mundella, who had spoken in similar terms, were simply proclaiming upon the housetop principles which "five of the minority"* of the Royal Commission had whispered within the pages of a Blue Book. But this explanation finds no favour with Mr. Stanley's friends. Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., informs us that "these words, as used in Parliament, will scarcely bear the interpretation put upon them by Mr. Lyulph Stanley."† Mr. Philip Stanhope, M.P., asserts that "it would be a very grave error if it went forth to the country that the whole Liberal party were committed to the expressions used by two prominent men of that party."‡ Upon Sir Wilfrid Lawson it had an immediate and remarkable effect. It took away his pluck, rendered him for the moment speechless, and for a week afterwards bewildered. His sufferings were apparently a compound of mental influenza, followed by Na Nonna.§ "He very much regretted that he had not the pluck to get up and make a speech, consisting of two words and three

* Letter to the *Times*, Feb. 24, 1890.

† *Nonconformist*, March 6, 1890, p. 234.

‡ *Idem*, p. 235.

§ Na Nonna is a trance-like state, which is said to follow upon influenza.

syllables, 'I object.' He had spent nearly a whole week in reading letters about this great compromise or concordat, and the more he read the less he understood it." Such utterances, as these are but the echo of the sentiments of the political Nonconformist press. "Mr. Morley seems to be giving at the knees," says the *British Weekly*,† "and Nonconformists must awake." The *Christian World* describes Mr. Morley's proposal as "a false note." "The principle involved is wrong, unsound, and anti-national."‡ Mr. Morley took the pains to explain himself in the columns of the *Speaker*, and invoked the authority of Mr. L. Stanley and Mr. Mundella. When political Nonconformists agree with these gentlemen, they are quoted as "our excellent friends," to whom they are under "the deepest obligations." Now, however, we are told that "Mr. Morley ought to know that it is useless to quote to us Mr. Mundella and Mr. L. Stanley, as if their names were sufficient warrant for any sort of educational proposal. He should understand that while both have rendered good service, neither is a Nonconformist, and both hold principles which Nonconformists unanimously condemn."§

There is some difficulty in understanding precisely in which direction apostasy from "principles" is really to be found. Mr. L. Stanley thinks it is clearly among his friends. "I think," he says, "it is one of the deplorable results of our present political position that so many people are forced to run away from those vital convictions which we ought to hold so dear."|| On the other hand, Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., who cannot endure the thought of "those vital convictions" so dear to Mr. Stanley, as explained by Mr. Morley and Mr. Mundella, affirms that, "we know very well what this is intended for. It is intended to get over a difficulty. . . . I think we have erred in the past in making unsound compromises. We are reaping the consequences now, and if we would do better for the future, for heaven's sake let us stick to our principles!"¶ It is in Wales, however, that apostasy is most rampant. The Reverend Herber Evans relates how in Wales there lives "an old Welsh wealthy lady," who is considerably in advance of free education. "She gives every child that will go to the church a good dinner every day." The effect is appalling, for the children swallow their dinners and their nonconformity with equal impartiality. In what manner the abolition of school-pence is to alter this condition of affairs is not explained. But "the land is fermenting with dissatisfaction," which is apparently a mode of expressing a desire for more dinners, and a cry goes up for English help. "There is to-day a great opportunity in Wales for any one who has his principles in the market. He is bought at any price. We ask

* *Nonconformist*, March 6, 1890, p. 235.

† Feb. 27, 1890.

‡ *Nonconformist*, March, 6, 1890, p. 233.

† Feb. 28, 1890, p. 279.

§ *British Weekly*, March 7, 1890, p. 295.

¶ *Idem*, p. 234.

our dear friends from England to come to our rescue." * It is more than doubtful, however, under these circumstances, whether the article is worth buying in!

These diversified appeals to stick "to our principles" without defining more exactly what they consist of, makes doubly precious any sort of straightforward statement which one may light upon in the course of inquiring precisely what the agitation for the abolition of school fees is seeking to accomplish. Such a statement, for instance, as this of Mr. Stanley's sheds a ray of light upon the situation:—"In any step forward in the question of our national education the *first* thing is to make it thoroughly national. . . . *After that* we may take up the question of making Education free from fees; but the vital question is to make education national, and to put it under public representative management."† The abolition of school fees is here revealed in its true aspect. It is a very useful lever to raise an agitation with, but it is not the "vital question." The vital question is to make "our national education" "national," and to put it "under public representative management."

What is meant by making education national is simply this, that everywhere Nonconformists should have supplied for their use, at the public expense, an undenominational school. Mr. Illingworth, M.P., explains that "our main duty for the present is to secure to the agricultural districts, to all the parishes of this country, a choice of schools under popular control."‡ In the particular case of Salisbury, Mr. Mundella pointed out in a letter published in the *Times*, that after they had given up supporting by subscriptions two undenominational schools in that city, "the desire of the Nonconformists" to obtain one or more Board Schools was due to their anxiety to "rate themselves;"§ but he omitted to remark that a school-board rate is no respecter of persons, and that the chief burden of the rate would fall upon others, not "themselves." The great grievance is, as Mr. Stanley explains, that "throughout the rural districts the Church of England school is, as a rule, the only school."|| In these districts, there are some Nonconformists, all of whom are protected by the conscience clause. Somehow there does not appear to be the same veneration for the conscience clause as there once was. The schoolmaster is a Churchman; he may be a "good" or "sound" Churchman; and to add to his qualifications he may even be "a communicant," and a "Sunday School teacher." If, as we shall afterwards see, he were a Jew, no objection whatever would be taken. But this series of Christian offences in Mr. Stanley's eyes against the "national" character of the schools constitutes the claim for "a choice of schools." The claim however does not end here. He proceeds to lay down a further rule.

* *Nonconformist*, March 6, 1890, p. 233.

† *Idem*, p. 233.

‡ *Idem*, p. 232.

§ *Times*, Jan. 7, 1890.

|| *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, March 6, 1890, p. 450.

"In a village where the school population is under a hundred there should obviously be but one school, and even where the school children number three or four hundred, it is far better, educationally, to have but one school." * No meaning can be attached to such a policy as this, except that it is only in the case of a Nonconformist that a choice of schools should be allowed to exist. The Churchman must surrender any right of that kind. Now, in England and Wales there are about 5000 schools with an average attendance of under 100 children. Towards the erection of only about 900 of these has there been received any State aid whatever. They are mainly schools built and supported by the adherents of the Church of England. Some are called National Schools because they are in connection with the National Society.† Mr. Stanley proposes either to shut up all these schools on the plea that obviously there should "be but one school" in the village; or else he proposes compulsorily to expropriate those who conduct them without any hint of compensation to those who have built and endowed them, or without paying any regard to the consciences of those who have supported them. Spoliation of this kind, or, as Mr. Illingworth puts it, "the moulding of a National Institution," does not seem to be a promising beginning in connection with any attempt to render "our national education" "national."

When the schools have thus been nationalised they are to be placed "under public representative management." No reasonable person objects to the public managing what they pay for. It is an axiom of public affairs that the expenditure of State money necessitates the institution of State control. The sphere of our educational system neither can, nor ought to be removed from subjection to this law. But whilst they are clamouring for "public representative management," as if the thing did not now exist, Mr. Stanley and his friends forget to explain what it is they mean by the phrase. Do they mean management by the State, or management by the locality? The two things are essentially different. If they mean management by the State as the corollary of State aid, then the reply is that, whilst in Church of England schools for example, the State contributes 46 per cent. of the total cost of those schools, the State exercises an amount of control, through its inspectors, largely exceeding the percentage of its aid. If they mean management by the locality, upon what ground can this be asked for, so long as the locality contributes nothing by local rates towards the cost of the schools? One of Mr. Stanley's latest confrères is Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P. He is a man of many and varied gifts; but nothing he ever did excelled the feat

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March 1890, p. 450.

† Mr. Illingworth, M.P., displays a quite unusual and extraordinary amount of logic on this point. "The National Schools were an appendage of the National Church. The National Church was a National Institution. They had the right to mould a National Institution as the nation might demand."—*Nonconformist*, March 6, 1890, p. 235.

he recently achieved of addressing a body of Protestant deputies, and their parliamentary friends upon "interference with religious liberties." "Popular management," he said, "may mean more than one thing. Popular management in the sense of the most severe examination, and scrutiny of the education given in the school, no Catholic could object to. . . . But popular management may mean, and has meant in many places obnoxious vexation, and even bigoted interference" (Cheers). Then followed an example relating to the administration of the Poor Law; and the speaker continued, "In the face of interference like this you cannot wonder that Irish Catholics in England do dread interference with the management of their schools, unless that interference be safeguarded from such vile attacks on their religious liberties."* It is in deference to such opinions as these of Mr. O'Connor, backed as they are by votes which do not answer of necessity to Liberal whips, that to use Mr. Picton's phrase, Mr. John Morley got "over the difficulty," but sacrificed the principle, by suggesting that a Catholic or a Jewish school might "continue to receive public support as long as it is under the management of that sect."

The fact is, that just as the abolition of school fees is used as a lever for the agitation in favour of so called public management, so the latter cry is simply the leverage for the abolition of religious teaching in elementary schools and the disestablishment of the English Church. It is this which makes Mr. Stanley's parting threat of the Liberationist lecturer's appeal so apposite to his argument. The *Christian World* newspaper points the same moral by arguing that the case in England and Scotland is wholly dissimilar. In Scotland Presbyterianism is the religious belief of the democracy. There the Shorter Catechism may reasonably be taught in the schools. But "here the endless divisions of religious opinion leave us no option but to level down all round."† The sentiment does not appear to differ in nature from that of the dog in the manger; and it is a curious commentary upon Mr. T. P. O'Connor's non-interference with religious liberties. But it is the spirit which generates the motive power of the whole agitation, and for that reason, and not for any intrinsic value which it possesses, it deserves attentive consideration.

The student of the science of politics may perceive in the agitation a further singular feature. To him it will present the instructive spectacle of an attempt of a minority to rule a majority. These weapons of public management and public control are double edged tools for politicians, such as have been named in this article, to play with. Personally it seems to me that they embody correct principles. The more they are insisted upon, then the more will the majority awake to the fact that they too have rights. When this awakening

* *Nonconformist*, March 6, 1890, p. 235.

† *Christian World*, March 6, 1890, p. 193.

takes place the policy of the dog in the manger will not prove a very effective basis for public action. And I believe that the time has come when such political doctrines as that religious teaching in connection with the Church of England "should be taught at the expense of those who desire it;"* and Mr. Mundella's doctrine that Nonconformists in their desire to have Board schools wish "to rate themselves," will meet with an application not contemplated by those who now teach them. And when Churchmen begin to desire the practical application of these doctrines as Nonconformists are said to do, the Mr. Morleys and the Mr. Mundellas of that time may find it convenient to indicate a policy "which gentlemen below the gangway" can acquiesce in and vote for! For the typical politician is a flabby personage, without, as Mr. Stanley puts it, "vital convictions," "dear" to him, and he is ruled only by votes. If the country is to be stirred again by the re-opening of the whole education question, it is not, in my judgment, the cause of religious teaching, or even that of the Church of England, which will be shattered in the strife.

For those who talk so glibly of public management as if it necessarily meant undenominational religious teaching in schools are simply blind to the most obvious facts of what is passing around them. Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., gave his Nonconformist friends a very pertinent illustration of this truth. "In the east of London in Whitechapel," he informed them, "there is one of the oldest Board Schools. When that school was first opened it was found very difficult indeed to fill it. Why? Because the neighbourhood is almost exclusively inhabited by Jews, and they would not send their children to a school taught by Christian teachers. What does the School Board do? The School Board appointed a Jewish master and mistress and allowed that Jewish master and mistress to teach exclusively out of the Old Testament. But the School Board remained supreme. The School Board elected by the whole metropolis has made a slight alteration in their ordinary mode of religious instruction, so as to meet the wants of this particular school while retaining the absolute supremacy of the ratepayers."† Now, even as Mr. Picton paints the picture, it somehow or other presents the outline of what one might call a distinctly denominational school; and yet Mr. Picton bears witness to the fact that this goes on "without any one taking objection." But when the outline is filled up, and it is found that the Hebrew version of the Old Testament is taught: that a special school session is arranged on every Friday, so that the school work may not entrench upon the Sabbath, and that special holidays are given so as to coincide with the Jewish holy-days—it is easy to understand what view Mr. Picton holds of undenominational

* Rev. H. P. Hughes, *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, March 1889, p. 355.

† *Nonconformist*, March 6, 1890, p. 254.

Christianity when this is described as "a slight alteration in the ordinary mode of religious instruction" under the London School as he knew it. But with examples of this kind before them few religious bodies would object, if they might equally share in its "slight alterations," to "the absolute supremacy of the ratepayers."

There is, however, in some quarters a tendency to allow judgment in this controversy to go by default. Those who so act think that they see in Lord Salisbury's utterances a disposition to "dish" the Radicals, as in not very remote days there was an attempt to "dish" the Whigs. On the other hand, they see in Mr. Chamberlain a moderation and a suavity which have not always accompanied his utterances upon this question. They notice also that in Scotland school fees have been, with few exceptions, abolished, and they think that the abolition of school fees must come in England as a necessary consequence of its partial extension to Scotland. They mark also the tendency in the ranks of the Liberal party to which Mr. John Morley gave oracular expression. No doubt these incidents combined do together constitute a favourable opportunity for a fair discussion of the whole range of the questions which must be dealt with in the Government Bill, the nature of which was recently foreshadowed by the Secretary of State for War.

"It is our desire," he said, "that we should be enabled to make these proposals to the House with due regard to particular objects. The first of these objects, as I candidly avow, is that in nothing we propose we shall damage or injure the prospects of Voluntary schools. We want to consider the question of Free Education in connection with other branches of the subject, and any one who has read the report of the Royal Commission will know that they are difficult and numerous. The subject can only be dealt with by a Bill, and if we think it necessary so to deal with it, we desire at the same time to deal with the question as a whole."

It is just because the questions involved are "difficult and numerous" that the plan of allowing judgment to go by default is so reprehensible. The present condition of educational affairs in Scotland is not so hopeful as to warrant any rose-coloured view of the application of the same treatment to England and Wales. Already there are signs that as the probate duty will not be sufficient to meet the loss from the non-payment of fees, the canny Scots are looking about for other means of meeting the deficit than by an increase of local rates, and before long we may look for a raid upon the Consolidated Fund from that quarter. If that raid is not successful, there will be a considerable temptation to revert again to a partial re-imposition of fees. There are already rumours that somehow or other the regularity of attendance of children at school has not improved as the promise connected with the policy professed that it would. And in any case the Scotch experiment has scarcely reached the stage of an example

* *Times*, Feb. 22, 1890.

to be imitated. But without going the length of the compulsory abolition of school fees in all public elementary schools, it is possible, and as I think desirable, to take any favourable opportunity of dealing with the cases which now fall under the plan of remission. The only valid plea for the non-payment of the fee is inability to pay. But there are so many various modes of estimating the inability of the individual parent that the variations in dealing with separate cases constituted a series of grievances of an irritating and vexatious character. It may be found to be feasible to deal with these cases as a whole throughout the country by allowing the managers of any public elementary school to elect whether they will retain the fee or commute it for a grant of, say, 10s. per child in average attendance. In strict justice that grant ought to be a charge upon the local rates, and it would be equivalent to a school fee of threepence per week. Parents who can afford to pay more than threepence per week do not constitute a body of persons who have, to use Mr. Gladstone's language, any inherent right to "an extension of the liberality" of the State. If at the same time, by means of Government inspection, all schools are kept up to the same standard of educational efficiency, it is difficult to see what real grievance the continuance of the school fee in other cases could possibly be to any one. But to destroy with one blow, aimed by sectional interests, an income of £2,000,000 yearly, which might be used for the purposes of educational improvement, would be not only a lamentable waste of national resources, but it would also inflict a cruel injury upon the hope of extending and of perfecting our educational system.

JOSEPH R. DIGGLE.

HOW BRITISH COLONIES GOT RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

I.

THE British Colonies which live under responsible government, resting on a broad democratic franchise, have been engaged for a generation and upwards in an experiment on which the United Kingdom is just entering, the experiment of disciplining these independent forces, and accustoming them for the first time to work harmoniously together. The Colonies have already solved, or tried and failed to solve, some of the problems which just now perplex statesmen at home. Free Education, the Eight Hours' System, Local Option (with or without compensation), and the One Man One Vote principle, have been dealt with; some of them in a manner to amaze persons who only know democracy by the bookish theoretic. Shorter parliaments, payment of members and elective expenses, borne not by the candidates but by the State, which are already debated as necessary reforms in England, have also been tried in Australia, with more or less success.

The experience of men of the same race and education, though they happen to live in Ottawa or Melbourne, and not in Westminster, cannot be without value. It will sometimes prove a persuasive example, sometimes a significant warning—for the experiment of responsible government based on a broad democracy, though singularly successful on the whole, has not escaped grave mistakes, and even sins against public liberty.

There is a livelier and perhaps a more intelligent interest taken in colonial affairs of late, and a few students have mastered them as sympathetically as Burke and Sheridan mastered the obscure Indian problem a hundred years ago; but I do not believe our patron, the reading public, has got much beyond the general conclusion that there are prosperous British settlements scattered over the world which they and their predecessors, by liberal expenditure and wise guidance, as they make no doubt, were good enough to establish and maintain.

If an inquirer desires to know a little more, he is met on the threshold by the difficulty that he has to grope in the dark for the history of obscure transactions, and does not know where to begin. But as the relation of colonies to the mother country must be put on a new footing if they are to be permanent, it will not be amiss to understand a little of their past relations.

I have been repeatedly invited by the editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW to describe the experiment in Australia. I shrank from the task because I must speak of transactions to which I was a party, and I cannot be free from prepossessions. But as I lived nearly a quarter of a century in one of the great colonies when responsible government was initiated and developed, and from the necessity of my position there, was a student of colonial history in general, the subject is at least not new to me. To his fourth appeal I have answered that as some one must begin I will do my best. I propose to tell, without unnecessary detail, how these distant possessions came to obtain English liberty, for this is an essential preface if the later story of colonial progress would be understood. Next, at convenient intervals, to tell what use they made of it; and finally, how far their experience may be serviceable to this country since it has adopted the same democratic franchise.

There are British colonies in Africa, America, and Australia inhabited by more than ten millions of the same birth or blood as the population of the United Kingdom, and controlling a territory many times larger than Europe, who are now living under Parliamentary government. This system, as it exists in colonies, was like English liberty itself, the result of cautious experiments, and of concessions tardily made to public necessity or public danger. No great statesman at home, pondering over the interests of his troubled dependencies, proposed to tranquillise them by transferring the hereditary institutions of England from the imperial to the colonial community. No colonist of sense or colonial growth distinctly claimed this concession as of right from the beginning. In the history of human perversity, indeed, there is scarcely a chapter more marvellous, more grotesque, or more humiliating than the story how British Colonies obtained the liberty which they enjoy.

Plantations, as the earlier colonies were commonly designated, were regarded for a long time as personal possessions of the king, to be dealt with at his Majesty's gracious pleasure. "The king is the legislator of the colonies," was the peremptory dictum of the prerogative lawyers. "The earlier colonies," says Mr. Arthur Mills, in his valuable work on "Colonial Constitutions," "were regarded by the Sovereigns of England rather as part of their own domains than as subject to the jurisdiction of the State. Territories in North America were granted to be held as part of our manor of Greenwich, in Kent, or as of our Castle of Windsor, or Hampton Court."

The House of Commons, however, soon claimed a share in this magnificent spoil, and in the end came to monopolise it as completely as the Sovereign had done in the first instance. The doctrine of the exclusive right of the Crown over territories for which the Crown had done nothing was succeeded by the doctrine of the absolute dominion of Parliament over communities who had neither actual nor virtual representative in either House. There was some difficulty in this theory because from the first creation of colonies the right of the settlers to exercise a certain control over their own affairs had been recognised in Royal Charters. Some of the founders of colonies, by freaks of Court favour, had secured exceptional powers of great value, and capable of being maintained, as they believed, against the Crown itself; but there was no uniformity in their provisions, and these rights proved in the end to be held on uncertain tenure, the Crown or Parliament menacing them from time to time with contemptuous subversion. Down to the reign of George III., the doctrine prevailed on all sides that colonies existed for the benefit not of the colonists, but of the mother country. Statesmen, who were good enough to insist that they ought to be permitted to enjoy certain municipal liberties, were careful to declare that they were not entitled to employ them for the purpose of competing in any industry in which England was engaged. Spain had forbidden her subjects in Mexico; and France had forbidden her subjects in Louisiana, to plant the vine lest they should presume to make wine and interfere with the trade at home; and when some audacious colonists planted the forbidden fruit, it was immediately rooted out—and in the same maternal spirit England interdicted manufacturing enterprise in all her colonies.

But England was not only a manufacturing, but a trading and a buying nation, and the colonists were compelled to send their raw material to English markets alone, to purchase their supply of manufactured goods only in England, and to carry them to the colonies in English bottoms. Ireland and Scotland had then made some progress in manufactures, but they were included in the foreign countries, in which colonies were forbidden to trade. They had also the advantage of a mercantile marine, but their ships were not “English” within the meaning of the law, and the colonies could not employ them. The New Englander must not print the Bible which he ordered, and what was, perhaps, harder to endure, could not carry to his neighbouring settlements the “notions” which his ingenious country had already begun to fabricate. Colonists were prohibited from slitting or rolling iron, an industry in which they had made some progress, and from weaving linen, of which there was a beginning in Boston. The commercial principle on which they were required to trade was to buy in the market where they paid most, and to sell in the market where they got least. Colonists are charged with having made selfish blunders in their fiscal legislation in latter times,

and, perhaps, they have; but they will find it difficult to rival the mother country in this line.

Even the employment of their own funds was a luxury denied to colonists, except when distinctly acknowledged as a favour. The House of Commons, in the year 1755, declared that "the claim of right in a colonial Assembly to raise and apply public money by its own act alone is derogatory to the Crown, and to the rights of the people of Great Britain." This declaration was intended to bear fruits, and it bore some memorable ones. Nine years later the House of Commons without a dissentient voice agreed to impose a tax on the colonists of North America towards meeting the public expenditure of the Empire—that Empire which had fostered them in so singular a manner. These colonies habitually paid the cost of their civil government and of their military defence, and had quite recently aided the mother country in a protracted war with France. They declared themselves, however, willing to grant further aid provided it was granted through their own legislature, but they denied the right of the Parliament of England to impose any tax on them. The English lawyers (says Bancroft) all maintained the right of England to tax her colonies. It is worth remembering as an eternal lesson not to be deterred from asserting a clear right by the authority of names—it is a fact which might even disturb the supreme self-confidence of Sir James Stephen on problems of imperial policy—that at the time this doctrine was insisted on English lawyers had Lord Mansfield at their head in one House of Parliament, and Blackstone in the other. The statesmen, who were more liberal than the lawyers, held a doctrine which will seem as insensate in our day. Lord Chatham insisted that colonists could not be taxed without their consent, but he was ready to admit that they had no right to fabricate a spade or a pickaxe without authority from the Alma Mater. The philosophers were naturally more unreasonable and wrong-headed than the statesmen. Samuel Johnson, whom Carlyle asks us to accept (very much against our will) as the foremost man then living in the island of Britain, reminded the appealing colonists that they were a race of convicts who ought to be thankful for any treatment short of hanging. Junius, the champion of popular rights in England, scoffed at their claims to self-government, and the newspapers assailed them with ferocious scorn for presuming to assert that they had any rights contrary to the interest and convenience of the mother country—an amiable theory of international rights, which some of us have reason to believe is not quite extinct at the present. Ingratitude was the sin of colonists it seems, they had forgotten the State which made and maintained them. Colonel Barrington, a distinguished Irish soldier, who after serving with Wolfe in Canada occupied a seat in the House of Commons, told that assembly his opinion on this subject, in terms which are, perhaps, not yet quite out of date.

"*They planted by your care!*" he exclaimed. "No, your oppress

them in America. They nourished by your intelligence! They grew by your neglect of them. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its savings to your emolument. And, believe me, remember I this day tell you so, the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further."

The manner in which the struggle between the mother country and her North American colonies terminated, need not be told. It is sufficiently kept in mind by the fact that the struggle cost a hundred millions sterling, of which we are still paying the interest on the necessities and conveniences of life; but it belongs to my present purpose to note that before the contest had finally closed the English Parliament passed an Act solemnly renouncing the right of imposing on colonies any duty, tax, or impost, with the object of raising revenue for imperial purposes. A right was reserved, however, in the same Act of imposing taxes to regulate trade; but this reservation was carefully guarded by the proviso, that any such tax should be expended upon the colony paying it, and applied by the same authority as applied any local duties levied in the same colony. This Act (18 George III., chap. 12), which has been named the Magna Charta of the Colonies, as their security against any illegal appropriation of their property, is the first great landmark in the history of colonial rights.* Having received in the American contest so memorable a lesson in the management of colonies, the Imperial Government proceeded to utilise their experience in a marvellous manner.

The narrative now passes to Canada. The province of Quebec, as it was then named, had distinguished itself in the American war, by its fidelity to the British Crown. Though its population was almost exclusively French by birth or descent, the territory having been ceded by France to England, so recently as 1763, the Canadians resisted the solicitations of the colonies in arms to unite with them in securing their independence. Congress sent the American Ulysses, Benjamin Franklin, and a popular Catholic bishop, on a mission to Canada, but their seductive counsels proved vain, and the French Canadians not content with neutrality, took up arms for England. When the war was over, a large body of English loyalists left the United States, and settled in the division of Canada, afterwards known as the Province of New Brunswick, rather than violate their allegiance by becoming citizens of the new Republic.

How these faithful subjects were cherished, how they were recompensed for their fidelity, how far the Magna Charta of the colonies barred their local rights against invasion, are themes as fruitful as a student of colonial interests can study. For a dozen years or so

"An Act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations in North America and the West Indies, and for repealing the Act of 7 Geo. and imposing a duty on tea."

nothing was done for the rights of Canadians, but when France first became a Republic; and a war between England and the new democracy was imminent, the younger Pitt bestowed a constitution on the colony with great precipitation. The territory was divided into two provinces—Lower Canada occupied by the French population, and Upper Canada colonised chiefly by the immigrant English loyalists. The provinces were to be governed respectively by a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown, a Legislative Assembly elected by the people, and a governor to represent the sovereign, assisted by an executive council, chosen at his discretion. These gallant and faithful communities one might suppose would be *enfants gâtés* of the mother country, but the mother country preferred the discipline of Solomon, and did not spare the rod. The form of free institutions alone was established. The representatives of the people had no control over the public revenue, nor the slightest influence over the policy and patronage of the Governor and his Council. One considerable source of revenue arose from duties on trade. The Magna Charta of the colonies, as we know, provided that such duties should be spent on the colony, and by the authority of the colony; but on the pettifogging plea that the Act imposing these particular duties was passed four years before the Colonial Magna Charta, the money was expended under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury in London, and continued to be so expended in these loyal colonies for more than half a century after the right had been renounced in favour of colonies in arms. It is a rule of law that beneficial statutes extend to things not *in esse* at the time they were enacted, but the rule of law was not considered operative in colonies. If the history of human error and perversity ever comes to be written, it will hardly contain a more significant incident than this. But it had its use; the second important step in colonial liberty was gained through the contests which it naturally provoked.

The Legislative Assembly in Lower Canada was quiescent and submissive at first, but it soon came to comprehend in some degree its rights. It found itself opposed, however, by an Upper Chamber consisting of officials imported from England, and nominated for life, and whom every Governor supported, and who were in possession of all real power in the colony. The first demand for control over the public purse was met by the outraged Governor. Lord Strafford might have met it in Ireland, by sending the leaders of opposition to gaol. There was an annual deficit in the colonial Exchequer however, and as it had to be made up by a grant from England, the offer of the Legislative Assembly to supply the deficit by a colonial tax was a bait too tempting to be resisted, and they were permitted to buy a fragment of their rights, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as a trading community in the Middle Ages might have bought it from a robber baron, at a fixed ransom. The concession made was that they were permitted to vote the supplies. But the

official gentlemen in the Executive Council thought the most respectful and convenient manner in which they could proceed, would be to vote them for a series of years together, according to the ancient and approved practice in England: that is to say, the practice under the Stuarts before the Revolution. At length it was conceded that they might be voted annually, but only in a lump sum, for the service of the year, leaving the Governor and the official gentlemen aforesaid to distribute the money at their discretion.

In the contest which ensued, the Governor invariably agreed with the Upper House, and the Colonial Office commonly agreed with the Governor. The Canadians, however, had come to understand their rights, and persisted in demanding them; gaining a little from time to time by judicious pressure. They limited themselves so strictly to constitutional ends and constitutional means, that when in the middle of their struggle, the war of 1812 broke out between England and the United States they again took up arms on the side of England.* After the war, they pressed their complaints on the Imperial Parliament, from which their constitution had been derived, and at last, in 1828, a Select Committee on Canadian affairs was appointed by the House of Commons. This Committee recommended that the whole of the revenue of the colony should be placed under the control of the Assembly, and that a more impartial, conciliatory, and constitutional system of government should be adopted. As the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister at this time, it is probable that something practical would have been done to give effect to these good intentions, but a struggle with his own supporters, who were enraged with him for promising Catholic emancipation, engrossed his time, and the colonies had to wait.†

And now came the French Revolution of 1830, followed by the Reform era in England, and men were moved with the passion to debate abuses everywhere. Some of the Radical leaders in the House of Commons, especially Hume, O'Connell, and Roebuck, and later Charles Buller and Sir William Molesworth, took an interest in the colonial contest, and it was no longer possible to postpone inquiry.

When the condition of Canada was looked into, a curious and destructive spectacle presented itself. In the Upper or British Province, planted by men who had abandoned their homes rather

Let me note in passing that three years ago, when the Parliament of this loyal gallant community addressed the Queen in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, remembering, doubtless, what evils foreign rule had inflicted on themselves, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Herr Joachim Goschen—not a descendant, I fancy, of the men who framed the great Charter—declared that they were merely Frenchmen and, of course, not worthy of being listened to. This is the modern Stock Exchange idea of consolidating the British Empire.

The sort of attention colonies received in this era from Ministers charged with their government, is instructive to note. We read in Greville's "Journal"—"Stephen (afterwards Sir James) said that Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies, did nothing—never wrote a despatch—had only once since he had been in office seen Taylor (afterwards Sir Henry) who had got all the West Indies under his care."

than their allegiance, the representatives of the people were wholly without power, all authority there, as well as in the French district, residing in Legislative Councillors nominated by the Crown. These gentlemen possessed control over the Supreme Court and the entire body of functionaries, and against all remonstrance had maintained high salaries and an improvident expenditure of the public revenue. Violent partisans of their party were created judges, while, on the other hand, magistrates and militia officers were dismissed for attending meetings to petition for reform. The management of the public lands was retained by the Crown, and a million acres had been made over to a London company at an inadequate price, and the proceeds spent without the authority of the legislature. A portion of the clergy reserves (lands originally designed for Church endowment) was sold, and \$300,000 derived from the sale remitted to England. The religious feeling of the people, who were mostly Protestant Dissenters, had been wounded by the establishment of rectories with exclusive ecclesiastical privileges such as belong to the Established Church in England, and by the rejection in the Legislative Council of a measure to relieve Quakers and other Dissenters from certain penalties. And they were oppressed in common with the other province by a fiscal system established by the Imperial Parliament which, under the pretence of regulating trade, laid a heavy burthen of taxation on them, and prohibited them purchasing articles of primary importance in the cheapest European or American market.

The case as respects Lower Canada was still worse. The Canadians of French descent who were seven to one of the population, and constituted the bulk of the elected Chamber, were excluded from all authority in the colony which they had founded, and twice defended in arms. The Upper Chamber, appointed by the Crown, that is to say, the Colonial Office, consisted of twenty-three members, of whom a steady majority were persons insolently hostile to the nationality and interests of the colonists. The Executive Council or *quasi* Government consisted of nine members, and was constituted in a manner that would reconcile Colonel Saunderson and, perhaps, even William Johnson to a Government in Dublin. Of the nine Ministers set over the Canadian Catholic people only two were Canadians, and only one a Catholic. Eight of these gentlemen and their families signalled themselves by obtaining grants amounting to 63,936 acres. The public service was crowded by their dependants. Among a hundred officers there were only forty-seven Canadians, and in general they held inferior offices. The judges who administered French law of property were nearly all selected in Westminster by a potent official of the Colonial Office whom Charles Buller named Mr. Mothercountry. The public lands were squandered in jobs and favouritism; public offenders were retained in office contrary

to the remonstrance of the representatives of the people, and the legislative and executive powers, instead of being in harmony were of necessity in constant collision. By the practice of appropriating public money without the authority of the Assembly, the Governor had raised himself above the need of satisfying it either in his measures or the persons to whom their execution was entrusted, and the Colonial Office, as far as they understood what was going on, had sanctioned it. Before lifting your hands too high in amazement at the folly of a former generation, remember, oh gracious reader ! that there still exists in another British possession an institution of the same animus, known as Dublin Castle.

The reformers then in power in Westminster at length yielded to the Canadian Assemblies the control of a large portion of the public revenue, but not of the whole, as was claimed of right, and as had been recommended by the Select Committee of 1828. And they prepared to make some tentative experiment in the practice of self-government. Their task, it must be admitted, was not an easy one. They were dealing with interests and forces they imperfectly understood, and they were receiving advice from official persons who knew that their own power of monopoly depended on successfully misleading England. The Governor, who lived habitually among this class, had the ear of the Secretary of State whoever he happened to be, and generally taught him to regard the colonial democracy as a wild beast, which for safety must be kept on a chain and under wholesome discipline, and that he would endanger the stability of the empire by letting it loose ever so little. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was commonly as indifferent to his charge as Sir George Murray, but if he happened to be industrious, his colleagues were little disposed to be troubled with Colonial affairs. "Cabinets," said the Lord Derby of that day, "hate Colonies."* The Minister's safety was to do nothing, or something as closely as possible approximating to nothing. One can conceive a Minister with a different view of his duties when dealing with the interests of a population greater than that of many in Christendom ; but if a man of capacity filled the office, he was probably engaged too deeply in Imperial politics to give more than a hasty and casual attention to his distant clients, and instead of a man of capacity the office often fell to some indispensable blockhead, who was placed by his leader in a position where his blunders were likely to escape detection.

In the meantime a clearer notion of what constitutes responsible government began to prevail in Canada. The colonists of French descent, at a later period, when he was for the first time Prime Minister, Lord Derby said, in the same spirit : "There is the greatest difficulty in retaining for the affairs of the Colonies a very small portion of that very small amount of time which Ministers are obliged to spare from the administration of particular departments for the collective management of public affairs." The remedy was found in giving the Colonies the management of their own affairs : a wise principle, which merits further extension.

descent, to whom a free legislature was a new phenomenon, and one scrutinised the more curiously and the more fearlessly on that account, gradually developed the idea that when a parliament was granted to them the main consequences which followed parliamentary liberty in England were implied in the concession. Among the British colonists in Upper Canada a large party eagerly accepted this idea, which debate rendered clearer and simpler. Sometimes they strayed from the right road, and made demands for which there was no precedent in the practice of England, but they kept in view with tolerable steadiness the fundamental proposition that, having by their own choice remained under the British Crown, they were entitled to the full enjoyment of the British Constitution, and that the British Constitution lodged the control of finance and policy in the representatives of the people.

The attention of the mother country was kept alive by the attitude of the Canadian legislatures. In Lower Canada it was peculiarly menacing. Having in 1832, on the first promise of reforms, cheerfully granted supplies for the year, they expressed their displeasure at delay by attempting in 1833 to effect them by their own power, and by a method which was *ultra vires*. To correct the accumulation of offices in the hands of the same person, which had been a constant subject of complaint, they named on the estimates the officers to whom the salary was voted, and in some cases attached conditions to the vote. Wherever responsible government exists these results are now attained without strain or contest by the influence of the House over Ministers but there was no precedent for the manner of attaining them attempted in Quebec. The Upper Chamber rejected the Appropriation Bill founded on these votes. Next year, no reform having been effected, the Assembly passed a series of ninety-two resolutions, specifying their grievances, and deliberately refused supplies until grievances were redressed. The demand on which they laid most stress was that the Upper Chamber might become elective. This design was odious and alarming to a large party in England, because they then current a proposal to make the House of Lords elective. Roebuck, who had not yet developed into a "Conservative water-bearer," was demanding in pamphlets and speeches, "What is the use of the House of Lords?" and O'Connell had made a tour through Ireland and Scotland to illustrate the same text. At length, it was made even in Downing Street that measures must be taken to provide for the Colonies, and in 1835 Lord Gosford was despatched to Lower Canada as Governor-general, and chief of a Commission, authorised to inquire into grievances.

When George III. reigned, that assiduous monarch dictated the Colonial policy of England, with the result, as we know, of a rebellion called "an unnatural rebellion," and the loss of the

Colonies. His second son, who now reigned, was of opinion that, though the king had ceased to be the legislator of the Colonies, he might still be their administrator with advantage. Before the new Governor started on his critical mission His Majesty was good enough to admit him to a private audience, and to give him instructions on the manner in which he was to employ the powers intrusted to him. Sir J. Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, a Minister of the Crown, enables us to overhear this important conference. The king said to Lord Gosford, "Mind what you are about in Canada. By G—d I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, or to make the Council elective. Mind me, my lord, the Cabinet is not my Cabinet, they had better take care, or by G—d I will have them impeached. You are a gentleman, I believe; I have no fear of you, but take care what you do?"*

At the same time Sir Francis Head was sent as Governor to Upper Canada, with instructions to admit some of the leaders of the popular party to his Council, in order to bring the executive into better harmony with the representatives of the people. This experiment encountered its first difficulty in the character of the agents employed to carry it into effect. Sir Francis Head, an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, without experience in Colonial affairs or training in political life, or, as he frankly puts it himself in a lively narrative of his administration, "grossly ignorant of everything in any way relating to the government of colonies," was entrusted with the delicate task. Sir Francis, who was a man of agile and aspiring intellect, seems to have regarded himself in his new position, not only as a king, but as a king exercising arbitrary power. In England, William IV. was acting by the advice of sworn councillors selected from the political party who enjoyed the confidence of Parliament for the time being; but Sir Francis Head was of opinion that to permit the Canadian Parliament to exercise any influence over the selection of councillors would, in his amazing phraseology, "be unconstitutional and unjust, besides which it would at once connect with party feeling the representative of His Majesty, who ought" (as it seemed to the Governor), "to stand unbiased and aloof from all such considerations." To entrust the management of local affairs to gentlemen selected by property, interests and affection with the province, instead of leaving them absolutely at the discretion of a governor in London grossly ignorant of everything relating to colonies, seemed to him to be "disrespectful to His Majesty, and a violation of the prerogative." "Can any three professional gentlemen of Toronto" (as he demanded in a public document), "intently occupied with their own paltry interests, presume to offer to Upper Canada the powerful protection and the paternal assistance which our Sovereign can bestow

* Lord Broughton's "Recollections of a Long Life."

on this young country?" "Our Sovereign" was, of course, an official euphuism for the gentleman transferred by the Colonial Office from wrangling with relieving officers and boards of guardians to the task of governing a State. Taking this view of his duty and position, the new Governor admitted certain leaders of the popular party to the Executive Council, but without removing those already in office. He informed the new councillors that he would only consult them when he thought fit. To borrow his own graphic language from a despatch to his chief in Downing Street, "he expected them to give him advice when he wanted it, and not to encumber him with help when he did not require it." By this time, however, the knowledge of responsible government was becoming familiar to public men on all sides, and the entire Council, including, to the Governor's amazement, the three original members, as well as the three new ones, informed his Excellency that they considered they were, and ought to be, not his clerks, but Ministers responsible to the people of the Province through their Legislature. Sir Francis assured them that such a principle would never be admitted "while the British flag flew over America," and thereupon the Council resigned in a body. They were warmly sustained by the popular branch of the Legislature, and a fierce contest commenced between the popular party and the Governor, who appears to have been persuaded that he was doing battle for the salvation of the empire against open or disguised treason. As Sir Francis specifies about this time, in a despatch to the Colonial Office, "the traitorous objects which the reformers of this province have in view," we have the advantage of knowing precisely what it was that they persistently demanded, and which he, for his part, was prepared to resist with arms.

The demands were:—

1. An elective Legislative Council.
2. An Executive Council responsible to public opinion.
3. The control of the provincial revenue to be lodged in the provincial Legislature.
4. The British Parliament and the Colonial Office to cease interference in the internal affairs of Canada.

Sir Francis entered on the contest with great vigour; he appealed to the loyalty of the people, assured them that the proposal to the Executive Council responsible to them was (of all inconceivable things) "republican," and invited them to rally round "our institutions," meaning a Governor from London free from local control. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the actual fact is directly the reverse of the fact imagined by Sir Francis Head, chief of the Executive Government who cannot be removed by the vote of the legislature, and who acts as his own Prime Minister, is the republican system as it exists in the United States, and, with

some limitations, in France and Switzerland. An administration that can and must be changed the moment it has lost the confidence of the legislature is a purely British institution. Connection with the empire or separation from it was the issue which the Governor presented to the constituencies. He warned credulous and illiterate farmers that if they allowed the existing system to be altered or "what may be termed improved, they and their children became instantly liable to find themselves suddenly deprived of their property and of what is better than all property, their freedom and independence." These dire results, which would spring from managing their own affairs, are almost as alarming as the prognostications of Lord Derby and Mr. Goschen on the consequences of granting autonomy to Ireland. The Governor's popular eloquence, his perfect reliance on his own fantastic theories, supplemented (as it was afterwards alleged on the authority of his successor, Lord Durham) by undue official pressure, obtained a majority in the ensuing Assembly in favour of his policy. How his labour bore no fruit, and how he got into trouble with the Colonial Office and had to resign, are topics beside my present purpose.

The experiment of Lord Gosford in the French province fared no better. The Assembly received him graciously for a time; but having accidentally discovered that he came out with instructions to refuse an elective Upper Chamber (which fact he had concealed from them), and their most important Bills having session after session been thrown out by the Chamber which he proposed to retain (a hundred and thirty Bills were thrown out in nine sessions), they refused supplies, and declined to meet till measures were initiated to bring the two Chambers into more reasonable accord. But before separating they agreed to an Address to the Crown, where, after recalling the fidelity with which a people differing in race and religion from the bulk of the empire had maintained its allegiance, they specified the measures necessary in their judgment to the good government and tranquillity of the province. The list of these measures shows that French colonists had, at length, reached a clear and harmonious view of the British Constitution. They were nearly identical with the concessions already specified, which were insisted upon by the Province. It is no longer necessary to justify these demands; principles contended for, though they were still stubbornly resisted in Downing Street, are now in full operation in every British colony of giving them effect.*

A brilliant campaign in this war for colonial rights was fought by Monsieur of the Legislative Assembly in Lower Canada, and his associates of and I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of noting that the under his control passed laws ameliorating the condition of Jews and granted a liberal gratuity to Joseph Lancaster, the education.

But the responsible Ministers in England who had succeeded the irresponsible Sovereign discerned the right road scarcely more clearly than he had done. Lord John Russell invited the House of Commons to declare that it was inadvisable to render the executive in Canada responsible to the local legislators, or to make the Upper House elective, and the House of Commons, which has never failed to second any attempt to suppress colonial liberty, cheerfully assented. As supplies had been refused, the House of Commons was further moved, and promptly agreed to permit the Colonial Office to take out of the treasury of the Canadian people the local revenue which their own legislatures had declined to grant. I pray you to note that I am not describing the policy of Lord North, and the dark ages of the first three Georges, but the reign of William the Reformer and Queen Victoria, and the policy of a Whig Minister, whom benevolent critics have quite recently pronounced to be a statesman and, in some exceptionally happy moments, almost an orator.

The design of seizing on their money by the authority of the House of Commons, which had no more right to expend it than to tax the other North American colonies more than half a century earlier, created a ferment.* Meetings were held in almost every county, and resolutions adopted to consume no article which contributed to the revenue about to be illegally seized. And as magistrates and militia officers who attended these meetings were dismissed, the people elected pacificators to act in lieu of the magistrates, and enrolled Volunteers, who elected their own officers to replace the militia. The Assembly met, and again refused supplies; they were immediately dissolved by proclamation. Great confusion ensued; the loyal party, as those who supported a corrupt local executive denominated themselves, broke into and demolished the office of a newspaper favouring the Assembly, and some of the popular leaders were immediately arrested. Though it was the era of reform in England, it was still the era of the *Sturges* in the colonies, and there seemed no remedy but force. The arms were resisted, and a partial insurrection broke out, in which the insurgents who had made no preparations for war were promptly defeated. But their blood was no more shed in vain than the blood of *Brown*; from that hour speedy and sweeping reform became inevitable.

In the upper province the sons of the men who had clung to allegiance, to the ruin of their fortunes, were also exasperated

* There was of course resistance by the friends of the Colonies, but it was in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham protested against the resolution of "the fundamental principle of the British constitution, that no tax should be levied on the people should be applied to any purpose whatever without the consent of their representatives in Parliament, and he predicted that an improvement could not be propagated in Colonies that the people can never safely be subjected to any government to any supreme authority not residing among themselves. They have since come very thoroughly to understand.

rising in arms. They rose under a democratic Scotch journalist, named Mackenzie, and though they were suppressed in the first instance, the fire broke out in new places for nearly a year. The smaller colonies neighbouring Canada were also agitated by political ideas. Newfoundland refused supplies until grievances were redressed, and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island demanded an elective council. It was at length plain to most reasonable persons that the British American colonists could no longer be ruled despotically, and that, if they could, the pleasure was scarcely worth the price, as the two Canadian outbreaks had cost the Imperial treasury between four and five millions sterling. There were some, however, to whom it was not even yet plain, among them Lord John Russell. The noble Lord proceeded to vindicate authority, by inducing Parliament to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada, and confer upon a Governor-General and nominee Council absolute power over the colony. The Governor-General, however, was Lord Durham, the leader of the party in England most in harmony with the colonists, a powerful noble who had recently been a Cabinet Minister, and he went out accompanied by several notable friends of colonial rights. In addition to his office of Governor-General, he was appointed High Commissioner, authorised to inquire into and, as far as possible, adjust all questions respecting the form and administration of the civil government, and report the result to the Queen. Causes beyond the range of my present inquiry brought his mission to a premature close, but not before he had reported upon the actual condition of Canada. His report is one of the most remarkable papers connected with colonial history. It was said at the time, in the epigrammatic way that aims at wit rather than truth, that Gibbon Wakefield thought this State Paper, Charles Sumner wrote it, and Lord Durham signed it. Whoever was its author, it is only just to remember that Louis Papineau had anticipated it. It was said, in official language, indeed, and therefore with more weight and authority, what he had repeatedly said as leader of the Opposition. It recognised the fundamental principle to which officials had long shut their eyes, that those who are fit to make laws must be entrusted to administer them, and this principle is the basis of colonial liberty. It recognised the union of the two provinces under one legislature, and it recognised the justice of nearly all the claims the Canadians had put forward.*

Now the battle of colonial rights it may be supposed was won; but not so. The Colonial Secretary of that era, who is best remembered for having left 1500 unopened letters in his closet in Downing Street, was one of the last men in Europe to recognise the inevitable

Report described the policy of England towards her colonies in terms which it is hard to recall. "It was a policy founded on imperfect information; and continually changing hands; and has exhibited to the colony a system of confusion, was, in fact, no system at all."

consequences of these concessions; and the contest was still only in its midway.

The withdrawal of Lord Durham threw into other hands the trial of his experiment. Mr. Poulett Thomson, who, like his predecessor, had been a Cabinet Minister, and was shortly to be raised to the Peerage as Lord Sydenham, was sent out with similar powers, commissioned to effect an union of the provinces and to originate a limited responsibility in the executive council. The instructions which he received from Lord John Russell may be surmised from the triumphant report which he sent home to his chief of his success in executing them.

"I am not a bit afraid [he wrote] of the Responsible Government cry. I have already done much to put it down in its inadmissible sense—namely, the demand that the [Executive] Council shall be responsible to the Assembly, and that the Governor shall take their advice and be bound by it. In fact, this demand has been made much more for the people than by them; and I have not met with any one who has not at once admitted the absurdity of claiming to put the Council over the head of the Governor."*

Governor Thompson proceeded in this spirit to appoint a Council "which would afford no triumph to either party" (that is to say, a Council which was *not* responsible, for responsibility depends on the triumph of party). He interfered actively in elections, and, in short, began to play the part, not of a Governor, but of a Prime Minister. Bred up in the House of Commons himself, it never seems to have occurred to him that it was precisely the system which was in operation there that he was now called upon to organise in another region. But it is only just to Mr. Thompson and succeeding Governors to bear in mind that they regarded themselves simply as agents of the Colonial Office, and considered precise fidelity to their instructions as the highest fulfilment of their duty. The misgovernment was an imported article manufactured in Downing Street.

The premature death of Lord Sydenham, and a change of Government in England, transferred the control of Colonial policy to Robert Peel. To his practical intellect it was plain that where a legislature exists you must have the responsibility of the Executive as the necessary complement of it, or, failing this, perpetual war between the legislature and the administration. The new Governor, Sir George Bagot, was authorised to call to his councils a Cabinet, selected from the Reform party in Upper Canada and the French Canadian in Lower Canada, who agreed in policy, and commanded together a complete majority in the Assembly of the United Provinces. The Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration, as it was named, led by an English Protestant of remarkable ability and a French Catholic of great personal influence, consisted of men who understood their

* Despatch to Lord John Russell, December 1839.

their position. The leaders of it had repeatedly refused office in mongrel councils with imperfect responsibility, and one of them had been denounced in a proclamation as a fugitive rebel; and now, for the first time in any colony, there existed a Government in harmony with itself and with the Assembly. Those who had been driven to the brink of insurrection a few years before came themselves to govern and governed wisely and justly.

The experiment of Parliamentary responsibility had for a time fair play; the more so that the failing health of the Governor, who soon became incapable of active attention to business, permitted the constitutional practice of government by Ministers to come into operation without further contest. But he died while his work was but half done. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had won reputation by ability and devotion in the Civil Service of India, but who was wholly unacquainted with Parliamentary government, was sent out to succeed him. He found the Baldwin-Lafontaine Cabinet in office and in the effectual control of public affairs. To the Indian satrap a scheme of government in which the wishes of the people dictated the policy to be pursued was a complete puzzle; and, as he possessed a strong will and a profound self-respect, he asked himself in some consternation what, under such a system, would become of the Governor. His ideal of a Colonial administration was the old impossible one, of a Council selected from all parties, acting under the direction of a Viceroy. The first critical question that arose was whether his Ministers were to dispose of the public patronage, as the Queen's Ministers disposed of it in England. Lord Metcalfe was of opinion that he would degrade his office and violate his duty if he permitted this to be done; and that, on the contrary, he would maintain his character and perform his duty effectually by disposing of it himself, to persons recommended from Downing Street, or who had won his personal confidence during his chief residence in the colony. He was jealous of his constitutional advisers calling themselves the "Ministry," the "Cabinet," or the "Government," lest their pretensions should be in accordance with this nomenclature, for he was determined to be himself the Government. As may be anticipated, he speedily came to a quarrel with his advisers, and they resigned. The last serious contest for the effective management of colonies now commenced. It is not within the scope of this brief sketch to follow it into detail. But, happily, he did not find an easy task to rule a community which had tasted of responsible government, contrary to the will of its legislature. Sir Charles Metcalfe applied to all political sections in vain. The great issues of State were hawked from one petty faction to another, but no administration could be formed on the principle of subservience to the will of the Governor. Six gentlemen in succession refused the office of Attorney-General for the Lower Province, and the colony was kept

half a year without an Executive. The administration of justice suffered from the want of responsible officers to represent the Crown, the commercial credit of the country was endangered, and it was believed that the revenue would decline dangerously; but Sir Charles was persuaded that all things ought to be risked when he was fighting for the authority of the Crown. The question really at issue was whether the colony should be governed by the most experienced and trusted Canadian statesmen, or by an honest and gallant pro-consul from India, who could not help regarding the colonists as a sort of less dusky but more troublesome Hindoos, and their scheme of Colonial government as chimerical and fatal.

He dissolved the Assembly, and with courageous ignorance appealed to the constituencies to sustain him against a species of Government inconsistent with the British connection. A fierce contest ensued, in which party passions and mob violence ran riot. When the Assembly met there appeared to be an insignificant and uncertain majority in favour of the Governor; but the contest had broken down his health; he resigned, in November, 1845, and went to England, where he died prematurely; a disastrous fate, which befell so many Governors engaged in the hopeless experiment, of turning back the flowing tide. Before his death, Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel recommended him to the Queen for a peerage, not for his Indian services, but in recognition of "the zeal, ability, and prudence" he had exhibited in Canada!—a melancholy evidence of how imperfectly the true principle of governing colonies was as yet understood in Westminster.

It is impossible to deny to Metcalfe or Lord Sydenham strong, and even noble, qualities. They had no affinity with the greedy and servile parasites of power, who have sometimes been appointed Colonial Governors. They did their work under the depressing influence of damaged health and an unfriendly climate, with unflinching courage; sustained by a sense of duty, and the sympathy of a small circle of imperfectly informed friends in England. It was only after a contest, which before it concluded had lasted more than a generation, that success was at last won. In 1847, Lord P. was sent out by the present Earl Grey with instructions founded on his memorable but somewhat tardy declaration that "it is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of the colonists."

And now, at length, notwithstanding the repeated declarations of the British Parliament, notwithstanding the secret instructions of William E. Gladstone, notwithstanding the express refusal of a long line of Secretaries of State—all that Canada ever asked was conceded. Responsible government was formally adopted. The despotic Viceroyalty, for which Lord Metcalfe and Sir Francis Head contended so resolutely, disappeared as completely as the divine right of the Stuarts. The Executive Council is responsible to the Assembly. The Governor takes the advice of his

Council and is bound by it. He is habitually represented at meetings of the Council by a President, one of the Ministers, to secure freedom and privacy in their deliberations. The entire patronage of the State, without limitation, is in the hands of Ministers. And instead of being a body which the Governor may consult with liberty to take or reject their advice, he can perform no act of State without the express sanction and concurrence of a Minister representing the people. And this system was as completely in operation before the federal union of the neighbouring colonies with Canada as it has been since that event. Thus the birth and parentage of colonial rights are traceable to the soil of Canada.

The apprehension of timid rulers that these concessions would lead to the loss of the colony, was so far from being fulfilled that Canada was never so contented and never more determined to maintain the connection. In 1848, friends of the new French Republic invited the Lower Canadians to associate themselves with their kinsmen at home, and they would probably have done so had they remained discontented; but they declined on the ground of their strong confidence in the Government under which they lived. That Government had secured their confidence, by holding the balance fairly between the parties of which the community is formed. One instance became memorable. Acts of Parliament were passed compensating the "Loyalists" (as they designated themselves), who had suffered losses by the insurrection of 1837. It was then proposed to compensate the French Canadians whose property had been destroyed by violent mobs of the loyal party, and finally to compensate those who had suffered by taking part in actual resistance to the Queen's troops. This last measure met with violent opposition in Canada, chiefly among those who shared the first compensation, and was not looked upon with much favour in England. But the Government stood on its ground. The rights for which the insurgents contended had since conceded and ought never to have been denied. These daring and unprecedented proposals became law, and a dozen years later Mr. Gladstone, in a lecture upon Colonisation, admitted that they were just and reasonable. They were as politic as they were just. It is certain that they produced among the population of French Canada the conviction of fair play, which is the basis of successful government.

The other North American Colonies responsible government was granted, and has worked with more or less success, according to the capacity of the men who administer it, but in all cases it has maintained friendly relations with the Home Government.

The narrative now passes to Australia. New South Wales, the first colony of that continent, was originally established as a penal settlement, before the commencement of the present century. For more than an entire generation it was managed solely with a view to

the personal profit and pleasure of the gaolers and military officials in charge of it. They enjoyed a sort of antipodean *pays de Cocaigne*, which supplied them with estates by free grant, to be cultivated by convict labourers who received no wages, and they were empowered to carry on trade which was liable to no competition. They had complete control of the convicts, and were said to have established as close a monopoly for their vices as for their interests. But by degrees an immigration of free settlers took place; large sums were invested in flocks and herds, and a portion of the land revenue was expended in paying the passages of industrious settlers from the United Kingdom. The descendants of the original convicts were in many cases enterprising and respectable men, and among recent convicts there was always a small class whose sentences did not necessarily imply any moral stain.

The new men were determined to obtain self-government. A Patriotic Association was founded to arouse and direct public opinion. The convict system was denounced as the curse of new countries, sowing their virgin soil with rotten seed. The right of the Crown to the land revenue was denied, and a representative Assembly was claimed, which would give the colonists some control over their own affairs. The Imperial Parliament was vehemently and repeatedly appealed to for these concessions, and the London press partially awakened to the interests at stake. Some results were obtained. In 1841, the system of assigning convict servants was abolished, and shortly afterwards the practice of sending convicts to the colony was abandoned. And in 1843 Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State, conceded to their prayers a representative Assembly, to be denominated the Legislative Council of New South Wales. The experiment, it must be confessed, was not rashly made; the franchise was restricted, the seats were skilfully distributed to evade popular influence, and the nomination of one-third of the body was retained by the Crown; that is to say, by the Governor. But the new Legislature provided at any rate a platform from which the completion of its powers could be demanded with unwonted authority—for this is the first work to which a maimed and imperfect Legislature is sure to be led.

The career of the new body proved the ripeness of the colony for self-government. Among the members were several who became Ministers of State under the responsible system, some led the free Parliament of New South Wales as Premiers, who have been considered worthy of having hereditary rank conferred upon them, and one who has won also the higher distinction of a reputation familiar to both hemispheres. Robert Lowe was a member, and with him one whom the people of New South Wales regard as his equal in masculine eloquence, and his superior patriotism and political resources, William Charles Wentworth, the greatest native that the continent has yet produced.

Such an Assembly naturally made an inspection of the

of the colony, and found everywhere the results of misgovernment and corruption. The choicest lands had been granted away in huge tracts to favoured individuals by the Colonial Office. There are a hundred British peers whose united estates would not constitute a territory as large or as valuable as had been squandered in this manner. The revenue was disposed of by Imperial authority contrary to the specific provisions of the colonial Magna Charta. The judges held office at the pleasure of the Secretary of State, and the colonists were required to support the remnant of a convict establishment consisting of prisoners of whom the British taxpayers were relieved. Taught by the contests in Canada, Wentworth and his colleagues demanded responsible government, and plenary powers of legislation. By this time the colony had ceased for ten years to be a receptacle for British criminals. A considerable class of native gentlemen, many of them educated in the English universities, rejoiced in the name of Australians; Wentworth fired them with the large political ambition which, even while a student, warmed his own breast, and bade them not despair of empire, because of their origin.

"Did not of old the imperial eagle rise,
Hatched in an aerie fouler far than this?" *

The colonists had justified their political ambition by great personal success. They owned property in land and houses worth thirty millions sterling. They had established breweries, distilleries, and such other simple manufactories as first arise in a new community. They exported wool and hides to the value of a million and a half sterling, and the public revenue from all sources approached half a million. The population had increased to nearly two hundred thousand, of whom less than three thousand were convicts, and more than eight hundred belonged to the learned professions. Such a community had quite outgrown the swaddling-clothes of the Colonial Office. In 1850 the claims of the colonists for plenary powers of legislation were at length recognised by a somewhat timid but essentially just and reasonable concession. The Assembly was authorised to frame a Constitution for New South Wales within certain specified limits, which were to be afterwards submitted for approval or rejection to the Imperial parliament. Mr. Wentworth induced the Council to employ the measure conferred upon them in a very effectual manner, and one for which there was no precedent in the Canadian struggle or elsewhere. A Select Committee was appointed to frame a Constitution, but instead of confining themselves within the narrow limits prescribed, he led them to prepare a measure which, if it became law, would recognise and legalise their claims as completely as the Bill of Rights embodied the principles demanded in the Petition of Rights.† As such a measure

* Cambridge prize poem on Australia by W. C. Wentworth.

† The Committee consisted of Mr. Wentworth (Chairman); Mr. Donaldson (afterwards Sir Stewart Donaldson, first Prime Minister of New South Wales); Mr. Cowper (afterwards Sir Charles Cowper, for several years Prime Minister); Mr. James

was clearly *ultra vires*, a Bill was at the same time prepared for the Imperial Parliament which would cure this defect. This Constitution marks the third great step in the struggle for Colonial liberty. It distinctly provided or implied that the Executive Council must for the future consist of certain heads of departments having seats in the Legislature, and that all appointments to offices in the Colony should be made by the Governor with their advice—this was responsible government. And that the *Legislaturé*, consisting of two Houses, should be empowered to make laws regulating the disposal of the public lands, and for the peace, welfare, and good government of the Colony in all cases whatever. This was a Parliament with plenary powers.

But the measure was substantially a conservative one, and exasperated the partisans of extreme democracy. The Upper House was not to be elective, but a power was retained to create an elective House within five years if the new Legislature desired it. And it was provided that no fundamental part of the Constitution could be altered without an absolute majority of both Houses on the second and third reading (a provision copied from the Constitution of Canada) and that Bills affecting Imperial interests might be reserved for the Queen's pleasure, and be disallowed at any time within two years.

The contest in Canada, which was long at an end, might have taught the Imperial Government the policy suitable to Australia; but experience seems to have existed for them in vain. When a difficulty arose in one hemisphere, which had already perplexed and in the end overwhelmed them in another, they encountered it like aborigines, as if such a phenomenon was unheard of. New South Wales had the question of responsible government to fight over again, as if Canada had never existed. It would be to their detriment, they were assured to grant them the local patronage of the Colony.

"Her Majesty's Government could not recognise in the inhabitants of New South Wales any monopoly of the right to such offices, and so prevent their being bestowed on other of Her Majesty's subjects. The inhabitants of New South Wales were not considered disqualified for receiving such appointments in other colonies or at home; nor could anything be more injurious to the interests of the British Empire than to lay down a rule which the Empire would be broken up into a number of small communities, the members of each of which should be considered as only admitted to employment in that to which they more immediately belonged."

It was a rash experiment to send a vapoury placebo like this to men so able and well-informed as the popular leaders in New South Wales. Their answer was direct and fatal as a volley from a battery of artillery. They had never proposed (they said) to restrict the

MacArthur, Mr. Murray (afterwards Sir Aubrey Murray, President of the Legislative Council); Mr. Lamb, Mr. Martin (afterwards Sir James Martin, Attorney-general and Prime Minister); Mr. Plunkett (then Attorney-general and afterwards President of the Legislative Council); the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Deas Thompson and Mr. Douglass.

patronage to the inhabitants of New South Wales. What they proposed and insisted on was that all appointments in the Colony should be distributed among persons who were thought fit for them by a local Ministry enjoying the confidence of a local parliament, not by gentlemen in Downing Street irresponsible to the Colony. As for the qualification of the inhabitants of New South Wales to receive appointments in England or the colonies, they did not think it necessary to speculate on such a purely theoretic question. It was certain they had never yet received any such appointments, and considering the manner in which the patronage of the Crown was distributed by Her Majesty's Ministers in London, the most sanguine among them did not anticipate that they should. As respects the risk of breaking the Empire up into small communities, the practice they contended for was in full operation in the North-American colonies, and they could not understand why New South Wales should not be put on the same footing. They respectfully but determinedly demanded that "all that was necessary to place them on a perfect equality with their fellow-subjects at home should be conceded to them, and to their posterity at once and for ever."

The Colonial Office was slow to move. Colonists, like step-children at school, were sometimes neglected, not of a set purpose, but because their petty and distant claims, in which no one at home was interested, got postponed in the hurry of more pretentious and immediate engagements. But the colonists would at length wait no longer, and when the estimates for 1853 were voted in the Legislative Council, Mr. Wentworth moved a resolution, and carried it against the utmost resistance of the Executive that the House would not vote the estimates for another year till a satisfactory answer were made to their demand for responsible government.

While they were waiting for the constitution at the Antipodes, there was a change of Government in England, from Whig to Tory, without any detriment to the colony. Sir John Pakington, the new Secretary of State, spoke of the policy of the administration in terms so agreeable to his good sense.

His colleagues [he said] considered themselves bound to meet the colonists in a confident and liberal spirit. They thought that the Government, living so far from the colonies, could not judge of their affairs and their expenditure so well as the colonists themselves; and that they ought to place that confidence in them which, as Englishmen accustomed to the institutions of this country, they were so well entitled to possess."

When the Bills sent home became law in the end, the Colony obtained what her most prudent statesmen had demanded, and during the long period of quietude which has since elapsed it has enjoyed unbroken tranquillity and a constantly growing prosperity.

The history of colonial liberty would be incomplete without some account of transactions in a province of New South Wales, then known

as Port Phillip, but which has since become famous as the colony of Victoria. Sixty years ago, while England was struggling for her first Reform Bill, and France was in the crisis of her second Revolution, the foot of a civilised man had never been set on the soil of this territory. But half a dozen years later it became widely known by an exploration made by the Surveyor-general of New South Wales, who published a glowing description of its soil, climate, and resources. It speedily got occupied, and gradually became organised as an outlying province of New South Wales. From the beginning it was entirely self-made; the Colonial Office having only interfered to declare that no settlement ought to be planted in that district, and the Governor at Sydney followed up this decree by warning the enterprising settlers that they would be prosecuted as intruders on the public lands of the Crown.

Colonists who denounced the injustice of the mother country were not always just to their own dependencies. Port Phillip was much discontented with the Executive and Legislature at Sydney. Its half-dozen representatives in the latter body proved quite powerless to protect the interests of their constituents. After a short experiment it was found impossible to get fit men to reside a thousand miles away from their daily pursuits for results so insignificant as could be obtained. The handful of inhabitants petitioned the Imperial Parliament over and over again that Port Phillip should be created a separate colony, but were not listened to. To mark their discontent with the existing system in a manner which could not be misunderstood, they at length elected the Secretary of State in London to be their representative in Sydney. This stroke told home in Westminster, and in 1850 it was at length determined to yield to their wishes and to create Port Phillip a separate colony.

One of the duties entrusted to the expiring council in Sydney was to frame an electoral Act for the Legislative Council of the new colony, and it cannot be denied that they did this work in an unfriendly grudging spirit. I must not be supposed to paint the leaders of colonial enterprise as heroes of romance. They were contending for just rights and so far entitled to our sympathy, but they were sometimes greedy and unreasonable in pursuing their private interests. Port Phillip had constantly complained that the money raised by the sale of land in their district was spent in local improvements in the city, and the new electoral Act threw political power in the new colony mainly into the hands of Crown tenants or squatters as they were called, of whom Mr. Wentworth was one of the leaders. The colony got one member to every 5000 inhabitants; the farmer got one member to every 7000, while the squatter got one member to every 2000. This was the parting gift of the legislature at Sydney, when it could hold them no longer, it sent them to sea in a boat built to capsize. And it may be feared that Mr. Went-

worth was scarcely more generous to his unhappy fellow-countrymen, the aboriginal inhabitants of Australasia.*

After the first Legislative Council of Port Phillip was elected, but before it began to sit, a transaction occurred which changed for ever the fortunes of the settlement. The maddening vision which inspired Columbus to explore unknown seas, and which drew Cortez, Pizarro, and Raleigh in his adventurous track, was realised among them in a land seamed and sown with virgin gold. I have elsewhere told the story :

"Gold was found on the surface, and a few inches or a few feet under the surface; sometimes in solid lumps of immense value (which the miners, after the Californian example, called 'nuggets'); sometimes in 'pockets,' where a number of smaller nuggets lay close together; sometimes in scattered particles mixed with the soil, but easily separated by sluicing the earth in water. The new legislature, created to regulate the simple interests of graziers and traders, would soon (it was plain) find itself called upon to rule the turbulent population of a gold country, and to face large and unexpected problems of policy and government."

The colonists encountered these unexpected difficulties with reasonable vigour and promptitude. After a few sessions had given them parliamentary experience, they pronounced the system of an Executive completely independent of a Legislature an abortion, and demanded a constitution like that of New South Wales. They were authorised to frame such a measure, and soon sent one to Downing Street, differing from their exemplar chiefly in having an elective Upper Chamber, with a high property qualification, instead of a nominated one. This Bill was promised speedy consideration, but month followed month, and session followed session, before the promise was fulfilled.

It was delayed, indeed, till the colonists were fevered with wrath and indignation. A deputation was sent home to flap the

"With the next Governor, Sir George Gipps, Mr. Wentworth came into collision on the subject of his land purchases in New Zealand. He had bought of the native owners, for goods of the value of £400, and a promise of a small annuity to each of the owners, the whole of the Middle Island, that is the territory now comprised in Otago, Canterbury, Nelson, and Marlborough—together with some 200,000 acres of the Northern Island. Sir George Gipps regarded the attempt of Mr. Wentworth and his followers to obtain this vast domain as a monstrous perversion of the forms of purchase and sale in taking advantage of the ignorance of a barbarous people; and his efforts of Mr. Wentworth, by legal argument and political influence, to make the purchase proved unavailing"—Heaton's "Australian Dictionary of Dates." The speech of the Governor, Sir George Gipps, indeed, was couched in language of crushing scorn, he was probably glad to have the popular leader at a disadvantage who had not been a too scrupulous critic of his official career, and he spoke with more judgment than a triumphant opponent:—"A great deal was said by this gentleman [Mr. Wentworth], in the course of his address to the Council, of corruption and of the love which men in office have for patronage. But, gentlemen, corruption! talk of jobbery! why if all the corruption which had defiled the reign of the Stuarts were gathered into one heap it would not make such a sum as this—if all the jobs which have been done since the days of Sir Robert Walpole, were collected into one job, they would not make so big a job as the one which Mr. Wentworth asks me to lend a hand in perpetrating—the job, that is to say, of making to him a grant of twenty millions of acres, at the rate of one hundred acres for a farthing."

Colonial Minister in vain. But though he had not leisure to send them a constitution, he had another boon in store for them. They had repeatedly refused to pollute their community by the admission of convicts, but the Colonial Office thought their objections futile and unreasonable.

"And now, when the desire of self-government was about to be gratified, the renewal of the attempt wounded their pride as much as it alarmed their fears. A meeting was immediately held, at which the chief men of the settlement—English, Irish, and Scotch—were spokesmen of the popular determination that the convicts should not be received. And not in the masquerade of savages, like the patriots of Boston, but without disguise or fear, they delivered their will. The magistrates of the city and district met soon afterwards, and indorsed the popular decision. The Governor at Sydney at this time, a *ci-devant* dandy, aiming only to keep things quiet, promised for peace' sake that no convicts should be permitted to land in Port Phillip until 'the feelings of the community were made known in Downing Street.' The colonists on their side determined that no felons should be intruded upon their wives and children, whatever might be the response of the distant oracle. A second meeting agreed *nemine contradicente* that the prisoners *should not be permitted to land*. This intrepid resolution like all daring action, was originally the work of a few, but it suited the temper of the people, and was adopted with as near an approach to unanimity as can ever be attained in communities where individual opinion is free. 'The convicts must not land,' became the popular watchword. The Governor at Sydney, having as little the temper as the resources necessary to play the part of a tyrant, adhered to his promise, and the captain, under his peremptory orders, set sail for Sydney."

Here the story of how colonies obtained their political rights might stop, but that its most incredible chapter remains to be written. At this period (1854) responsible Government was in full operation in Canada and in all the neighbouring colonies. It had been obtained at the cost of two insurrections indeed, and the lives of three governors, who were sacrificed in the conflict as surely as if they had fallen in battle; but the victory of the people in the Atlantic colonies was complete and confessed, and the future course of the Colonial Office was plain. The constitution of Victoria was promised as soon as the House of Commons could find leisure to scrutinise the matter and send home. The interval need not have exceeded a few months, and might have passed in perfect tranquillity, interrupted only by occasional rejoicings—a species of revelry for which colonists have always had an uncommon aptitude. But the Imperial Government so easily forgot that the worst blunders which disgraced the contest in the North were now renewed in the South. A fierce insurrection was kindled, and another infatuated Governor, chosen to perform a task for which he had no faculties or training, died, as Metcalfe and Sydenham had died on another continent. It will probably be inferred that the permanent officers of the Colonial Department, in whose hands the threads of policy must always rest, were weak and incapable.

this assumption would be a grave mistake. The Under-Secretary was a man whose historical essays in the *Edinburgh Review* rivalled Macaulay's, and were often mistaken for them. One of his colleagues has influenced political thought in England by his writings more than Cobden or Bright influenced it by their oratory, and another is author of a drama, the greatest, perhaps, produced in England since the Elizabethan era. Nor were they overborne by the strong personality of their political chief. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was a country gentleman in office for the first time, and whose highest achievement had been to preside benignly at the Quarter Sessions of his district. All the trouble came from another source, from the practice of sacrificing the largest colonial interests to the smallest convenience in Palace Yard. There was a steady supporter of the Government at this time rarely heard in debate, but never absent from a division, who had a cousin to provide for, and as the salary of Governor in the gold colony was fixed on an Oriental scale, and was, in fact, as great as the salaries of the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of England, and the Speaker of the House of Commons united—he claimed this prize as the reward of his party fidelity. His *protégé* was a post-captain, trained on the quarter-deck, and as ignorant as a Pasha of all that concerned parliamentary government. His achievements in Victoria will complete the history of the long struggle for colonial rights.

C. GAVAN DUFFY.

Alpes Maritimes.

THE BETTERMENT TAX IN AMERICA.

THE betterment tax against which the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Herbert have been making so many scruples in the *Times*—the special assessment of the expense (or part of the expense) of a local improvement on the adjoining property which is specially benefited by the improvement—has been known in America for two hundred years. The power to impose such an assessment was given to a Highway Board in the county of Ulster, in the colony of New York, in the year 1691, for the purpose of making public roads, and the same power was again given the same year to the corporation of the city of New York for the construction of the public streets. These Acts were still in force in 1773, when Von Schaack published his collection of statutes, and their betterment clauses were re-affirmed in 1787 when the old colonial statutes were revised for the new State constitution under the Republic. As the city grew, fresh Improvement Acts were required, and the same provision of a betterment tax for the partial or total payment of the expense incurred by the improvements was contained in the successive Acts of 1793, 1795, 1801, and 1813.*.

The betterment tax therefore originated in the very infancy of New York, and has continued ever since one of the ordinary and means of meeting the cost of city improvements. It was a common custom there even before it was sanctioned by any law. When the city fathers dug a new well, they always laid the expense on the city generally, and the other half on the owner of the property nearest to the well. That was done in the case of the wells in Broadway, Pearl Street, and other parts in 1676.†

* Angell and Durfee's "Law of Highways," p. 158.

† Watson's "Annals of New York," p. 157.

From this early appearance of the practice in New York, one may be disposed to infer that it is of Dutch origin, but that inference does not seem to be correct, for the system on which streets and other town improvements were made in New Amsterdam was the system of voluntary contributions, with the proviso that if any well-to-do person failed to pay his share, the corporation should, as authorised by statute, tax him according to his ability. It was the principle therefore of a general assessment on all alike, and not, like the betterment tax, of a special assessment on adjoining owners above others. This betterment tax most probably rose spontaneously out of natural considerations of equity and convenience, although it is just possible the seeds of the idea may have been carried across from England. For the old method of making and maintaining the streets in London and Westminster was to oblige every owner to make and repair the part in front of his own property "up to the channel running in the middle of the street," and the construction of embankments against the "outeragiousness of the river," at Plumstead and Erith was imposed by statute on the adjacent landowners as far back as the reign of Henry the Eighth.*

The germ never developed any further, however, in this country, being choked probably by the all-conquering tendency of legislation to favour real estate; but in America it has grown up and flourished, it has been transplanted successfully from State to State, and there is now scarce a city in the Union probably that does not sit under the shelter of its branches. In New York State itself, every city within the territory, and many even of the villages, have had powers of this kind conferred upon them for making roads or paving streets, or laying sewers, or draining marshes, or providing public parks or other improvements for the general convenience; and while in most cases the special tax is laid only on owners of property actually benefiting on the improvement in the measure of their frontage, in some it has been laid on all real estate benefited by the improvement in the measure of the benefit received. The municipal corporation of Buffalo got powers of this latter sort in 1868, and on an action raised against the provision the Supreme Court held it to be constitutional. Even "non-resident tracts"—unoccupied pastures or agricultural land—may, according to the Revised Statutes of New York State, be subjected to a special betterment tax, if in the opinion of the Tax Commissioners their value has been enhanced by improvements done by the Highway Board.

Though the principle has been so long established and in operation in New York, it was only adopted in the other States of America within the last fifty years. It was adopted in none of them without opposition and repeated litigation, but it prevails at last, with

* See Clifford's "Private Bill Legislation," i. 28.

general acquiescence in probably every State in the Union. When Stimson wrote his book on American Law the principle of the betterment tax had been incorporated in the constitutions of five States—Illinois, Minnesota, Arkansas, California, and Nebraska—and their example has been followed by other States since, which have been revising their constitutions—Ohio and Rhode Island, for instance; but although in the remaining States it may not have been expressly formulated in the constitution, it has been practically made part of the constitution all the same by judicial construction. In Kentucky it was adopted as far back at least as 1840, in Maryland in 1847, New Jersey 1852, South Carolina 1852, Mississippi 1854, Virginia 1856, Missouri 1856, and about the same time or later in Kansas, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Oregon, and very likely all the others. It has been sanctioned not only by the State legislatures, but also by Congress, which in its capacity as legislature for the District of Columbia gave authority to the city of Washington to impose a special betterment rate for the improvements it had in contemplation twenty years ago.* Mr. Dillon, the author of the standard book on American Municipal Law, quotes the statement of a judge in the Supreme Court of Missouri to the effect that the principle of the betterment tax had been subjected to severe analysis in almost every State in the Union, and adds that “it is now as firmly established as any other doctrine of American law”; while, as for the tax itself, it has become the usual form of assessment for new municipal works of every description. For the last ten years there seems almost an entire absence of litigation against this form of impost, and from that we may conclude that the public mind has at length everywhere acquiesced in its reasonableness and equity. But it has not done so without much controversy.

The equity of the tax has been again and again discussed by judges of the Supreme Courts of the several States, and invariably with the same result of an affirmative finding. The question has been raised before them in various ways, but usually either by an abutting owner who contends that the tax is discriminatory, or by a church or university claiming immunity from the tax on the ground of a privilege granted them by statute (as has been generously done in most of the States) of exemption from all taxation. The answer has been very much to the same purport in all the different States. The judges have taken their stand on the broad principle, that the person who reaps the benefit of a public work ought to bear the burden of it. Where the benefit is discriminating, the burden, to be equal, must be discriminating likewise. The plaintiff has always been dismissed,

* See Dillon's "Law of Municipal Corporations," ii. 675.

told very flatly he had no just cause for complaint, inasmuch as he had already pocketed from the transaction more than he was asked to contribute, and that his contribution was not so much in the nature of a tax as of a mere consideration for value received. It was a definite *quid pro quo*, and the appropriator of the benefit of the improvement ought in common fairness to render some equivalent for the benefit he appropriated. The churches and universities that have sued for relief from it, on the ground of their constitutional exemption from all taxation, have been informed that this was not taxation—it was only a case of one proprietor improving his estate by works which necessarily improved the contiguous estate of another proprietor at the same time, and asking the latter to bear his share of the expense. Harvard College indeed was able, in 1871, to maintain its exemption successfully before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, because by the peculiar phraseology of its charter it was freed not from taxes and rates only, but from “all *civil impositions*, taxes and rates,” and although the Court was quite clear that a betterment assessment was neither a tax nor a rate, it could not see its way to pronounce that it was not a civil imposition. But in the same year, Brown University, in Rhode Island, had its plea for exemption repelled, because, less fortunate than the sister college, its charter merely “freed and exempted it from all taxes,” and the Court had no difficulty in saying that an imposition for betterment was not a tax.* The effect of decisions like this is that a church or university which is exempt from ordinary road assessment for the repair of the streets, is yet always subject, like other adjacent proprietors, to the special improvement rate for their construction. When Nassau Street, in New York, was improved, several churches lay within the area of charge, and resisted the assessment in the court of law on the plea that an Act of the year 1813 expressly declared that “no real estate belonging to any church shall be taxed by any law of this State;” but the Court held that a special betterment rate assessed according to benefit received, and in payment therefor was not taxation at all in any proper sense of the word. It was no burden, and therefore it was no tax. “There is no inconvenience or hardship in it,” said the judge in giving the opinion of the Court, “and the maxim of the law that he who enjoys the benefit ought to feel the burden also, is perfectly consistent with the interests and dictates of science and religion.” † And the idea of calling this kind of assessment robbery, as some have done. The proprietor was not robbed of anything; nothing was taken away from him. His neighbour—the municipal corporation—had given him something, and imposed an assessment to pay for it back. “An assessment is not a burden, it is an equivalent

* *American Law Review*, iv. 523.

† Angell and Durfee's “*Law of Highways*,” p. 152.

for a benefit."* It is held of course to be a tax in this sense, that being a compulsory imposition it can only be levied by a public body, and is a particular and legitimate exercise of the taxing power allowed to the legislature by the constitution and delegated by the legislature to municipal corporations in conformity with constitutional conditions. In Illinois the Drainage Commissioners obtained the insertion of a betterment clause in one of their Acts, but the Supreme Court held, in 1871, that it would be unconstitutional for a private corporation like the Drainage Commissioners to assess for betterment, because a compulsory imposition for betterment was a tax, and the taxing power could not be constitutionally exercised by a private corporation.† But though considered a tax, in respect of the authority imposing it, it has been expressly ruled, not only in New York, but in Missouri, Louisiana, and other States, not to be a tax in respect to the purposes for which it is imposed, or the nature of its bearing on the people who pay it.

• Sometimes the judges, while ruling practically to the same effect, base their reasons on more limited and specific ground. In 1874 the Boston Seamen's Friends Society claimed relief from a betterment impost under the provision in the constitution of the State of Massachusetts, by which the property, personal or real, of literary, benevolent, charitable, and scientific institutions incorporated within the commonwealth is exempted from taxation; but the Supreme Court decided that the taxation meant in the statute was taxation for the public charges of government, and could not be reasonably interpreted to include assessments for expenditure of a purely local character, the benefits of which were more immediately and specially—perhaps in some cases exclusively—experienced in the particular localities where the property claiming exemption was situated.‡ The principle of this decision is allied to the doctrine which has also been laid down by the American Courts in dealing with betterment cases, that a local improvement possesses always more or less of a public character, notwithstanding that it may be undertaken under private authority; but, whatever doctrine or reason is laid down, the decision always substantially rests on the equitable consideration that the sphere of benefit ought to be the sphere of burden, and that it would be wrong to tax individuals alone for improvements from which all alike benefit, so it would be equally wrong to tax all for improvements from which particular individuals receive the greater part of advantage. Judge Slidell of Louisiana accordingly declared the system of paying for special local improvements *wholly* out of the general treasury was inequitable, and would result, he believed, in great extravagance, abuse and injustice." He held the private betterment tax to be safer as well as juster than the other

* Angell and Durfee's "Law of Highways," p. 153.

† *American Law Review*, vi. 504.

§ Dillon's "Law of Municipal Corporations," ii. 697.

‡ *Ibid.* viii. 363.

The municipal code of Ohio declares certain improvements, usually considered in this country to be of a public character, to be purely private—so far at any rate as paying for them goes. "An assessment for the construction of sewers is in its nature a charge for a permanent addition to the freehold, and is to be paid by the owner of the fee or the holder of a perpetual lease, but is not chargeable against an ordinary tenant for years."* In Tennessee Judge Green went farther, and represented a foot-pavement not as an addition given to a property, but as the removal of a nuisance from it. The mayor and aldermen of Franklin in that State got authority by statute to have side-walks and foot-pavements constructed on the streets of their town by the owners of property abutting on the streets, or, in the event of the owners' negligence, to construct the streets at the owners' expense. The latter reclaimed against the impost as being unequal and therefore unconstitutional, but the judge, in delivering the opinion of the Court, said: "We do not think that this law levies a tax. A tax is a sum which is required to be paid by the citizens usually for revenue purposes; but this ordinance levies no sum of money to be paid by the citizens: It requires a duty to be performed for the well-being and comfort of the citizens of the town. It is in the nature of a nuisance to be removed; and if an ordinance were to require that each owner of a lot in town should remove nuisances from his lot, and on failure to do so the town constable should remove the nuisance and the party should pay the expense of the work, it would hardly be suggested that the expense so incurred was a tax."† Assessments for improvements of this kind have been accordingly represented as falling more properly under the police power of government than under its taxing power, and some Courts have chosen that as the ground for vindicating their constitutionality. This question of police power or taxing power is a very practical and apparently troublesome consideration in America, but our own Public Health Act of 1875 confers on local authorities, for purposes of every police, the same power to assess the cost of street improvement—levelling, paving, sewerage, channelling, and lighting—on the owners according to their frontage; and not only so, it also fully recognises the distinction between public improvements and private improvements enforced for public reasons, and provides a special private improvement rate. A private improvement is one though instituted as a public necessity, yet confers its benefits on private individuals, and that class of improvement the individuals, who benefit most by it, are required to undertake or event to pay for. The beneficiaries, however, are supposed to be the occupiers, and the owners, with the consideration always

* Peck's "Municipal Laws of Ohio," p. 219.

† Angell and Durfee's "Law of Highways," p. 164.

shown them by English law, are charged only when the premises are unoccupied.

In America the distinction between private benefit and public benefit, between local benefit and general benefit, is always recognised as a ruling one in affairs of this kind, and as in actual events these several benefits are usually mingled, it becomes an object of care to distribute their respective incidence aright. While the imposition of a general assessment for a local benefit has been held to be wrong, the American Courts have at the same time declared it equally wrong to impose a local assessment for a general benefit. Acts throwing the whole burden of improvements on abutting owners have been repeatedly rejected. In the case of making a street, indeed, this is often allowed. In New York the custom is for the abutting owners to pay the whole cost of the construction. But then the cost here is not relatively high, and the advantage reaped by those particular beneficiaries is beyond all comparison greater than that reaped by any other inhabitants of the place. But in the case of a country road it was decided otherwise, at least in the Pennsylvanian Court. A municipal corporation in that State was authorised by an Act of Legislature to make a road seven miles long, running mainly through agricultural lands, and to assess the cost on all land within a certain distance of the road, whether abutting directly upon it or not. It was shown in evidence that although every one of the persons taxed for the road would benefit by the road, each in his degree, there was a great many besides who would benefit by the road but were not taxed a farthing, and that the road would be, in short, a great public benefit to the people of the municipality; and the Court held that in those circumstances the imposition was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it imposed a merely local assessment for a general benefit. The same Court gave another decision to the same effect. The city of Philadelphia took a street, already in good condition, and improved it for a public drive or carriage-way, and then thought to assess the expense on the adjacent owners; but the Court refused to sanction the imposition on the ground that the improvement had been made not for local, but for general purposes.* That is very much the contention of the opponents of the betterment clauses of the Strand Improvement Bill. If the improvement, they allege, is devised for the behoof of the general public alone, and the general public alone should pay the cost. But the principle of the situation is not encouraged apparently in any other State. In Pennsylvania, and in that State generally the betterment principle seems to be applied with more restraint and caution than in England. In 1877 the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania declared a road assessed on abutting owners in proportion to frontage to be unequal, and therefore unconstitutional, not merely in the case of rural, but

* Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," p. 630.

suburban property.* The only difference we can see between the case of urban and the case of rural and suburban property, is that the property taxed is very much more valuable as compared with the cost incurred for the improvement in the one case than in the other, and can on that account bear the burden easier. The judgment seems to rest therefore on a common-sense view of what the neighbourhood will bear. The general public derive as much benefit from the urban street as from the rural or suburban road—possibly even more; but they are dispensed from contributing their quota in the former case, because the abutting property is at once so much abler to stand the cost, and so much more greatly benefited by the improvement.

In 1873 the Supreme Court of Missouri threw out what will probably strike most people as a singularly objectionable attempt to lay the whole burden of a public improvement on the handful of adjacent proprietors. The city of St. Louis had obtained from the State Legislature an Act for the creation of a public park—to be called the Forest Park—on land outside the city territory. The Act constituted a special body, called the Park Commissioners, for the purpose of carrying out the scheme, and gave them powers to purchase the land compulsorily, and to throw the price on the owners of the adjacent property by a special tax which would pay up the whole in twenty years. But the Court held the scheme to be unconstitutional, partly because it entrusted taxing powers to a private corporation, but chiefly because it levied the assessment exclusively on certain designated lands outside the city, though the object was one of general benefit which the Act itself declared to be of great importance to the city of St. Louis, conducive to its dignity and character, and to the health and recreation of its inhabitants. To provide a public park for the amusement of the people of St. Louis at the exclusive expense of a few private owners of estate outside the town is clearly contrary to the equitable principle that he who reaps the benefit ought to bear the burden; and the judge who delivered the opinion of the Court concluded by saying that “the constitution wisely erected a barrier against this exorbitant power, and there is no time in the tide of any special taxation when it must be said, ‘as far shalt thou go and no farther.’”† It ought to be added that the Supreme Court of Missouri had already, as far back as 1856, held in the case of the city of Weston that the Legislature could constitutionally authorise a municipal corporation to tax for its municipal purposes the lands lying beyond the limits of its jurisdiction. Land lying immediately round a town derives, no doubt, an increase in value from its situation near the town, but it manifestly does so because, and in the measure in which, the town, on that point, receives accommodation and advantage from that land. The

* *American Law Review*, xi. 339.

† Dillon's "Law of Municipal Corporations," ii. 563.

local authority under whose jurisdiction the land in question lies could therefore as justly seek to tax the houses in the town for its purposes as the town to tax its fields. The mere overlapping of jurisdictions would not constitute a difficulty to the American mind, for most of the States are in the habit of constituting special taxing districts, different from any of the ordinary civil or political divisions of their territory, when they conceive that to be necessary for the more equitable distribution of the expense of any specific local improvement. For building a bridge, for example, a State Legislature may mark out the special area of benefit, and create it into a separate taxing district for the purpose.* What guided the Court of Missouri in frustrating the attempts of the cities of Weston and St. Louis to tax outsiders for the local objects of these cities themselves was not therefore any consideration of municipal jurisdiction, but merely the simple principle of equity; those who enjoy the benefit ought to bear the burden. So that this rule seems in practice to be applied both ways pretty evenly—to prevent, on the one hand, the general public from throwing their proper burden on the shoulders of the special private beneficiaries, as well as to prevent, on the other, the private beneficiaries from running off with great pecuniary advantages from an improvement without paying an adequate share of its cost.

The same consideration is often shown in adjusting the delicate point of the precise share of the cost of the improvement that ought equitably to fall upon the adjacent proprietors. Very different rules are followed in this matter in the different States. In New York, where the betterment tax has been longest in operation, the rule seems to be, in the case of ordinary street improvements, to lay the whole cost on the proprietors abutting on the street. It seems to be so also in Maryland, and doubtless elsewhere. But the Supreme Court of Illinois, in 1870, declared it to be unconstitutional to throw the whole expense on the abutting proprietors without regard to the actual benefit they might respectively have received, because it was contrary to the requirement of the constitution that all taxes should be equal. It was considered unequal evidently because an attempt was made to apportion the burden to the benefit. In New Jersey a drainage scheme was stopped by the Supreme Court because it threw the whole cost on the land benefited without providing for the indemnification of the owners in the event of the cost exceeding the benefit conferred. In Louisiana only one-third of the cost is imposed on adjacent owners, the other two-thirds being borne by the public. In other cases the division is half and half. In Illinois, where the decision I have quoted was given, a town Act authorising the construction of side-walks on one side of the street, and half of the expense was to be thrown on the owners of abut-

* Dillon's "Law of Municipal Corporations," ii. 685.

property, two-sixths on owners on the side in which the walk was laid down, and one-sixth on the owners on the opposite side. Occasionally, the attempt to distribute the burden according to the benefit leads to proposals of other sorts of differential rating. One set of rate-payers may be asked to pay a high rate, another a lower, while a third may be exempted altogether. For example, the city of Janesville, in Wisconsin, extended its territorial limits so as to include not only town and suburbs, but also a considerable extent of the surrounding agricultural land, and the Legislature provided that whatever the amount of the local taxation on the rest of the town might be, the taxation on this agricultural land must never exceed one-half per cent. for general municipal purposes, must never for roads and the support of the poor exceed one-half the rate paid by the rest of the town, and must not be taxed at all for any other purpose. This principle has been recognised in our own country. The Metropolitan Improvements Act of 1889 authorised the London County Council to purchase a disused burial-ground in Tottenham Court Road for a public garden, and to impose one-half of the cost on the ratepayers of the whole of London, and the other half specially on the ratepayers of the parish of St. Pancras in which the improvement lay. But the Supreme Court of Wisconsin did not sanction the analogous arrangement at Janesville, though that kind of differential taxation, as Cooley tells us, is quite familiar in American legislation.* Other principles of variation may sometimes rule. A residential street is obviously much more an affair of private utility and much less of public than a great thoroughfare; and the Legislature of Kentucky gave a charter to the city of Covington, in 1872, authorising it to pave the streets with Nicholson pavement whenever "the owners of the larger part of the front feet of ground" abutting on the proposed improvement should petition therefor, and not otherwise; but in respect to a certain portion of Madison Street, the principal thoroughfare of the city, to pave that on a mere vote of the council without the initiative of the owners, but still at the owners' expense. The court, however, held this discrimination to be unconstitutional, as "contrary to the uniformity and approximate equality which is required by law to be essential to the validity of such taxation and assessments."† It will be observed, both of this case and the one in Ohio, that though the acts were declared unconstitutional, the decision in both cases was in favour of private owners and against the public. Some States expressly protect the private owners against excessive exactions by imposing a maximum limit on betterment assessments. In the municipal code of Ohio, for example, it is laid down that in no case shall the tax or assessment specially levied

* Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," p. 624.

† Dillon's "Law of Municipal Corporations," ii. 698.

and assessed on any lot or land for an improvement amount to more than 25 per cent. of the value of such lot or land as assessed for taxation. If the improvement costs more than that rate will meet, then the excess must be paid by the municipal corporation out of its ordinary revenues, except in cases where "three-fourths in interest represented by the feet front of the owners of property abutting" on the improvement have petitioned for it to be undertaken. In that case they are made welcome to pay the whole.* In the same State a special betterment tax for sewerage is forbidden to exceed two dollars per foot front; anything above that must be paid out of the sewer fund of the corporation.†

With regard to ordinary street improvements and some others, there is a standing controversy whether the assessment ought to be imposed (1) on the old rude system of every man paying for the expense of making the actual portion of the street opposite his own property; or (2) according to frontage, without that specialisation; or (3) according to the superficial area of the several lots; or (4) according to the value of the lots and buildings on them together; or (5) according to estimated benefits received. The constitution of some States contains a provision that all property is to be taxed according to its value, but in California the Court in 1865 evaded the difficulty raised by this provision by the convenient construction that a betterment imposition is not a tax, and need not therefore be assessed on the *ad valorem* principle alone.‡ In Ohio it is expressly laid down that the betterment tax may be assessed according to any of various rules, either according to frontage, or according to assessed valuation, or according to benefits received, as the municipal council may determine.§ Under frontage a deduction is allowed in the case of corner lots, because they have a double front. The question of the legitimacy of frontage: the rule of assessment has come up in the Courts of Missouri, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and others, and frontage has been held competent by them all. In the case of reclaiming land from inundation, the Courts of Missouri and Louisiana decided that betterment tax should be levied on area, not on valuation. On the other hand, in Michigan a statute authorising a betterment assessment to be levied according to superficial area was pronounced unconstitutional, and the city of Chicago was forbidden to impose a special street improvement tax according to frontage, on the ground that an imposition according to frontage was neither equal nor just, and that the true principle was assessment according to the benefits the lots received. Let each lot pay for what it specially receives, and let the rest of the cost be paid by the public. In New York an Act authorising the expense of paving the road-bed of a

* Peck's "Municipal Code of Ohio," p. 187.

† *Ibid.* p. 218.

‡ Dillon's "Municipal Corporations," p. 702.

§ Peck's "Municipal Code of Ohio," p. 210.

street, to be assessed in the proportion of two-thirds on the abutting property and one-third on the public at large, was pronounced unconstitutional, on the ground that it distributed the expense arbitrarily and not according to benefits.* Payment according to benefit seems to be the growing rule. Benefits vary very much, of course, according to the nature of the property and the use it is put to, but the friends of this principle contend that they are not difficult to calculate, and that no other principle is at bottom so uniform and undiscriminating. On any other principle, the man who got most good from an improvement might pay least for it. In actual practice there seems no disposition to deal harshly with the owner in appropriating the value of the improvement his estate receives. In Boston the betterment tax was only one-half the estimated benefit, so that an ample margin was allowed for possible over-valuation, and care taken against possible injustice.

The benefits taken into account must be direct and not remote. In considering benefits with a view to a set-off in compensation cases, American law excludes contingent, consequential, prospective and general benefits, such as the property shares with all other property in the town. The area of benefit is most commonly confined to immediately abutting estates, but in Ohio it may be extended further. "If in the opinion of the Council or Board of Improvements the same would be equitable, a proportion of the cost of making the improvement may be assessed upon such other lots or land within the corporation not bounding or abutting upon the improvement as will in the opinion of the Council or Board be specially accommodated or benefited thereby."† The same rule doubtless prevails in other States. In Mississippi an Act was passed and sanctioned for embanking the river Mississippi in a particular county, and the expense was to be met by "a uniform tax not exceeding ten cents per acre on all lands in the county lying on or within ten miles of the river, and five cents per acre on all lands in the county lying more than ten miles from the river."‡

The valuation of property, or of benefit to property, necessary for the betterment tax is made sometimes by special assessors, but usually by the ordinary assessors for the other local taxes; and American law has always three assessors, who are burgesses in the town, elected for a three years' term, and do the work jointly.

The way has been smoothed for the general introduction of special betterment legislation in America by certain collateral principles having already adopted in American law. American law, for example, has departed from the common law of England by refusing to allow an owner to recover his property from a *bond fide* adverse possessor until he has

* Thompson's "American Reports," p. 562.

† Peck's "Municipal Code of Ohio," p. 204.

‡ Angell and Durfee's "Law of Highways," p. 166.

paid the latter adequate compensation for the improvements he made on the property while it was in his possession. And an even more important divergence is the recognition, in cases of compulsory purchase for railway or similar purposes, of the improvement to the rest of the seller's estate as a set-off, according to its value, against his claim for compensation for the piece of land taken from him. This is allowed in most of the American States, possibly in all. In Massachusetts the Court laid down the doctrine in a highway case, that "the benefit the owner of the land derives from the laying down of a way over it may often exceed the value of the land covered by the way;" and a railway company is allowed in that State to show by way of a set-off against a claim for the land it took any *direct and peculiar* benefit or increase of value which the owner of the same land obtains from the making of the line, though not any *general* benefit or increase of value received by such land in common with other lands in the neighbourhood, nor any benefit accruing from the same source to other land of the same owner, or in the same town.* The constitution of Vermont provides that the owner of land compulsorily taken should receive an equivalent in money, but the Court decided that it was quite consistent with that provision to pay him the equivalent in the increased value of the rest of his estate. In calculating benefit care is usually taken to exclude indirect, contingent, and general benefit. Thus, in Virginia in a case of land taken for a river improvement by a river company the appraisers were instructed to take into account, by way of set-off, only such advantages as specifically and exclusively affected the particular parcel of land out of which the portion had been taken, and not to look at advantages of a more general character which might accrue to the owner in common with the country at large; and in Massachusetts they were in the same way instructed that the general benefit accruing to the property of a town through a railway—the benefit coming indirectly through increase of population and business and greater convenience for residence and trade—was too remote to be considered.†

But the peculiar benefit to which the valuation is limited often be so much that the set-off exceeds the claim, and the landowner has to part with his land and pay a balance besides. In New York John R. Livingston owned land taken for a street, and when he looked for payment got instead a bill for betterment of his remaining estate. He flew to law, but was told he could claim no damages, sustaining a benefit. "The owner of property taken," said the Chancellor, "is entitled to a full compensation for the damage he sustains thereby, but if the taking of his property for a public improvement is a benefit rather than an injury to him, he certainly has no equitable claim of damages." And the Chancellor's view was confirmed

* Angell and Durfee's "Law of Highways," p. 93.

† *Ibid.* p. 96.

on appeal by a unanimous judgment in the Court for Correction of Errors.* This principle of the set-off has sometimes been the thin end of the wedge that brought in the regular betterment tax after it. Pennsylvania first borrowed the set-off from New York before it borrowed the betterment tax, but even then the judge who delivered the opinion of the Court in Philadelphia said that, though the set-off was a new feature in the statutes of Pennsylvania, he did not conceive the principle of it to be altogether new. The American mind had been in various ways familiar with the ideas of equity on which it proceeded. Both the granting of compensation for improvements to the *bond fide* owner of another's estate, and the ranking of benefit conferred on an estate as a set-off against a claim for compensation, are advances upon our English law, but they are distinctly advances towards greater equity; and one of them, the set-off, would have been of immense public benefit here in reducing the cost of our railway construction. Nothing has contributed more to make railway transportation so dear in England than the exorbitant prices given to proprietors as compensation for an interference with their land, which was not a hurt, but really a great benefit to them.

Now it will be asked, but how has the betterment tax been found to work? Has the public been materially helped by it? Has it led to no oppressive exactions, and provoked no discontent among the private proprietors specially assessed? So far as I have been able to ascertain, there has never been anywhere any serious or continued outcry against it. At first it always caused opposition, and many persons dreaded it, because they felt that it was liable to abuse, and might in hands unguided by ideas of fairness be converted into an instrument of gross oppression. But in actual experience they have found it generally applied with great consideration for private rights, and under those circumstances the advantage of the tax is obvious. It undoubtedly facilitates improvements, because it is one of the least burdensome methods of meeting their cost, always the chief difficulty in their way. The mere fact of its general adoption among a people so shrewd and practical, and containing so large a proportion of proprietors as the Americans is a sufficient proof that it has given satisfaction. It has been adopted after ample discussion and analysis by nearly forty different legislatures, as independent of one another as those of New York and New Zealand, or for that matter, as those of England and Ireland. It has been adopted with equal decision in States the most diverse in their history, material condition and political bias, in New York as well as in Massachusetts, in the newest communities of the West as in the now almost venerable commonwealths of New England; and it may be said they only copied it from one another, the force of this testimony is really strengthened greatly by the circumstance,

* Angell and Durfee's "Law of Highways," p. 155.

because it is the testimony of men who only introduced it among themselves after witnessing the effect of the experiment among their neighbours.

One of the best examples of its operation is in the case of the Boston Improvement Act of 1866, into which, after a long fight, a betterment clause was inserted permitting the assessment on property specially benefited by the improvements, of a special tax not exceeding one-half of the estimated benefit the property received. Unless the estimate of the benefit was outrageously excessive, nobody could reasonably complain of such an imposition. A proprietor who got £100 a year from the improvement works was not likely to feel hurt by being asked to contribute £50 a year to the expense of their execution. Having got their Act the Boston corporation immediately instituted a series of systematic town improvements, each of which seems to have been on at least as great a scale as the Strand Improvement scheme, and they thus renovated successively the older quarters of the city. Mr. Winsor, the historian of Boston, does not distinguish how much was paid by the private owners as betterment tax, nor do I understand whether he even includes it in his totals, but his figures will at all events give some idea of the extent of the operations. Between 1822 and 1866 the total expenditure in Boston for city improvements was only 4,400,000 dollars; between 1866 and 1880 it was 22,200,000 dollars, and most of this was expended on three great schemes of street widening and demolition between 1866 and 1872.

Mr. Winsor says this was all done "without hardship to the numerous individuals whose property was taken, and without large expense to the city."* The people of Boston had eight years' experience of the operation of the betterment tax, when Mr. Shaw-Lefevre first broached the subject in England in 1875 in his speech on Lord (then Mr.) Cross's Artisans Dwellings Bill, and Mr. Lefevre on the occasion quoted the remarkable testimony of a friend in Boston, whom he has since mentioned to have been the late Mr. R. H. Dana. Dana informed Mr. Lefevre that although he had been much opposed to the betterment tax proposal at first, because he thought it interfered unduly with the rights of property, he was obliged to admit that it would be productive of great benefit, and that by the adoption of the principle many schemes had been carried into effect which would before have been utterly hopeless. That seems to have been the general opinion in Boston at the time, for in that very year the city applied for another improvement Act, with the same betterment clauses in it, for the acquisition of a public park, and under the Act they purchased, in 1877, 106 acres of flats on Back Bay at an average price of 10 cents the square foot, and Mr. Winsor says, "The assessment which they were authorised to levy on the adjoining lands, on account

* Winsor's "Memorial History of Boston," iii. 274.

their increased value from the establishment of the park, have made the net cost of the property to the city only about 30,000 dollars." *

In Washington the experience was not so satisfactory, but in Washington the betterment tax was not, as in Boston, one-half of the benefit the owners derived, but one-third of the whole cost of the improvement itself; and besides, the improvements seem to have been in extent out of all proportion with the resources of the city, so that the whole body of ratepayers felt the burden to be oppressive, and the special payers of the betterment rate to have felt it only something more than the rest. Before the civil war, Washington was a mere unimproved village, but in the five years, 1866-1871, the corporation laid out 8,000,000 dollars on improvements, of which 2,500,000 were assessed specially on adjoining owners, and 3,000,000 seem to have been raised as a loan. This expenditure was felt so heavy by the people that a clamour arose, under which, not merely the individual commissioners but the commission itself as an institution was superseded, and a new Board created in 1871 for the purpose of carrying out public improvements. But if the old commission scourged them with whips, they found the new Board scourged them with scorpions. It launched out into most extensive improvements; in four years it had paved 90 miles of streets (more than half of them with wood), it had laid down 13 miles of sewer-pipes, 14 miles of water-mains, 20 miles of gas-mains, and so on; in short, as Mr. J. A. Porter says, "it created Washington as it is known."† The debt of the city was raised from 3,000,000, in 1871, to 20,000,000 dollars in 1875, and I presume the taxation, both general and special, was also raised in the same proportion. For sewerage a special tax was devised. "The city was divided for the purpose into five districts, the property in each being subjected to an arbitrary tax per square foot without particular reference to value or location."‡ From this sentence it would appear that part of the complaint was because the tax was imposed indiscriminately according to frontage and not according to benefit. At the time the discontent was deep, and a petition was sent to Congress signed by the most respectable citizens, asking the Board of Works to be referred to the Bar of the Senate on a charge of recklessness and misadministration. When this failed, they started a newspaper to foment the agitation, and Mr. Porter particularly mentions that one of their (the Board's) 'special taxes' were shown to amount to confiscation; and that the "special improvement" rate was levied very severely, so that it seems to have been made a principal target of attack.

I can only add one observation more. Whatever may be thought

* Porter's "Memorial History of Boston," iii. 235.

† Mr. Porter's interesting study on the "City of Washington," in John Hopkins University Studies," p. 35.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 37.

of this peculiar tax, it is at least very clear that it has nothing in the world to do, either in idea or in effect, with those general proposals to intercept the unearned increment on real property with which the Duke of Argyll has unhappily chosen to confound it. Nothing is thought of but the fairest and least burdensome way of meeting an extraordinary common expense. City improvements are a purpose for which it has very generally been considered necessary to provide by some special resource. The city of London used to meet it by the coal duties; the Scotch towns before the Union by an impost of two pennies Scots on the stoup of ale; Glasgow, sixty years ago, by a public lottery. But, on the whole, no possible resource seems so little burdensome as this betterment tax. Who is hurt by it? It is called discriminating, but it is not really so. The coal duties were, indeed, discriminating; they forced the manufacturer in Lambeth and the poor seamstress in St. Giles's to pay for improvements in the City from which they drew absolutely no benefit, while the rich proprietor in the locality escaped almost scot-free, though the improvements filled his purse. The Duke of Argyll condemns the betterment tax as a contravention of the economic laws of exchange value, inasmuch as not land and houses alone, but every commodity occasionally contracts an accidental enhancement in value from rises in public demand, without any expenditure of labour. But we have to do here not with an enhancement due to a rise in demand, but with an enhancement directly contributed by labour. When a house in a back street is made to front a great thoroughfare by clearing away the houses that stood before it, the improvement in its situation, which makes it more worthy of demand, has all been conferred upon it by as definite a piece of labour as the labour of bringing sewers and water to the house; and the only question is whether the proprietor ought not to contribute to the expense of that labour in some proportion to the special benefit he appropriates from it, or at least in some higher measure than his fellow-citizens who do not participate in the benefit. The benefit he receives, it is true, accrues to him in the case just as in the ordinary cases of unearned increment, without definite expenditure on his own part, so that he would be no sufferer if it were to be taken from him, but the peculiarity of the case, which marks it off from ordinary unearned increment, is that the benefit all comes from a definite expenditure on the part of the person to which every other citizen is forced to contribute as well as he. The Duke's argument from the general utility of leaving unearned increment untouched, as an encouragement to enterprise, turns out to be himself in the present case, because in the present case the spirit of improvement, is so manifestly encouraged by the appropriation of the increment.

JOHN RA

1890]

A "POISONED PARADISE."

ON all sides I hear that Monte Carlo is not what it was. Its most devoted admirers are gradually becoming faithless in their allegiance; and their enthusiasm strikes me as chillier as year succeeds year. The deep blue, tideless Mediterranean is there; the silver grey background of mysterious mountains still shelters this fascinating spot; we still can wander in orange groves of lemon; the streets and lanes are scented with mimosa bloom; roses, violets, anemones, are as plentiful as daffodils in an English garden, the sun still shines, the air is charged with exhilaration, but over the whole hangs an atmosphere of unhealthiness, the miasma of decay. Under each crumpled rose-leaf is a bright-eyed golden fruit in these Hesperides gardens of the East. The Paradise made by God is still there, but the poison is in the amount, the dose, the quantity. It was once a place of rest and delights

these glowing accounts of Monte Carlo life, from the happy tone that came in letters from old friends, from whispers sent from hill-side villas and fruit gardens, that there must be Horatian ease, indeed, to such as were lucky enough to enjoy the hospitality of kindly patrons like the modern Mæcenas.

The difficulty always was in my mind to associate this "grateful ease" with the daily and deadly presence of the gambling rooms, to separate the refinement and graciousness of Monte Carlo life, from the intense vulgarity and rowdiness that are somehow or other inseparable from games of chance; to believe that there was indeed one place in the world that resisted and withstood the despair and decay that inevitably follow in the gambler's train. Chance willed it that holiday rambles from town to town made me familiar in old days with the most popular gambling resorts of the Continent. I think I saw them all at their best; at the period of blossoming, not of decay. I have enjoyed the pleasures of (the gaming casino apart) the delicious pine woods that surround the picturesque Spa: the neatness and order, the toy-box symmetry of the sweltering little Rhine Valley, where, on the banks of a tributary of the great river, kings and emperors and princes came to drink the waters and to woo the goddess of fortune at Ems Baden. I have stood aghast at the glittering crowd, luxurious but still refined, reckless, but still aristocratic, that almost dazzled the senses in the beautiful spas at Wiesbaden; and on lovely summer nights I have listened to the "dreaming garden trees" at Baden-Baden listening to the incomparable music of the band of Strauss, delightfully rambling up the hills and about the ruins of the old Schloss, where the harps, artfully concealed in the ivy-covered windows, were lulled by every passing breeze that came softly over the water. The impression left on the mind after a visit to these famous resorts was one of a luxurious feverishness, never disgest. There was no far as I could see, to make of these days of rowdies, cheap pleasures at

Life at Baden-Baden in those days was not particularly strait-laced, but you saw there all that was most distinguished in the aristocratic and the half world also. There were races at Iffzheim and pigeon-shooting matches and drives through the woods to the mountains; there were balls and concerts and theatres, and shops where winners invested in diamonds, and losers obtained advances on priceless jewels; fortunes were lost there, and folly went hand in hand with fun; but Baden and its sister watering-places never sank to the tipsy depravity of the "American Bar." It was a case of "levelling up" at Baden, not of "levelling down." No doubt some of the scum of European society floated that way, but the atmosphere of the place made them be on their best behaviour and not their worst. A man who did not know how to present himself in society, either in dress or conversation, would have been politely shown the door—on the wrong side. The snob who made a disturbance in the well-ordered rooms where discreet silence prevailed would have been politely hustled out. The "Corinthian" who would have dared to swear and curse and shout at a Baden hotel or restaurant, and to insult the guests assembled there, would have been firmly but politely presented with the "key of the street," and not even then allowed to bully and holloa like a tipsy costermonger. In those days mere wealth, or mere impudence, did not secure for their owners any special privilege of impertinence towards the majority. On the contrary, the majority were perfectly able and willing to take care of themselves, and to protect the women under their care.

But gradually, I suppose, the tide of progress—or shall I call it licence—affected the German as it did the other gambling places. They were quietly closed before scandal was allowed to place upon them its festering finger. Ems, Homburg, Wiesbaden, and Baden-Baden were as brands snatched from the burning. They were handed over from dissipation to health, and from pleasure to education. The water-cures healed the body, and the schools assisted the mind. Lawn tennis succeeded the board of green cloth, and the cricket-ball was heard instead of the eternal click of the roulette table. There were stranger vicissitudes, however, elsewhere. Some mysterious chance helped me to witness the last act of what I may presume was the most disreputable gambling hell in Europe. Like its brothers and sisters in the East, it was situated amidst enchanting scenery—the last place in the world you would expect to find amidst the "peace of solitary mountains" the heart of a smiling valley with its simple villages and meadows. It was at the close of a summer holiday in Switzerland that my friends, not without ominous warnings, left me on the platform at the station of "Saxon les Bains" in the Rhone valley. Here I was kept up some time after the German tables were closed; and I have very much doubt if such a villainous set of people, such a scum

of blackguardism, could have been found at any other place on the European continent. Outside all was fair and smiling—little villas, seductive chalets, a miniature casino concealed in some gardens, dusty and burnt up with the summer heat, and a second-class hotel with a background of lovely mountains. I was destined to enjoy a strange experience. Arriving late in the afternoon, I sat down in the untidy *salle a manger* of the hotel for table d'hôte, but before the dinner was half over I was astonished to find that my left-hand neighbour—an untidy, careworn looking woman—burst into a flood of tears. Being of a sympathetic turn of mind, I tried to console her, or at any rate to ascertain the cause of her despair. It appeared that her husband, who was a French commercial traveller, was upstairs in bed, half tipsy with brandy, and threatening his wretched wife that he would commit suicide before morning. He had lost every farthing of his employer's money on the morning of that very day, and they had only a few francs between them to pay the hotel bill, for which they were being pressed by the landlord. I then understood the object of the flood of tears. I was expected out of my charity to extricate my fair neighbour from her difficulty, and save her demented husband from a premature death. But my own finances at the end of a holiday did not permit me to indulge in any very extensive scheme of charity. My purse would not yield more than a small gold piece, which was naturally promptly conveyed to the gambling table. Whether I saved the wretched woman from the beating which she hourly expected, or her drunken husband from the doom he contemplated, I never discovered, for the early dawn saw me many miles from the vile hole known as Saxon les Bains. But in the few memorable hours that I spent there I had impressions that I am not likely to forget. Ever anxious to see what is to be seen wherever I may be, I made my way after dinner to the gambling tables. It is impossible to describe the vile-appearance of the men and women who crowded round the table, or to record the language that was used. The croupiers all seemed to favour the most disreputable, and on more than one occasion there was a free fight over some disputed stake. The smallest coin that could be staked was a florin, and I am bound to say I saw very little gold on the table. I happened to be rather lucky, and my good fortune aided me in securing my winnings before they were appropriated by the thieves—men and women—in whose undesirable company I was placed. I was only playing with florins, and as there was to be no gold on the board I was paid in silver pieces. As time went on I got heavier and heavier, all my pockets were filled, and, as I have guessed, the winning of a very few pounds in silver pieces eventually retarded my progress somewhat, and made me an easy mark for any one concealed in the shrubberies who was armed with a stone. On one occasion two friends of mine who had been playing and

ning at St. Sebastian on the Spanish frontier were kindly provided by the "administration" with a couple of old Dogberrys, who with pikes and lanterns escorted them and their gains to their hotel. The authorities at Saxon les Bains were not so considerate to me, and I had to make the best of my way home unattended. I saw at once when I left the tables that I was a marked man. Two melodramatic villains followed me out of the room, and as I anticipated danger in the dark shrubberies of the casino gardens, for the gas supply was very limited indeed, I resolved, heavily weighted as I was in the handicap, to make a bolt for it, and to show my evil-looking friends a clean pair of heels. Jingling and rattling I arrived at the mean-looking hotel, and having found my way to my room proceeded to fling my gains on to the bed and to count the spoil. To my astonishment I heard crafty steps creeping about the corridor. Incautiously I had forgotten to lock the door. Had I wanted to do so it would have been impossible, as I found, when examining the door, that the lock and bolts had been deliberately wrenched away. There was no time to be lost, for the cat-like steps still crept about the passages, waiting for my light to be extinguished. There was no help for it but to make a barricade. I dragged the heaviest furniture from its place and barred the door with the wardrobe, the chairs and tables. But sleep was impossible. All night long my door was being tried by the guests of the hotel proprietor who had taken a fancy to my silver pieces. By the first train I was on my way to Geneva with my prize secure. And I saw no more of Saxon les Bains, whose evil career came to an end the next year. It was ruined by the power of its inherent vice and reckless depravity.

At last, after many years waiting, the chance of visiting Monte Carlo presented itself. I was to go under the happiest auspices and in the company of old friends. Expectation had led me to hope for much, and in this instance all that I had imagined as to the beauty of the Riviera was exceeded. The best way to approach the paradise of flowers and sunshine is to start from Paris—after a rest—by the *train de luxe*. We come to the most interesting bits of the scenery in the early morning after a good sleep and a comfortable breakfast, and all that the enthusiast can desire is a flood of sunshine. We got it almost from the first break. I can conceive no greater pleasure than the gradual ascent into the favoured regions of the sun. Hour after hour the clouds and mist are left behind. We reach the grey olives when the sun is breaking. We arrive at Marseilles and the calm blue Mediterranean shore when the sun is mounting to the heavens. No more olive-strewn plains, no more rocks and barren pastures—all that when Marseilles is left behind. At once we are in another world. Hitherto our English eyes have only been accustomed to apple and cherry orchards at home, but here the landscape is starred out with ripe

red oranges and golden lemons. There seems to be everything in nature here. We can scarcely believe our eyes. Orange trees in blossom and in fruit at the same hour: violets and anemones blooming side by side with acres of rose trees; spring, summer and autumn, as we know them, united in one long embrace. After Cannes the scenery intensifies in beauty. The train, rushing through little tunnels, skirts blue, land-locked bays, sparkling with yachts and gay with men of war. The windows of all the villas are open, and although yesterday we were shivering in the Strand now there are sun-blinds and tents in the gardens, and lawn-tennis players are seen in flannels resting from some tournament among the flowers. Each sunny spot on the Riviera has its admirers, but none can rival Monte Carlo for situation and grandeur. Nowhere else is there the background of majestic rock; nowhere else the castled promontory of Monaco where the palace of the prince is half-hidden by bowers of mimosa and geranium. The key-note of the despair of the place is struck within a moment of arrival. An old friend who comes to meet us at the station, a good fellow who enjoys fun like the rest of us, is already preparing to depart. He has been over to Mentone and he owns he likes it better. Another who has had but a slight apprenticeship of the Principality has made up his mind to join his friends at Nice. A third is enthusiastic about the peaceful villa gardens where so many English make a home on the sunny road between Nice and Monte Carlo. A fourth, who has only remained behind to welcome us, cordially owns that "he has had enough of it." What is the matter with the place? What plague has stricken it? There is nothing to find fault with at the hotels, except the prices, which must run high at such places where money is no object. Some prefer noise, others quiet. To some the Grand and the Paris are too fast: to others the decorous Metropole is, according to them, too slow. As to the mere eating and drinking, all own that you can dine or breakfast here as well if not better than at the Café Anglais or Delmonico's. Every luxury that man or woman can desire is to be had here for the asking. The sun shining in the heavens, the air is exhilarating, not depressing. The flowers scent the very atmosphere, the music is of the very best that can be obtained in Europe. Why then are all the visitors except the confirmed gamblers talking of removing away to select Chamonix or lovely Beaulieu? There is something wrong with the place, something that does not meet the eye. What is the matter with Monte Carlo. To the outward gaze it is, indeed, a paradise. How has it poisoned it? Let us look for ourselves and see.

Up those fatal steps then to the great white building from the portals the careless and slip-slop administration, so it is rumoured, thought fit to expel the Prime Minister of England. This is the disease that is eating the life out of Monte Carlo. This is the cause

spot of the lovely Principality. It is here if you take a seat at the *café* in the pretty flowered square, and smoke a meditative cigar, that you can quietly observe the inner and the despairing life of Monte Carlo. All day long, from eleven o'clock in the morning until the clock strikes eleven at night, they ascend and descend—men and women, honest people and scoundrels, the over-dressed and the well-nigh ragged—the marble steps that—good chance or bad chance—must eventually lead to ruin. How confident and buoyant is the new-comer; how gloomy and meditative the old hand; how dejected and despairing comes out one; how feverishly excited and talking at the top of his voice comes the gambler, who for the moment thinks that he is destined beyond all others to alter the course of the inevitable. On every face, even of the youngest and prettiest, are already marked the lines of anxiety. Why do not our artists come and paint this, the most dramatic picture in all Monte Carlo?

Before now we have seen in pictures the interior of the gaming rooms, the light, the excitement, the greed, the various expressions on the faces. But the true drama is here on the Casino steps, which must be trodden in despair at last in spite of luck, in spite of systems, in spite of marking of cards, and mathematical calculations, in spite of pilfering and cheating, and borrowing and sponging by the tragic figure, half dead, hopeless, penniless—a pathetic ruin. The pitcher has gone once too often to the well. It is broken at last. And to this complexion every gambler in the world must come.

The people at Monte Carlo appear to act on the principle that every respectable person should be eyed with suspicion, and every shady-looking customer welcomed with open arms. The change from the sun and gaiety outside to the squalor and gloom of the outer hall is very striking to the spectator who can remember the old Baden days. No wonder that hotel robberies are of daily occurrence, that you cannot leave your room without danger of your trunk being robbed; that squabbles and wranglings occur over the stakes, that a pimpier has been proved to be in league with the "knights of industry," that a swarm like bees about the place, when free admission is given to a seedy society as this. Respectability is in a minority, whereas a few years ago, it had a decided majority, and the company, as it ever has given a tone to the scene. In the outer hall, that reminds one of the entrance to a railway station, ill-decorated, untidy and devoid of all style, lounge *escrocs*, smoking and spitting, men and women who are well known as evil characters by every police department in Europe. A lady points me out a man who robbed her and escaped only a season or so ago, and was kicked out of the Principality. Here he is back again, practising his old tricks, and contentedly provided with an admission ticket by the courteous administration. Here are well-known characters in the black book of our

own Scotland Yard. As I stand watching this curious assembly, I see a little man come out of the room in an excited state, his hands full of money, chuckling to himself, and followed by a couple of women, who cling to either arm. Ten minutes afterwards I discover that he has robbed a friend of mine of a winning stake amounting to about £20. Where on earth do all these people come from? Where do they hide at Monte Carlo? We do not meet them at our hotels; we do not sit beside them at table d'hôte or the restaurants; they are never to be seen at the concerts or public places; they come out mysteriously, like bats or owls, and flit about the stifling rooms and fetid tables. They are the vultures, ready to prey on the carcasses of the good-natured and inexperienced. People at home are under the impression that the gambling-rooms have a certain allurements of refinement and fastidious taste. It used to be so in the old days, but is not so now. Badly ventilated they are, ill decorated, very second-rate and down at heel; the old drawing-room style has been abolished, out of deference to the company that visits them. Strange to say, I was reminded far more of dingy Saxon les Bains, than of aristocratic Ems and Homburg. At Monte Carlo they suit their room to their company, and a nice shady company it appears to be. There are three social periods at the tables. First, in the morning, the inveterate gamblers who make a trade of it, and are to be seen in their chairs almost from morning until night; secondly, in the afternoon, what may be called the provincial and suburban rush that brings the amiable punters by train from the neighbouring peaceful spots shut out from temptation, and consequently sheltered by respectability. Lastly, the desperate and bejewelled division, the after-dinner crowd, in which peers, and officers, and statesmen, and people of the highest respectability from every city in the world, attired as gentlemen and ladies, rub shoulders with thieves and demi reps, the ostracised and the suspected, the bold and the brazen, and the queens of the half-world, plastered over with jewels, which are the admiration and envy of all beholders, particularly of the hotel robbers who mark down their prey.

And modern Monte Carlo has apparently become converted to the and advantage of the American bar. She is not alone in that respect. At some of the most respectable Swiss hotels in the holiday season may be seen, either ostentatiously displayed or hidden away in a corner, a gaudy bar, at which cock-tails, pick-me-ups, and deleterious drinks are administered by a showy young lady, or some accomplished professor in the art of slow poison. Monte Carlo is well provided with these social rendezvous. It is the fashion when play is over, for the refined and the vulgar, the man of breeding and the social climber, to foregather at one or other of these bars, which give quite a different aspect to the society of Monte Carlo. The downright good-fellowship, hail-fellow-well-met principle, the good-natured, reckless Tom

Jerryism instituted by the leading "Corinthians" who frequent these houses of call, spread, however, beyond the midnight hours when the prosperous and the dejected consecrate their victories or console themselves for defeat with a friendly glass. The men who would take off their hats and be uncommonly subservient to their patrons on a race-course, or in a paddock at home and abroad, here meet those who have known or betted with them, on a common platform of equality. There is nothing a jockey or a tout enjoys so much as "standing a drink" to a real live lord. It would not matter so much to the visitors at Monte Carlo if this delightful amity, this "liberty, fraternity, and equality," ended where it began, over a consoling cock-tail. No one is compelled to visit American bars, nor can any one expect that the manners of these institutions will be particularly refined or elevating. But, strange to say, it will be found that the conviviality of the cock-tail spreads in other directions. It extends to screaming about the streets in the morning hours, to outrageous extravagances and tomfooleries that extend the carousal beyond its allotted time; to bellowings and horn-blowings by popular characters, and to turning each public restaurant at the dinner-hour into a field for the display of the high spirits and eccentricity of the Corinthians, who are denied the companionship of Bob Logic. Now, no one in his senses would object to high spirits, or the overflow of the exuberance of youth; but when it extends to disturbing the comfort and conversation of pleasant dinner-parties by yells and song and wild practical joking, it may not be unreasonable to observe that with the advent of high spirits came the extinction of good manners. The man who sits on the top of a coach at the Derby with a false nose on his face and a doll stuck in his hat, may be—in his own estimation—a very comical fellow. But such a high-spirited young gentleman if he brought the manners of the Epsom Hill and the custom of the stables into the East Room at the Criterion, or the Bristol Restaurant at the height of the season might, with reason, be voted somewhat of a nuisance. Tony Lumpkin is, no doubt, the best of good fellows, but in Goldsmith's play he very properly reserves his best jokes and songs on the yokels who frequent the village hostelry, "The Three Pigeons." But a Tony Lumpkin at Whitechapel or Vauxhall would surely have been resented by the fine gentlemen and ladies of the period, who liked fun well enough, but were indifferent to good breeding and courtesy towards women. They do not think so at Monte Carlo, which has recently adopted the free, free-and-easy tone beloved by the uncouth patrons of the petty.

Religious interference, no preaching or protests or prating of the circulation of false reports about suicides, no philippics on the part of the gaming-table will ever cause the downfall of this spot. If Monte Carlo is ever to be reformed, as its brothers

and sisters elsewhere' were reformed, it will be by the innate force of its own social depravity, and the growth of the cancer-fibres of its own unbridled luxury. Vulgaritv and knavery are the two worst enemies of the Monte Carlo administration. When the place becomes socially impossible to visit its destiny is fixed. Monte Carlo will revive its old charm and position once more, its unrivalled beauty and majesty—not because there is a revulsion against gambling—because gambling must exist as long as the world lasts—but because the ragged Falstaff's army, the camp-followers of the gaming-tables, will at last become intolerable to the householders and peaceful residents of this enchanting spot. One fine morning Monte Carlo will arise and find her lovely home purged from its impurity, clean, respectable, swept and garnished. Nothing can take from her the glorious gifts of nature; her bright blue sky, her castled promontory, her flower-gardens and orange groves, her lovely atmosphere that can soothe the jagged nerves of dwellers in great cities, and bring the roses back to the pale cheeks of the sick. The question is whether these extraordinary gifts of nature were not destined for a better purpose than the one to which they are applied. Already to Monte Carlo, that has turned its paradise into a pest-house, that has allowed luxury to run riot, and evil to triumph over good, has been given the awful warning, the tremendous doom that buried Pompeii and reduced Herculaneum to ashes. That mighty earthquake shock, that rocked the very place to its foundation, and sent the affrighted pleasure-seekers, pale and terror-stricken, to the streets, was surely not given as a sign in vain. When revelry exceeds the bounds of licence then comes the ruin. Already the "writing is on the wall."

CLEMENT SCOTT.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

I.

THE educational problem is perpetual; it has not been, nor perhaps can it ever be, solved. For it is the adjustment of moral and intellectual discipline to the characteristic conditions of the time, and those conditions are necessarily variable. The preparatory part of human life is a constant quantity; so too, I am afraid, is the receptive capacity of average minds; but the number of subjects making up the sum of knowledge is always, and has of late been rapidly, increasing. It follows then that, except in so far as an improved distribution of school-hours enables the same people to do more work in the same time, whatever amount of mental energy is spent upon one subject is at once so much taken from the rest. It is not enough, therefore, to show that a subject is worth learning; we must show that it is better worth learning than such other subjects as are or may be displaced by it. Thus, to take the case of Latin versification, it is an art which may be elegant and elevating and may lend a new measure to life; but, if it takes up so much time as to prevent the acquisition of indispensable knowledge, it stands condemned, for the majority of boys, not indeed absolutely, but in relation to the ends of educational science. Hence it is the first duty of the teacher at the present day to consider the relative value of subjects in the curriculum.

It is not always seen how serious is the difficulty which the multiplicity of subjects places in the way of an educational system. Twenty years ago the education in public schools, if it was narrow, was precise and definite. The good old formula "a scholar and a gentleman" (though perhaps the scholarship was sometimes sacrificed to gentility) sufficiently expressed the ideal of parents and school-masters. It is not unfair to say that the curriculum of the great

public schools at the beginning of this century was practically the same as it had been three centuries earlier. The reign of Queen Elizabeth was one period of educational progress, and the reign of Queen Victoria has been another; but all that lies between them may be called the Middle Ages of scholastic history. Dr. Malin could have walked through the playing fields at Eton in amicable conversation with Dr. Hawtrey; but it is sad to reflect what would be his feelings if he should listen to the views of Dr. Warre. One significant fact, taken by itself, is a witness to the necessity of educational reform. The late Dean Stanley, in his biography of Dr. Arnold, claims that he was the first English head-master who made an attempt to incorporate such subjects as modern history, modern languages, and mathematics in the regular work of his school. He adds that, though Dr. Arnold found no great difficulty in introducing modern history at Rugby, it was made impossible for him, by the obstacles put in his way, to introduce the other subjects except tentatively, by slow degrees, and under strict limitations. The study of mathematics, as may be expected, was the first to intrude into the preserve of the old classical languages. Yet mathematics dates at Harrow from the year 1826, at Eton from the year 1836. When Mr. Stephen Hawtrey, *quem honoris ac pietatis causa nomino*, went to Eton hardly more than fifty years ago, he was not allowed to teach mathematics except as an extra subject, nor to teach it to any boys except to such as were in the head-master's division, and to them only if their parents wished them to learn it. Yet mathematics was a thriving subject at Eton and elsewhere before the birth of natural science in public schools.

Fifty years ago not only was there little demand for an education extending beyond Latin and Greek, but had the demand existed it could not well have been met. It would have been difficult to provide such books and appliances as are necessary for teaching modern languages or natural science. It would have been still more difficult to find the teachers. Few Englishmen of academical position had thought it worth while to enlarge their own education by going to live for a time in some foreign country or by entering upon a course of study in a laboratory. There was a sort of tacit agreement among schoolmasters that the mental discipline of their own generation had been the best possible, and, if a critic pointed out some defects occurring in the educational system, it was easy to reply that the critic had himself been educated under the system which he damned.

It is a different case with education to-day. For if it is hard to find the means of extending the educational system in public schools, it is equally hard now to find the means of controlling it. The modern schoolmaster is called upon to teach new subjects without surrendering or impairing the old. It is taken for granted that it is

leaves his public school, after spending three or four years under instruction there, without having gained any knowledge of English subjects, such as history and geography, without having read any book in French or German, and without having learnt the elements of natural science, he is an educational failure, whatever may be his skill in athletic games or his knowledge of the world. One party of educational reformers insists upon the value of natural science, another upon the value of English literature, a third upon the value of modern languages, and, indeed, of modern languages taught colloquially. Meanwhile, mathematical subjects have risen in importance, besides becoming wider in range. And classical learning, in its recent developments of philology and archæology, which enter partially, if not fully, into the intellectual life of schools, tends to demand a greater interest and attention.

It may perhaps be doubted if modern schoolmasters have appreciated this novel aspect of the educational problem. It has been a temptation to introduce subjects into the curriculum as "happy thoughts" without a sense of proportion. An examination of studies in the old public schools (such as I was led to make some time ago) suggests the thought that their educational system is still essentially the classical system, only modified by the accretion of new subjects. It is, if I may use a figure, more like an old coat let out here and there to suit a growing child than like a new coat properly made to fit his body. Perhaps the subject which has fared the worst in schools (probably because head-masters knew the least about it) is natural science. There has been a prevailing idea that natural science should be taught. But whether it should hold a primary or a subordinate place in education, whether it should be taught to all boys during their whole school-life or to all boys during a part of it, or to some boys during the whole or to some during a part; and again, as natural science is a comprehensive term, whether all the subjects which fall under it are of equal purpose and value as educational instruments, and, if not all, which should be preferred in particular circumstances, and within what limits or under what conditions a liberty of choice among these subjects should be given to individuals—these are questions upon which it has hardly been possible to arrive, or even to aim, at an agreement.

The present paper is an attempt at suggesting some considerations which may pave the way for a reform in education. For it is the reform which is the test of the modern schoolmaster; it is there that he may win his main success. But to construct a satisfactory system, to take the five hundred boys or more who make up a school, varying, as they do, in age, intelligence, and curiosity, to pay attention to their needs collectively and individually, to put each one on the way of learning what is good for him, and of learning no more nor less than this, to provide that their education shall be without being vague, and that, while it is suitable to the mass

of boys, who must be ordinary, it shall not forbid the special culture of the select or gifted few—this is a task of severe and serious difficulty. Yet it is only he who has been called to essay it that knows where the difficulty lies, and how great it is.

All educational reform runs back to psychology. It cannot stand unless it is based upon a study of human nature. For the educator cannot alter man's faculties; all that he can do is to make the best use of them. It is true, perhaps, that, in dealing with a young child's mind, he is writing upon a *tabula rasa*; but it is one which he did not make and cannot enlarge. But the fact of this essential limitation being set by Nature to his reforming energy is a proof, not only that the training of the teacher (as it is called)—*i.e.*, the teaching which the teacher requires in the art of teaching—is an indispensable preliminary to education, but that that training must be, not merely practical or empirical, but must strike its roots in psychological theory. It is one of the most regrettable incidents in the contemporary history of education that such efforts as have been made to provide instruction for future schoolmasters in the theory and practice of their art have met with so little encouragement. Whether from impatience of study, or from the need of earning a livelihood, or (as perhaps is probable) from the native English distrust of speculation, it has happened that few, if any at all, of the distinguished men who have entered the scholastic profession have taken the trouble of attending educational lectures and of learning the principles of discipline and instruction. When I entered upon my work at Harrow, I wrote a letter to a gentleman then engaged in the training of teachers, in the hope that he would be able to recommend a master among his students; but he replied that no man of sufficient ability had ever come under his influence.

Still, without a psychological study, it will be admitted as self-evident that the schoolmaster, dealing as he is with a large number of boys, is bound to consider individual character. He cannot treat them all alike; he must endeavour to find some subject for which each has a capacity, and eventually to train him in it. This is the principle of *specialisation*, which may be said to be the great educational discovery of the present day. There is, I think, no school in which it is not recognised; there are some schools in which it is acted upon exclusively. In fact, it is the polar star of the schools which devote themselves to scholarship-winning. But specialisation, if it is based and practised largely, militates against the system of a schoolmaster. It is the reason of the traditional antagonism between public schoolmasters and the persons who have been somewhat invidiously called "crammers." It would be idle to deny that the "crammers" have often taught their pupils better than the schoolmasters, and have succeeded where the schoolmasters have failed. "Cramming" is not nec-

bad teaching, but it is rapid teaching, and rapid teaching cannot be the best. But on the whole, where the "crammers" have achieved success, and the schoolmasters have failed to achieve it, it has been not so much by superiority of skill as by singleness of aim. It is because the "crammers" have subordinated system to individual cases, while the schools have subordinated individual cases to system. And the proof of this fact is that the schools by which the greatest distinction has been won in the examinations at the universities and elsewhere are, for the most part, just the schools of modern foundation which have approximated to the educational lines of the "crammers."

Nevertheless, although it may be frankly admitted that, at least in some respects, a great public school, with its large interests, its hopes, ambitions, functions, and privileges, its varied life, and its relation to society, is not necessarily the best place for preparing boys for public competitive examinations, it may be doubted if the schools, and in particular the ancient, endowed schools, have altogether risen to the level of their opportunities. Considering their power of attracting clever boys by scholarships, and good teachers by lucrative appointments, I am afraid they fail in intellectuality; they do not always keep alive a true ideal of boyhood; and it happens too often that the boys of whom a school ought to be proud are in their school-life depreciated or ignored. It is much to be desired that the schools of which I am thinking should re-assume their intellectual leadership. It would be a gain if they could permanently hold their ground against the recent schools and against private institutions. And so far as educational theory, forming a basis of action, is qualified to inspire those schools with a new and vigorous vitality, it claims the interest and attention of thoughtful men.

Educational reform may proceed upon two lines. It may aim at preserving all such rigidity, in the principles of a public school, as is not inconsistent with the satisfaction of inevitable modern demands. Or it may aim at allowing the utmost elasticity which is not inconsistent with the definite school system. In other words, it will either restrain specialisation except in so far as it is necessitated by external circumstances, or it will encourage specialisation except in so far as it imperils the common life of the school. There are numerous considerations which may show that the second of these views is the truer. It is justified by the increasing number of educational subjects, by the variety of examinations in which boys take part and of the callings in life to which they are prepared, by the study of individual needs and by the natural desire of giving every boy the best chance of doing himself justice in the world. Accordingly, it will be the educator's object to ascertain at the earliest time the study or studies in which a boy is capable of excellence. He will start with

the assumption that every boy possesses some faculty and that he must discover it. Nor will he count himself successful unless in his school the largest number of boys are enabled and encouraged to pursue their appropriate studies.

Still, no sooner is this principle stated than it is felt to require some limitation. It is evident that an absolute freedom in educational subjects is chimerical. Tastes and talents do not reveal themselves at an early age; it is often more difficult to discover what a boy can learn well than to afford him the opportunity of learning it. Again, nobody has yet succeeded in showing how a school can be organised and administered without some sacrifice of individuality among its members. The association of boys in forms, classes, pupil-rooms, or houses implies a subordination of personal character to the good of the whole. But the determining fact, which is apt to be forgotten when specialisation is advocated as a panacea for the intellectual failings of the young, is that education (as opposed to mere instruction) loses a large part of its value if it be not to some extent the common property of all educated persons. Let it be granted, for argument's sake, that an education in mathematics or in natural science is as good a mental discipline as an education of a linguistic and literary kind; yet for the purposes of life two people educated (let me suppose), one in mathematics or science alone, the other in the classical languages, if they come into contact, are less efficient than they would be if the mathematician or man of science were not in ignorance of Latin and Greek or the literary man of mathematics and natural science. It is not, I think, sufficiently realised how much of human happiness and culture depends upon a community of intellectual interests. The knowledge which is common to all cultivated persons is a sort of *lingua franca*, and nothing can make amends for the loss of it. A premature and exclusive specialisation is not only prejudicial to the mind; still more is it prejudicial to the conduct of life. For if it be true, as experience shows, that the student of one subject, whether language, or mathematics, or science, imperceptibly acquires a certain mental temper, which it is not the less easy to understand because it is difficult to define, then education, taken in a large sense, should aim at correcting this one-sidedness, at restoring the intellectual balance, and at qualifying the student for meeting all such difficulties as may come in his way.

If these considerations are admitted to be just, it seems that educational subjects are divisible into two classes. The first class consists of such subjects as form the common stock of educated people; these should be taught to all boys, in a greater or less degree, during the whole, or nearly the whole, of their school-life; I call them the fundamental or *primary* subjects. The other subjects, which I call *secondary* or accessory, are of such a nature that boys should not

be made to learn them, nor should any boy be made to learn them throughout his school-life; but boys should have the opportunity of learning them, and should learn as many of them, or some of them, for as long a time as may be suitable to their intellectual needs and capacities; or, if I may put the matter otherwise, it may be said that there will be a common educational basis, and upon this will be raised a superstructure differing in character and extent according to circumstances.

Such a statement of the case clears away some difficulties which have at times been felt by a good many educational reformers. For instance, it has been proposed to organise a school upon the principle of bifurcation or trifurcation, or (as I think) some still more formidable furcation, the idea being that there should be a classical department, a modern department, a science department, and so on, and that the education given in each department should be essentially different from the education given in every other. But such a school is, in fact, several schools in one; it is deficient in cohesion and co-ordination; indeed, it is only an accident (so to say) that its members receive instruction in the same buildings. Nor is there any particular virtue in the comparison of a reformed educational system to a fork:

“*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*”

Perhaps the truer representative of such a system would be a tree, the trunk remaining always the same, though slowly tapering and sending out its branches on all sides. It seems clear, too, that the gradual widening of educational opportunities in a school will correspond with the process of a boy's life. In his early years, when his position is low in the school, he will learn the same subjects at the same times as all other boys in his form. Little or no privilege of choice will be allowed him; nor is it necessary. But as he grows older and advances in the school, as he becomes conscious, or his power becomes conscious, of whatever powers and faculties belong to him, the opportunity of specialisation will present itself. In a word, educational reform will begin with rigidity, it will end with elasticity. It will begin with the subjects which all boys alike are bound to learn, and will end with such subjects as each individual boy is best fitted for learning with most profit. It will begin with an adherence to the primary, it will end with an encouragement of the secondary. But, as has been already said, it will never, at least in a public school, entirely sacrifice the primary subjects to the secondary, or the primary subjects in general to one such subject.

It has now been reached a point at which it becomes natural to discuss the question of such considerations as have been adduced upon the character of preparatory schools. The relation of preparatory to public schools is a subject of much interest and importance. It is my belief that the

institution of preparatory schools, which are now widely spread through the country and admirably organised, has been itself an immense reform in education. It is a question whether the limits of age within which boys are congregated in public schools are not still somewhat wider than they should be. But it is certain that, when public schools contained boys of all ages from nine to nineteen, if not from a still younger age, they were much more likely than they are now to be centres of physical cruelty and immorality. A boy entered Winchester in the last century at the age of six; and it is stated, though not on trustworthy authority, that a boy entered Eton in the present century at the age of four and a half. But there is no doubt that boys went habitually to the public schools at nine, eight, and even seven. Whatever improvement has taken place in the moral tone of the great public schools—and nobody who has studied their records will dispute it—has been due in no small measure to the disappearance of very young boys, whose mere presence in the school tended to call out whatever was bad in the characters and dispositions of their elder schoolfellows. The public schools owe an incalculable debt to the moral and intellectual care of the private schoolmasters. It would appear to me, not only a retrograde, but a dangerous step to interfere with the work so admirably done. It is my earnest hope that the years from ten to thirteen or fourteen in a boy's life may belong as much by right to the preparatory school as the years from fourteen to eighteen or nineteen to the public school. Any attempt to bring boys into the public schools before thirteen would disturb one of the main improvements in the training of boyhood. But the preparatory and public schools ought to live on terms of intimacy. It is desirable that the head-master of a great public school, and in a less degree every master, should enjoy the personal acquaintance of the preparatory schoolmasters, who are shaping his materials, so as to communicate with them freely upon educational interests, discussing the nature and extent of the knowledge to be required of boys at their entering a public school, offering suggestions and accepting them in return, and, whenever a boy enters to his school, receiving a report, of a complete though strictly confidential nature, upon his health, his industry, his intellectual progress, his moral dangers—in a word, upon all his antecedents. What tendency, which seems to be strengthening in preparatory schools, to associate themselves exclusively with particular public schools, a good one is a question upon which a good deal may be said. On my own part, I regret it as tending to limit the scope and influence of preparatory schools.

But, having said so much in praise of preparatory schools, I will now allow myself to point out two defects which seriously threaten their usefulness. The first is, that they are becoming too large; for

the essential advantage of such a school, in comparison with the public school, that every boy is personally known, not to some master in the school, but to the head-master, who is responsible for him, who teaches and watches him, and who supplies in the organisation of his school a natural medium between the home and the great public school. It is difficult to see any gain, it is easy enough to see serious drawbacks, in preparatory schools of large size. In the next place, although this is partly the fault of the public schools themselves, preparatory schoolmasters have not yet, I think, made up their minds as to the subjects which they can properly teach, or the attention which they ought to bestow on particular subjects. There is hardly any subject taught in a public school which has not found its way into preparatory schools. The education of preparatory schools has tended to become the same as the education of the public schools, only in miniature. But, if the intellectual capacity of a boy at twelve is not only smaller than, but different from, that of a boy at sixteen or seventeen, then it follows that the preparatory schoolmaster should not take up all subjects, but should confine himself to such subjects as are especially suitable to the tender years with which he has to deal. It will hardly be denied that he commits a grave mistake if he teaches too many subjects simultaneously. And, as the subjects which have been called primary are those which will occupy the first years of a boy's public school life, while the secondary subjects will come later (though some of them later than others), it would seem advisable that the primary subjects should hold the chief, if not the sole, place in the view of the preparatory schoolmaster. It is time, therefore, to determine these subjects.

The subjects of primary importance in education are decided partly by the constitution of the human mind and partly by the practical needs of life. Thus it is essential to excite in the mind the idea of proof, that it may distinguish between what is known and what is not known. To know what knowledge is is the beginning of knowledge. The habit of exact thought is indispensable to all thought. That the difference between proof and probability is an absolute one, that one must not rest satisfied with less than proof whenever it is attainable, and, if it cannot be attained, must understand the nature of the difficulty in attaining it—these are lessons which must be laid to heart in the earliest days of self-culture. There is no argument of teaching them like mathematics.

As soon as the nature of exact proof is understood, it is impossible to apprehend that such proof is not commonly given in human affairs. If we delay action until we are certain, we shall never act. Human life itself is a venture; so are most undertakings and decisions in it. Bishop Butler, in laying down his golden rule, "Probability is the very guide of life," denied implicitly to the

science of exact thought the first place in an educational system. It is something different from mathematics, something more liberal or more human, that is needed to fit men for the conduct of life. Such a study is pre-eminently the study of language. Language is a human product, and the powers evoked in passing a judgment upon literary or linguistic questions are akin to the powers required by conflicting probabilities in life. But to this point I will presently return.

The necessary education of all men cannot be said to be satisfied by the discipline of exact thought or of practical wisdom. Man is placed in a physical universe; he is surrounded by objects of beauty, awe, and wonder; his curiosity is aroused by experience; his life is subject to the limitations of law. Even if the study of natural science were not, as it is, second only to mathematics in its power of refining the intellectual faculty, and superior to it in its power of stimulating observation, it would possess a unique claim to a place in education, as enabling a man to understand his environment and, in the Baconian phrase, to conquer Nature by obeying her. It is incredible that boys should have been so long left ignorant of the world in which their lives must be spent. It is incredible that their interest in scientific study should still be so indolent and half-hearted. But the fault is not in the subject; it is in the teachers. Considering that the teacher of natural science in various branches is dealing with facts which come home to boys' daily consciousness, that he possesses in experimentation an educational instrument upon which the classic or mathematician looks with envy, and that it is in his power to put young minds in the way of learning new truths for themselves, I am astonished—I cannot help saying so—at the poverty of the results attained in schools by the teaching of science. But it is enough for my present purpose to have shown that natural science claims a large, and will probably claim a still larger, place in a good educational system.

But, as man is a denizen of a physical universe, so is he also citizen of a particular country and age. His education must take account his contemporaries and neighbours, the history of his land and its opportunities. Thus the Christian religion, considered not doctrinally and morally, but historically, is a subject calling for systematic instruction. Thus, too, English literature and English history appeal to Englishmen more directly than the literature and history of other countries. Probably it will some day be a strange that the youth of England, after spending several years in public schools, should at any time have been sent into the world without a knowledge of the illustrious men who by their writings and their deeds have ennobled and exalted the English name. If any other reform is made in education, English subjects must not be ignored by English boys.

It is only going one step further to lay down the principle

an age of rapid and constant intercommunion between the various States and peoples of Europe, one modern language, and that the language of widest influence and circulation, deserves recognition among the primary educational subjects. It is possible that German is the most useful modern language for purposes of scholarship and science; but if one modern language is to be chosen as a general educational instrument, it must, I think, undoubtedly be French.

It appears, then, that by a natural process of reasoning we have been led to ascertain the primary subjects which will constitute, as it were, the backbone of a reformed or scientific educational system. Divinity, mathematics, language studied for its own sake, French studied as an instrument of utility, some branch or branches of natural science, and the elements, at least, of English literature and history as well as of geography will make up the sum of knowledge without which no person who may claim to be educated will enter upon life.

But it is necessary to define two of these subjects a little more closely. What is the language to be studied scientifically or for its own sake? Shall it be preferentially a living or a dead language? And, if one of the dead languages, which of them? Now, it seems clear that, as an object of scientific study, a dead language possesses some advantages. It does not lend itself to the natural temptation of sacrificing accuracy to utility. A language which is spoken can hardly be treated except as being spoken; it finds its natural use in conversation. A student may acquaint himself, as well as he can, with the grammatical and literary characters of such a language; but he is not satisfied unless he can utilise it when travelling abroad. It is practically certain that the minute care bestowed for generations upon the forms and idioms of the classical languages would have been regarded as misspent had it been possible to make use of them in practical daily life. It is worth observing, too, that all students stand on an equal footing in respect of the dead languages, while a partial exemption from a foreign family, or the teaching of a foreign governess in early years, or the opportunity of residing abroad gives many a student a considerable start in the learning of a modern language. It has been with some surprise that distant observers have seen some educational institutions awarding prizes for proficiency in foreign languages to boys bearing unmistakably foreign names. But the study of a dead language is strengthened if the study of a modern language, as has been shown, holds a place in the curriculum independent of scientific grounds. It will probably be admitted that a child is capable of learning in its educational years at least two languages; and if one of these is a living language studied for use, the other may well be a dead language studied scientifically. But the case becomes so strong as to be irresistible if there is a dead language which may be regarded as occupying an imperial position

in the world, which is the language of law, of liberty, and of religion, which is the parent of half the languages spoken in Europe, which exhibits a singular strength and precision of grammatical idioms, and which has been so long and closely studied as to be furnished with the necessary means and appliances for teaching. Such a language is Latin; and I cannot help thinking it would be an educational mistake of serious magnitude to lose the universality of the Latin language as an element of the higher education. There is a purpose in my saying so; for it has happened that some schoolmasters, whether acting, as may be the truth, under a servile fear of parents, or, as I prefer to think, losing sight of general principles, are prepared to sacrifice Latin, when they have already sacrificed Greek, to supposed utilitarian demands. It may reasonably be argued that Latin, from its relation to the Romance languages, is a subject of conspicuous utility; but it is not so much upon that ground that I defend it. I defend it as entering, from its nature and its history, into that collection or corporation of subjects which makes up, or ought to make up, the intellectual furniture of every educated man.

It is not unknown to me that some educational theorists, while admitting the claim of a dead language to a constant place in the educational system, hold that that language should be Greek rather than Latin. They urge in support of this opinion, if I understand them, that Greek is the more beautiful language, and that its literature is not only more original and instructive, but is proved by experience to be more interesting to boys. It is possible to admit the contention without admitting the conclusion. The idea of substituting Greek for Latin as a primary educational subject has never appeared to me practical. Whatever may be the comparative merits of the languages and literatures of ancient Greece and Rome (and it is a comparison which need not now be made), Latin stands so much closer to modern life, it is so much more nearly related to the other subjects which constitute, as I have already said, the sum of education, than Greek possesses an inevitable superiority, not necessarily excluding Greek as will appear hereafter, but taking precedence of it. And there is perhaps, a proper place to remark that, as it is, in my mind, one of the highest importance to retain Latin as an educational subject, and by "retaining" it I mean, to provide that it shall be kept before the largest number of people for the longest part of their schooling, there would seem to be little or no gain in offering an unnecessary impediment to the study of Latin by insisting upon a correctness which is at the best only a semi-correct, pronunciation. It is the great reason that Latin should remain as a general educational subject; it is a little, if at all, how it is pronounced. For the time is past when scholars of different nations would converse in Ciceronian Latin; it is much better for them to converse in French or German.

But, again (to leave this branch of the discussion), it must not be thought that, in prescribing natural science as a subject suitable to the early years of life, it is natural science conceived in an exalted sense. It would be unnatural to confine young boys in a laboratory. But the study of natural science begins out of doors. What I mean is that children should be familiarised, even before going to preparatory schools and while they are there, with the names of flowers, the habits of birds, the elementary physical laws, the positions of the stars. That is just the teaching which can be given most easily and will be remembered most permanently. It will establish a sympathy between teacher and learner. At a later age the boy will study science scientifically. But even then, unless, indeed, he is gifted with an aptitude for scientific study, unless it is worth his while to spend a great deal of time upon scientific work, he will limit himself to a few—to two, or at the most three—scientific subjects. Every boy, then, will, at some time or other of his school-life, learn two such subjects; few boys will learn more than two. And it would seem desirable that of these subjects one should be such as will elicit his powers of observation, the other such as admits of immediate verification by experiment. May I suggest botany and physics as the subjects best possessing these qualifications? They are two of the three subjects recommended by a committee of the Royal Society which reported in the year 1867 upon the teaching of natural science in public schools.

Having, however, in this way determined the subjects of primary educational interest, I am in a position to give an answer to a question which arises at once upon a consideration of educational reform. The position of Greek—the Greek question, as it may be called—is hardly less difficult in the educational field than in the field of politics. If Greece is advancing her claims in the one case, it may be that she is withdrawing them in the other. It is necessary to consider the question from a theoretical as well as from a practical point of view, and as to the latter, not only what is possible, but what is best,—Ought Greek be a primary or a subordinate subject in education? Should it be the educator's object to encourage the study of Greek as widely as possible among his pupils, or should he recognise that Greek is becoming, or ought to become, the study of a minority?

It is admitted that this question is complicated by the difference between the public schools and the universities. It is the universities which are interested in Greek in its present position. So long as a knowledge of Greek is required for matriculation, or for some indispensable examination at the university, it is probable that the study of Greek will retain its importance in the schools. Schoolmasters are not altogether independent of the universities; they are controlled by the homes of the pupils, and by the universities to which they

go. And the action of the universities affects a lower educational ground than may be supposed; it lends to Greek, as a subject required for admission to the schools, much the same weight that it already possesses as a subject required for admission to the universities. It is difficult, therefore, to say with certainty what would be the action of schoolmasters in respect to the study of Greek if they were left to act freely. But there are evident considerations which point to the gradual subordination of Greek. I do not mean that the boys who study Greek will study it less exactly or effectively. I mean that the number of boys who study it has already been, and will be, diminished. It will not, I think, be denied that the simultaneous study of two dead languages (besides all other subjects) is a burden too heavy for some youthful minds. It would be a distinct gain if some such boys as in past years have left school without knowing anything that is worth knowing of either Latin or Greek could leave it with a tolerably assured knowledge of one language. Nor, again, will it be denied that some boys who are not altogether incapable of mastering two dead languages may yet spend their time more profitably than in learning Greek. It would be perilous to augment the number of primary or fundamental subjects as already defined. Greek has been, so to say, driven out of the field as a study indispensable to education by a variety of circumstances, which may be regretted, but which cannot be ignored—by the increasing demands upon boys' time, by the multiplicity of educational subjects, by the competition of life, by the practicality of educational views, by its own difficulty, by the importance of other branches of learning. If Greek is taught, the intellectual demand which it makes is often so serious as to exclude a good many other subjects; and to some boys other subjects are worth more than Greek. The need of the present day is not that men should know Greek, but that all men should, if possible, be familiarised, by books of translation, interpretation, and criticism, with the characteristics of Greek thought and literature. The study of Greek, as the Master of Balliol's translation of the *Dialogues* does more to Hellenise the minds of the contemporary world, does not justify a large expenditure of time upon the Greek language.

Greek being, then, a secondary subject in education—which will not be universally learnt—it becomes necessary to determine what boys are capable of profiting by the full study, of which both Greek and Latin will be constituents. It is that the element of classicality is wanting to a boy's mind, so natural to deter him from sacrificing time and energy to so difficult as Greek. If, on the other hand, it appears that a boy's natural inclinations, or possibly his circumstances and duties, are such as to favour of a classical education, he will be led to the study of Greek.

The necessity of this option will be admitted as soon as it is recognised that Greek is not a subject to be imposed upon all boys. There will be an obvious advantage in deferring it to as late a period in a boy's life as is educationally convenient or possible. And the person who can best guide him in exercising it—unless, indeed, it be his parent—will be some one who is interested in him, who knows him well, and who is qualified, as a specialist, to pronounce upon his educational needs and opportunities. But such a person will be generally his tutor in his public school.

We must consider, then, this option in its relation to the curriculum of a public school.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

WEISMANN'S THEORY OF HEREDITY.

THE recently published translation of Professor Weismann's essays on Heredity, and allied topics, has aroused the interest of the general public in the system of his biological ideas. But seeing that his system, besides being somewhat elaborate in itself, is presented in a series of disconnected essays, originally published at different times, it is a matter of no small difficulty to gather from the present collection of these essays a complete view of the system as a whole. Therefore I propose to give a brief sketch of his several theories, arranged in a manner calculated to show their logical connection one with another. And, in order also to show the relation in which his resulting theory of heredity stands to what has hitherto been the more usual way of regarding the facts, I will begin by furnishing a similarly brief sketch of Mr. Darwin's theory upon the subject. It will be observed that these two theories constitute the logical antipodes of explanatory thought; and therefore it may be said, in a general way, that all of the modern theories of heredity—such as those of Spencer, Haeckel, Ellis, Galton, Naegeli, Brooks, Hertwig, and Vries—occupy positions more or less intermediate between these two extremes.

When closely analysed, Mr. Darwin's theory—or "hypothesis of Pangenesis"—will be found to embody altogether three assumptions, viz. :—

1. That all the component cells of a multicellular organism are composed of inconceivably minute germs or "gemmules," which are dispersed throughout the whole system.
2. That these gemmules, when, so dispersed, receive proper nutriment, multiply by self-division, and, under favourable conditions, are capable of developing into physiological organs, which they were originally and severally derived from.

3. That, while still in this gemmular condition, these cell seeds have for one another a mutual affinity, which leads to their being collected from all parts of the system by the reproductive glands of the organism; and that, when so collected, they go to constitute the essential material of the sexual elements—ova and spermatozoa being thus nothing more than aggregated packets of gemmules, which have emanated from all the cells of all the tissues of the organism.

4. That the development of a new organism, out of the fusion of two such packets of gemmules, is due to a summation of all the developments of some of the gemmules which these two packets contain.

5. That a large proportional number of the gemmules in each packet, however, fail to develop, and are then transmitted in a dormant state to future generations, in any of which they may be developed subsequently—thus giving rise to the phenomena of reversion or atavism.

6. That in all cases the development of gemmules into the form of their parent cells depends on their suitable union with other partially developed gemmules, which precede them in the regular course of growth.

7. That gemmules are thrown off by all physiological cells, not only during the adult state of the organism, but during all stages of its development. Or, in other words, that the production of these cell-seeds depends upon the adult condition of parent cells: not upon that of the multicellular organism as a whole.

At first sight it may well appear that we have here a very formidable array of assumptions. But Mr. Darwin ably argues in favour of each of them by pointing to well-known analogies, drawn from the vital processes of living cells, both in the protozoa and metazoa. For example, it is already a well-recognized doctrine of physiology that each cell of a metazoon, or multicellular organism, though to a large extent dependent on others, is likewise to a certain extent independent or automatus, and has the power of multiplying by self-division. Therefore, as it is certain that the sexual elements (and clouds of all descriptions) include formative matter of some kind, that assumption—or that which supposes such formative matter particulate—is certainly not a gratuitous assumption. Again, that assumption—namely, that this particulate and formative matter is dispersed throughout all the tissues of the organism—is supported by the fact that, both in certain plants and in certain invertebrates, a severed portion of the organism will develop into an organism similar to that from which it was derived, as, for example, is the case with a leaf of *Begonia*, and with portions of certain worms, sea-anemones, jelly-fish, &c. This well-known fact in itself seems enough to prove that the formative matter must certainly admit, at all events in many cases, of being distributed throughout all the tissues of living organisms.

The third assumption—or that which supposes the formative material to be especially aggregated in the sexual elements—is not so much an assumption as a statement of obvious fact; while the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh assumptions all follow deductively from their predecessors. In other words, if the first and second assumptions be granted, and if the theory is to comprise all the facts of heredity, then the remaining five assumptions are bound to follow.

To the probable objection that the supposed gemmules must be of impossibly minute a size—seeing that thousands of millions of them would require to be packed into a single ovum or spermatozoon—Mr. Darwin opposes a calculation that a cube of glass or water, having only one ten-thousandth of an inch to a side, contains somewhere between sixteen and a hundred and thirty-one billions of molecules. Again, as touching the supposed power of multiplication, on the part of his gemmules, Mr. Darwin alludes to the fact that infectious material of all kinds exhibits a ratio of increase quite as great as any that his theory requires to attribute to gemmules. Furthermore, with respect to the elective affinity of gemmules, he remarks that “in all ordinary cases of sexual reproduction, the male and female elements certainly have an elective affinity for each other:” of the ten thousand species of *Compositæ*, for example, “there can be no doubt that if the pollen of all these species could be simultaneously placed on the stigma of any one species, this one would elect, with unerring certainty, its own pollen.”

Such, then, in brief outline, is Mr. Darwin's theory of Pangenesis. Professor Weismann's theory of Germ-plasm is fundamentally based upon the great distinction that obtains in respect of their transmissibility between characters which are congenital and characters which are acquired. By a congenital character is meant any individual peculiarity, whether structural or mental with which the individual is born. By an acquired character is meant any peculiarity which the individual may subsequently develop in consequence of its own individual experience. For example, a man may be born with some malformation of one of his fingers; he may subsequently acquire such a malformation as the result of accident or disease. Now, in the former case—*i.e.*, in that where the malformation is congenital—it is extremely probable that the peculiarity will be transmitted to his children; while in the latter case—*i.e.*, where the malformation is subsequently acquired—it is certain that it will not be transmitted to his children. And the difference between the transmissibility of characters which are congenital and characters which are acquired extends universally throughout the vegetable as well as the animal kingdom, and in the province of mental as in that of bodily organization. In course this general law has always been well known, and is now fully recognized by all modern physiologists.

before the subject was taken up by Professor Weismann, it was generally assumed that the difference in question was one of degree, not one of kind. In other words, it was assumed that acquired characters, although not so fully—and therefore not so certainly—inherited as congenital characters, nevertheless were inherited in some lesser degree; so that if the same character continued to be developed successively in a number of sequent generations, what was at first only a slight tendency to be inherited would become by summation a more and more pronounced tendency, till eventually the acquired character might be as strongly inherited as any other character which was *ab initio* congenital. Now, it is the validity of this assumption that is challenged by Professor Weismann. He says there is no evidence at all of any acquired characters being in any degree inherited; and, therefore, that in this important respect they may be held to differ from congenital characters in kind. On the supposition that they do thus differ in kind, he furnishes a very attractive theory of heredity, which serves at once to explain the difference, and to represent it as a matter of physiological impossibility that any acquired character can, under any circumstances whatsoever, be transmitted to progeny.

In order fully to comprehend this theory, it is desirable first of all to explain Professor Weismann's views upon certain other topics which are more or less closely allied—and, indeed, logically bound up with—the present one.

Starting from the fact that unicellular organisms multiply by fission and gemmation, he argues that, aboriginally and potentially, life is immortal. For, when a protozoon divides itself into two more or less equal parts by fission, and each of the two halves thereupon grows into another protozoon, it is evident that there has been no death on the part of any of the living material involved; and inasmuch as this process of fission goes on continuously from generation to generation, there is never any death on the part of such protoplasmic material, though there is a continuous addition to it as the numbers of individuals increase. Similarly, in the case of gemmation, when a protozoon parts with a small portion of its living material in the form of a gemmule, this portion does not die, but develops into a new individual; and, therefore, the process is exactly analogous to that of fission, save that a small instead of a large part of the parent substance is involved. Now, if life be thus immortal in the case of unicellular organisms, why should it have ceased to be so in the case of multicellular organisms? Weismann's answer is that all the multicellular organisms propagate themselves, not exclusively by fission or gemmation, but by sexual fertilization, where the condition to a new organism arising is that minute and specialized portions of two parent organisms should fuse together. Now, it is evident that with this change in the method of propagation, serious disadvantage would accrue to any species if its sexual individuals were to continue to be

immortal; for in that case every species which multiplies by sexual methods would in time become composed of individuals broken down and decrepid through the results of accident and disease—always operating and ever accumulating throughout the course of their immortal lives. Consequently, as soon as sexual methods of propagation superseded the more primitive a-sexual methods, it became desirable in the interests of the sexually-propagating species that their constituent individuals should cease to be immortal, so that the species should always be recuperated by fresh, young, and well-formed representatives. Consequently, also, natural selection would speedily see to it that all sexually-propagating species should become deprived of the aboriginal endowment of immortality, with the result that death is now a universal destiny among all the individuals of such species—that is to say, among all the metazoa and metaphyta. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that this destiny extends only to the parts of the individual other than the contents of those specialized cells which constitute the reproductive elements. For although in each individual metazoon or metaphyton an innumerable number of these specialized cells are destined to perish during the life and with the death of the organism to which they belong, this is only due to the accident, so to speak, of their contents not having met with their complements in the opposite sex; it does not belong to their essential nature that they should perish, seeing that those which do happen to meet with their complements in the opposite sex help to form a new living individual, and so on through successive generations *ad infinitum*. Therefore the reproductive elements of the metazoa and metaphyta are in this respect precisely analogous to the protozoa: potentially, or in their own nature, they are immortal; and, like the protozoa, if they die, their death is an accident due to unfavourable circumstances. But the case is quite different with all the other parts of a multicellular organism. Here, no matter how favourable the circumstances may be, every cell contains within itself, or in its very nature, the ever doom of death. Thus, of the metazoa and metaphyta it is the specialized germi-plasms alone that retain their primitive endowment of everlasting life, passed on continuously through generation after generation of successively perishing organisms.

So far, it is contended, we are dealing with matters of fact. It must be taken as true that the protoplasm of the unicellular organisms, and the germ-plasm of the multicellular organisms, has been continuous through the time since life first appeared upon this earth; and although large quantities of each are perpetually dying through being exposed to conditions unfavourable to life, this, as Weismann presents the matter, is quite a different case from that of all the other constituent parts of multicellular organisms, which contain within themselves the doom of death. Furthermore, it appears extremely probable that this doom of death has been brought about by natural selection

the reasons assigned by Weismann—namely, because it is for the benefit of all species which perpetuate themselves by sexual methods, that their constituent individuals should not live longer than is necessary for the sake of originating the next generation, and fairly entering it in its own struggle for existence. For Weismann has shown, by a somewhat laborious though still largely imperfect research, that there is throughout all the metazoa a general correlation between the natural lifetime of individuals composing any given species and the age at which they reach maturity, or first become capable of procreation. This general correlation, however, is somewhat modified by the time during which progeny are dependent upon their parents for support and protection. Nevertheless, it is evident that this modification tends rather to confirm the view that expectation of life on the part of individuals has in all cases been determined with strict reference to the requirements of propagation, if under propagation we include the rearing as well as the production of offspring. I may observe in passing that I do not think this general law can be found to apply to plants in nearly so close a manner as Weismann has shown it to apply to animals; but, leaving this fact aside, to the best of my judgment it does appear that Weismann has made out a good case in favour of such a general law with regard to animals.

We have come, then, to these results. Protoplasm was originally immortal, barring accidents; and it still continues to be immortal in the case of unicellular organisms which propagate a-sexually. But in the case of all multicellular organisms, which propagate sexually, natural selection has reduced the term of life within the smallest limits that in each given case are compatible with the performance of the sexual act and the subsequent rearing of progeny—reserving, however, the original endowment of immortality for the germinal elements, whereby a *continuum* of life has been secured from the earliest emergence of life until the present day.

Now, in view of these results the question arises, Why should the methods of propagation have become so general, if their effect is in that of determining the necessary death of all individuals entering them? Why, in the course of organic evolution, should the newer methods have been imposed on all the higher organisms, the consequence is that all these higher organisms must pay for propagation with their lives? Weismann's answer to this question is as interesting and ingenious as all that has gone before. Seeing that sexual propagation is so general as to be practically universal among multicellular organisms, it is obvious that in some way or another it must have a most important part to play in the general scheme of organic evolution. What, then, is the part that it does play? What is its *raison d'être*? Briefly, according to Weismann, its function is that of furnishing congenital variations to the ever-watchful

agency of natural selection, in order that natural selection may always preserve the most favourable, and pass them on to the next generation by heredity. That sexual propagation is well calculated to furnish congenital variations may easily be rendered apparent. We have only to remember that at each union there is a mixture of two germinal elements; that each of these was in turn the product of two other germinal elements in the preceding generation, and so backwards *ad infinitum* in geometrical ratio. Remembering this, it follows that the germinal element of no one member of a species can ever be the same as that of any other member; on the contrary, while both are enormously complex products, each has had a different ancestral history, such that while one presents the congenital admixtures of thousands of individuals in one line of descent, the other presents similar admixtures of thousands of other individuals in a different line of descent. Consequently, when in any sexual union two of these enormously complex germinal elements fuse together, and constitute a new individual out of their joint endowments, it is perfectly certain that that individual cannot be exactly like any other individual of the same species, or even of the same brood; the chances must be infinity to one against any single mass of germ-plasm being exactly like any other mass of germ-plasm; while any amount of latitude as to difference is allowed, up to the point at which the difference becomes too pronounced to satisfy the conditions of fertilization,—in which case, of course, no new individual is born. Hence, theoretically, we have here a sufficient cause for all individual variations of a congenital kind that can possibly occur within the limits of fertility, and, therefore, that can ever become actual in living organisms. In point of fact, Weismann believes—or, at any rate, began by believing—that this is the sole and only cause of variations that are congenital, and therefore (according to his views) transmissible by heredity. Now whether or not he is right as regards these latter points, I think there can be no question that sexual propagation is, at all events, one of the main causes of congenital variation; and seeing of what enormous importance congenital variation must always have been in supplying material for the operation of natural selection, we appear to have found the most satisfactory answer to our question—Why has sexual propagation become so universal among all the higher plants and animals?—has become so because it is thus shown to have been the condition for producing congenital variations, which in turn constitute the cause to the working of natural selection.

Having got thus far, I should like to make two or three supplementary remarks. In the first place it ought to be observed that this theory touching the causes of congenital variations was not originally propounded by Professor Weismann, but occurs in the writings of several previous authors, and is expressly alluded to by Darwin. Nevertheless, it occupies so prominent a place in Weismann's system of theories, and has by him been wrought up so much more elabo-

by any of his predecessors, that we are entitled to regard excellence, the Weismannian theory of variation. In the it ought to be observed that Weismann is careful to list the seductive fallacy of attributing the origin of sexual reproduction to the agency of natural selection. Great as the benefit of its newer mode of propagation must have been to the species, enting it, the benefit cannot have been conferred by natural selection, seeing that the benefit arose from the fact of the new method furnishing material to the operation of natural selection, and, therefore, in so far as it did this, constituting the condition to the principle of natural selection having been called into play at all. Or, in other words, we cannot attribute to natural selection the origin of sexual reproduction without involving ourselves in the absurdity of supposing natural selection to have originated the conditions of its own activity.* What the causes may have been which originally led to sexual reproduction is at present a matter that awaits suggestion by way of hypothesis; and, therefore, it now only remains to add that the general structure of Professor Weismann's system of hypotheses leads to this curious result—namely, that the otherwise ubiquitous and (as he supposes) exclusive dominion of natural selection stops short at the protozoa, over which it cannot exercise any influence at all. For if natural selection depends for its activity on the occurrence of congenital variations, and if congenital variations depend for their occurrence on sexual modes of reproduction, it follows that no organisms which propagate themselves by any other modes can present congenital variations, or thus become subject to the influence of natural selection. And, inasmuch as Weismann believes that such is the case with all the protozoa, as well as with all parthenogenetic organisms, he does not hesitate to accept the necessary conclusion that in

* Since this paper was sent to press, Professor Weismann has published in *Nature* (Feb. 6) an elaborate answer to a criticism of his theory by Professor Vines (Oct. 24). In the course of this answer Professor Weismann says that he *does* attribute the origin of sexual reproduction to natural selection. This directly contradicts what he says in his essays; and, for the reasons given in the text, appears to me an illogical departure from his previously logical attitude. I herewith append quotations, in order to reveal the contradiction.

"But when I maintain that the meaning of sexual reproduction is to render possible the transformation of the higher organisms by means of natural selection, such a statement is not equivalent to the assertion that sexual reproduction originally came into existence in order to achieve this end. The effects which are now produced by sexual reproduction did not constitute the causes which led to its first appearance. Sexual reproduction came into existence before it could lead to hereditary individual variability [*i.e.*, to the possibility of natural selection]. Its first appearance must, therefore, have had some other cause [than natural selection] but the nature of this cause can hardly be determined with any degree of certainty or precision from the facts with which we are at present acquainted."—"Essay on the Significance of Sexual Reproduction in the Theory of Natural Selection: English Translation," pp. 281-282.)

"I am still of opinion that the origin of sexual reproduction depends on the advantage which it affords to the operation of natural selection. . . . Sexual reproduction has arisen by and for natural selection as the sole means by which individual variations can be united and combined in every possible proportion."—(*Nature*, vol. xli. p. 322.)

How such opposite statements can be reconciled I do not myself perceive.—G. J. R., Feb. 17.

these cases natural selection is without any jurisdiction. How, then, does he account for individual variations in the protozoa? And, still more, how does he account for the origin of their innumerable species? He accounts for both these things by the direct action of external conditions of life. In other words, so far as the unicellular organisms are concerned, Weismann is rigidly and exclusively an advocate of the theory of Lamarck—just as much as in the case of all the multicellular organisms he is rigidly and exclusively an opponent of that theory. Nevertheless, there is here no inconsistency: on the contrary, it is consistency with the logical requirements of his theory that leads to this sharp partitioning of the unicellular from the multicellular organisms with respect to the causes of their evolution. For, as he points out, the conditions of propagation among the unicellular organisms are such that parent and offspring are one and the same thing; “the child is a part, and usually a half, of its parent.” Therefore, if the parent has been in any way modified by the action of external conditions, it is inevitable that the child should, from the moment of its birth (*i.e.*, fissiparous separation), be similarly modified; and if the modifying influences continue in the same lines for a sufficient length of time, the resulting change of type may become sufficiently pronounced to constitute a new species, genus, &c. But in the case of the multicellular or sexual organisms, the child is not thus merely a severed moiety of its parent; it is the result of the fusion of two highly specialized and extremely minute particles of each of two parents. Therefore, whatever may be thought touching the validity of Weismann’s deduction that in no case can any modification induced by external conditions on these parents be transmitted to their progeny, at least we must recognize the validity of the distinction which he draws between the facility with which such transmission must take place in the unicellular organisms, as compared with the difficulty—or, as he believes, the impossibility—of its doing so in the multicellular.

We are now in a position fully to understand Professor Weismann’s theory of heredity in all its bearings. Briefly stated, this theory is as follows. The whole organization of any multicellular organism is composed of two entirely different kinds of cells—namely, the germ cells, or those which have to do with reproduction, and the somatic cells, or those which go to constitute all the other parts of the organism. Now, the somatic cells, in their aggregations as tissues and organs, may be modified in numberless ways by the direct action of the environment, as well as by special habits formed during the individual lifetime of the organism. But although the modifications thus induced may be, and generally are, adaptive—such as the increased muscularity caused by the use of muscles, “practice making perfect” in the case of nervous adjustments, and so on,—in

no case can these so-called acquired or "somatogenetic" characters exercise any influence upon the germ-cells, such that they should reappear in their products (progeny) as congenital or "blastogenetic" characters. For, according to the theory, the germ-cells as to their germinal contents differ in kind from the somatic cells, and have no other connection or dependence upon them than that of deriving from them their food and lodging. So much, then, for the somatic cells. Turning now more especially to the germ-cells, these are the receptacles of what Weismann calls the germ-plasm; and this it is that he supposes to differ in kind from all the other constituent elements of the organism. For the germ-plasm he believes to have had its origin in the unicellular organisms, and to have been handed down from them in one continuous stream through all successive generations of multicellular organisms. Thus, for example, suppose that we take a certain *quantum* of germ-plasm as this occurs in any individual organism of to-day. A minute portion of this germ-plasm, when mixed with a similarly minute portion from another individual, goes to form a new individual. But, in doing so, only a portion of this minute portion is consumed; the residue is stored up in the germinal cells of this new individual, in order to secure that continuity of the germ-plasm which Weismann assumes as the necessary basis of his whole theory. Furthermore, he assumes that this overplus portion of germ-plasm, which is so handed over to the custody of the new individual, is there capable of growth or multiplication at the expense of the nutrient materials which are supplied to it by the new *soma* in which it finds itself located; while in thus growing, or multiplying, it faithfully retains its highly complex character, so that in no one minute particular does any part of a many thousand-fold increase differ, as to its ancestral characters, from that inconceivably small surplus which was first of all entrusted to the embryo by its parents. Before one might represent the germ-plasm by the metaphor of a yeast-plant, a single particle of which may be put into a vat of nutrient fluid: there it lives and grows upon the nutriment supplied, so that a new particle may next be taken to impregnate another vat, and so on *ad infinitum*. Here the successive vats would represent successive generations of progeny; but to make the metaphor complete one would require to suppose that in each case the yeast-cell was required to begin by making its own vat of nutrient material, and that it was only the residual portion of the cell which was afterwards able to grow and multiply. But although the metaphor is thus necessarily a clumsy one, it may serve to emphasize the all-important feature of Weismann's theory—viz., the almost absolute independence of the germ-plasm. For, just as the properties of the yeast-plant would be in no way affected by anything that might happen to the vat, short of its being broken up or having its malt impaired, so,

according to Weismann, the properties of the germ-plasm cannot be affected by anything that may happen to its containing *soma*, short of the *soma* being destroyed or having its nutritive functions impaired.

Such being the relations that are supposed to obtain between the *soma* and its germ-plasm, we have next to contemplate what is supposed to happen when, in the course of evolution, some modification of the ancestral form of the *soma* is required in order to adapt it to some change on the part of its environment. In other words, we have to consider Weismann's views on the *modus operandi* of adaptive development, with its result in the origination of new species.

Seeing that, according to the theory, it is only congenital variations which can be inherited, all variations subsequently acquired by the intercourse of individuals with their environment, however beneficial such variations may be to these individuals, are ruled out as regards the species. Not falling within the province of heredity, they are blocked off in the first generation, and therefore present no significance at all in the process of organic evolution. No matter how many generations of eagles, for instance, may use their wings for purposes of flight; and no matter how great an increase of muscularity, of endurance, and of skill, may thus be secured to each generation of eagles as the result of individual exercise; all these advantages are entirely lost to progeny, and young eagles have ever to begin their lives with no more benefit bequeathed by the activity of their ancestors than if those ancestors had all been barn-door fowls. Therefore, the only material which is of any count as regards the species, or with reference to the process of evolution, are fortuitous variations of the congenital kind. Among all the numberless congenital variations, within narrow limits, which are perpetually occurring in each generation of eagles, some will have reference to the wings; and although these will be fortuitous, or occurring indiscriminately in all directions, a few of them will now and then be in the direction of increased muscularity, others in the direction of increased endurance, others in the direction of increased skill, and so on. Now each of these fortuitous variations, which happens also to be a beneficial variation, will be favoured by natural selection; and, because it likewise happens to be a congenital variation, will be perpetuated by heredity. In the course of time other congenital variations will happen to arise in the same directions; these will be added by natural selection to the advantage already gained, and so on, till after hundreds and thousands of generations the wings of eagles become evolved into the marvellous structures which they now present.

Such being the theory of natural selection when stripped of all remnants of so-called Lamarckian principles, we have next to consider what the theory means in its relation to germ-plasm. For, as before explained, congenital variations are supposed by Weismann to be due to new combinations taking place in the germ-plasm as a result

the union of two complex hereditary histories in every act of fertilisation. Well, if congenital variations are thus nothing more than variations of germ-plasm "writ large" in the organism which is developed out of the plasm, it follows that natural selection is really at work upon these variations of the germ-plasm. For, although it is proximately at work on the congenital variations of organisms after birth, it is ultimately, and through them, at work upon the variations of germ-plasm out of which the organisms arise. In other words, natural selection, in picking out of each generation those individual organisms which are by their congenital characters best suited to their surrounding conditions of life, is thereby picking out those peculiar combinations or variations of germ-plasm, which, when expanded into a resulting organism, give that organism the best chance in its struggle for existence. And, inasmuch as a certain overplus of this peculiar combination of germ-plasm is entrusted to that organism for bequeathing to the next generation, this to the next, and so on, it follows that natural selection is all the while conserving that originally peculiar combination of germ-plasm, until it happens to meet with some other mass of germ-plasm by mixing with which it may still further improve upon its original peculiarity, when, of course, natural selection will seize upon this improvement to perpetuate as in the previous case. So that, on the whole, we may say that natural selection is ever waiting and watching for such combinations of germ-plasm as will give the resulting organisms the best possible chance in their struggle for existence; while, at the same time, it is remorselessly destroying all those combinations of germ-plasm which are handed over to the custody of organisms not so well fitted to their conditions of life.

It only remains to add that, according to Weismann's theory in its strictly logical form, combinations of germ-plasm when once effected are so stable that they would never alter except as a result of entering into new combinations. In other words, no external influences or internal processes can ever change the hereditary nature of any particular mixture of germ-plasm, save and except its admixture with some other germ-plasm, which, being of a nature equally stable, goes to unite with the other in equal proportions as regards hereditary character. So that really it would be more correct to say that any given mass of germ-plasm does not change even when it is mixed with some other mass—any more, for instance, than a handful of sand can be said to change when it is mixed with a handful of clay.

Consequently, we arrive at this curious result. No matter how many generations of organisms there may have been, and therefore no matter how many combinations of germ-plasm may have taken place to give rise to an existing population, each existing unit of germ-plasm must have remained of the same essential nature of

constitution as when it was first started in its immortal career millions of years ago. Or, reverting to our illustration of sand and clay, the particles of each must always remain the same, no matter how many admixtures they may undergo with particles of other materials, such as chalk, slate, &c. Now, inasmuch as it is an essential—because a logically necessary—part of Weismann's theory to assume such absolute stability or unchangeableness on the part of germ-plasm, the question arises, and has to be met, What was the origin of those differences of character in the different germ-plasms of multicellular organisms which first gave rise, and still continue to give rise, to congenital variations by their mixture one with another? This important question Weismann answers by supposing that these differences originally arose out of the differences in the unicellular organisms, which were the ancestors of the primitive multicellular organisms. Now, as before stated, different forms of unicellular organisms are supposed to have originated as so many results of differences in the direct action of the environment. Consequently, according to the theory, all congenital variations which now occur in multicellular organisms are really the distant results of variations that were aboriginally induced in their unicellular ancestors by the direct action of surrounding conditions of life.

I think it will be well to conclude by briefly summarising the main features of this elaborate theory.

Living material is essentially, or of its own nature, imperishable; and it still continues to be so in the case of unicellular organisms which propagate by fission or gemmation. But as soon as these primitive methods of propagation became, from whatever cause, superseded by sexual, it ceased to be for the benefit of species that their constituent individuals should be immortal; seeing that, if they continued to be so, all species of sexually-reproducing organisms would sooner or later come to be composed of broken down and decrepit individuals. Consequently, in all sexually-reproducing or multicellular organisms, natural selection set to work to reduce the term of individual lifetimes within the narrowest limits that in the case of each species are compatible with the procreation and the rearing of progeny. Nevertheless, in all these sexually-reproducing organisms the primitive endowment of immortality has been retained with respect to their germ-plasm, which has thus been continuous, through numberless generations of perishing organisms, from the first origin of sexual reproduction till the present time. Now, it is the union of germ-plasms which is required to reproduce new individuals of multicellular organisms that determines congenital variations on the part of such organisms, and thus furnishes natural selection with the material for its work in the way of organic evolution—work, therefore, which is impossible in the case of unicellular organisms, where variation can never be congenital, but always determined by the direct action of

surrounding conditions of life. Again, as the germ-plasm of multicellular organisms is continuous from generation to generation, and at each impregnation gives rise to a more or less novel set of congenital characters, natural selection, in picking out of each generation those congenital characters which are of most service to the organisms presenting them, is really or fundamentally at work upon those variations of the germ-plasm which in turn give origin to those variations of organisms that we recognise as congenital. Therefore, natural selection has always to wait and to watch for such variations of germ-plasm as will eventually prove beneficial to the individuals developed therefrom, who will then transmit this peculiar quality of germ-plasm to their progeny, and so on. Therefore, also—and this is most important to remember—natural selection as thus working becomes the one and only cause of evolution and the origin of species in all the multicellular organisms, just as the direct action of the environment is the one and only cause of evolution and the origin of species in the case of all the unicellular organisms. But inasmuch as the multicellular organisms were all in the first instance derived from the unicellular, and inasmuch as their germ-plasm is of so stable a nature that it can never be altered by any agencies internal or external to the organisms presenting it, it follows that all congenital variations are the remote consequences of aboriginal differences on the part of unicellular ancestors. And, lastly, it follows also that these congenital variations—although now so entirely independent of external conditions of life, and even of activities internal to organisms themselves—were originally and exclusively due to the direct action of such conditions on the lives of their unicellular ancestry; while even at the present day no one congenital variation can arise which is not ultimately due to differences impressed upon the protoplasmic substance of the germinal elements, when the parts of which these are now composed constituted integral parts of the protozoa, which were directly and differentially affected by their converse with their several environments.

Such, then, is Weismann's theory of heredity in its original and strictly logical form. But it is now necessary to add that in almost every one of its essential features, as just stated, the theory has had to undergo—or is demonstrably destined to undergo—some radical modification. On the present occasion, however, my object is merely to state the theory: not to criticise it. Therefore I have sought to present the whole theory in its completely connected shape. On a future occasion—I hope within the present year—it will be my endeavour to disconnect the now untenable parts from the parts which still remain for investigation at the hands of biological science.

GEORGE J. ROMANES.

BABY-FARMING.

"DON'T cry; oh, don't cry!" pleaded a frail boy with outstretched hands, sitting up, asleep, in bed, in the night, dreaming. He often did so; the tears rolling down his pained blanched face, as if he would restrain companions from suffering. He had been got from a house, where night and day he had the chief care of six cold, sore, wailing, hungry babies, all younger than himself, all unwanted, all nearing the time of their departure, a small batch of that mournful tale of 54,000 children annually born in the land who ought not to have been born. He was dreaming it over again.

If a process could be invented, by which stories of the invisible and hateful things done to these children could be brought to light, as a certain solution, known to the experiments of my boyhood, brought out writing in invisible ink, the nation would not hesitate to pronounce them the darkest, most ghastly shame in the land. Yet is it the work of a trade, doing a brisk business, known by the mild name of the "Baby Farm." Even the student of heathen history may fairly challenge "Christians," as all Englishmen are called, to find amongst its horrors anything done to children which provides a parallel to it. While cannibal mothers, when an unwanted child is born, are said "to put it back again" in a meal, English mothers put their unwanted children back by a process of which the cannibal would be ashamed, but which, happily for the comparison, her eye does not actually see. The responsibility lies with a trade which has grown up, and is in full swing in the land—the undertaker for the unwanted baby's death.

To apply such a disclosing solution as we have supposed to these baby institutions, has been attempted by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. This much of the history of its

investigations may be stated. It selected a certain number of "adoption" announcements in newspaper advertisements, and, under suitable cover, attempted to bring up from beneath their composing appearance, the truth of them, with a view to place it before the heart and conscience of Parliament, for Parliament to apply regulations to it.

Before stating what those regulations must be, let us set out the nature and magnitude of the trade to be regulated.

There seemed to be an impression that of late years baby-farming had gone down; that since the Infant Life Protection Act was passed, things were better. It was my own impression that the trade was still as large and as bad as ever, though it was more skilfully conducted. Where permitted, the Society has carried out its inquiry beyond correspondence into interviews with the advertiser in person. But, even then, it has not always been allowed to see her home, and never has it been able to see the place which many considerations rendered it certain would be the destiny of the sought-for child. None but those who have attempted such wretched and delicate inquiries into a secret trade can imagine the number and magnitude of the difficulties which, at every step, barred the way. While definite knowledge was occasionally obtained, generally it has been possible only to form opinions, the opposite of which would be laughed at as absurd by any sane mind. And knowledge and opinion, confirmed by independent and numerous lines of evidence, make it certain that behind these "country air and mother's love" advertisements live a band of cruel dastards who take children as mere means of gain which can only be made by their death.

To avoid injustice, let me say that advertisers are not all alike. They consist partly of undoubtedly good ones, where a child to adopt is really wanted, for joy in children; partly of doubtful, where a "living" is the chief motive; and partly of vile and criminal people, who deserve the uttermost vengeance of the law. These are mere procurers, obtaining not one child, but child after child, in prodigious numbers, getting rid of them to receivers.

When found, the procurer is mostly of clean, genteel, respectable looking and manners. She often professes that she has been married five, or seven years, has had "no child," and is "anxious to have one from the birth." She wants something to compassionate her love. For the receiving of the baby an appointment is made at a railway station, from which (when negotiations are successful) a wire to one of her receivers simply announces that she is away. Her business is to snare; her receiver's is to slay.

Here is the goal to which one skilful and busy procurer had conveyed five of her little victims. It was the back room of a tumble-down labourer's cottage, scarcely fit for a coal place, about twelve feet square. Crouching and sprawling on the floor, in their own excre-

ment, were two of them. Two were tied in rickety chairs, one lay in a rotten bassinet. The stench of the room was so abominable that a grown man vomited on opening the door of it. Though three were nearly two years old, none of them could walk, only one could stand up even by the aid of a chair. In bitter March, there was no fire. Two children had a band of flannel round the loins; one had a small shawl on; the rest had only thin, filthy, cotton frocks. All were yellow, fevered skin and bone. None of them cried, they were too weak. One had bronchitis, one curvature of the spine, and the rest rickets; all from their treatment. There was not a scrap of children's food in the house. In a bedroom above was a mattress, soaked and sodden with filth, to which they were carried at night, with two old coats for covering. All the children's clothes in the place were the handfuls of rags they wore. And a man and his wife sat watching them die of filth and famine, so making their living. It was their trade. Of one, which had died a few months before, was found a graceful memorial card, with the motto, "He shall gather them into his arms," which had been provided for the procurer who sent it. At the farm, its mother was not known. These five weary creatures were all removed into restorative care: all injured for years; some for life. Two never recovered and died in hospital.

This was the destiny of the babies which had been lured from disgrace-driven, perhaps loving mothers' arms to their procurer by such pathetic pleas as "Married seven years and no child," and which had been received by her at some railway station with her prettiest, most deferential grace. It was while the Society was on its ordinary prevention of cruelty work that it came upon this place of slow and sure slaughter, and was able to connect it with a pious advertiser in a religious paper.

Another "farm," kept by a man and wife, consisted of one small room occupied night and day by six persons—the two adults and four children. In a cradle on the bed was a child sucking at a bottle. In a cradle by the bed was another suckling. On the bed lay a third. On the floor was a fourth child, and also the man and woman. They lived upon savings out of these children's keep. Two of the children were very ill; had been ill for some weeks; one seemed near death. Neither had had medical care. One had raw sores round the neck which were explained, "through the beetles getting at it." The others were on the body, too. When this child cried (it was "crying day long," a neighbour said), it was never taken up. This neighbour had seen the man angrily pile clothes on its head to silence it.

I cannot say if these persons take pleasure in the cruelties they practise; but one thing is certain: they are of the sort who have no sympathy with the imploring helplessness of suffering. They would not save an ache to a child in their care if they could do so only by a

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pressed on its pallid lips, or a folding of it to their breast with their
Whatever they might be to their own children—and a she-
good to her cubs—to the children of others they are without
of humanity. Baby's dying wailings have no more effect on
they are doing than have a lamb's on what a butcher is doing.
must be done. For this reason, they suit the procurer.

The procurer seems to be the chief advertiser. She lives on the
of women who are mothers through somebody's misconduct,
in despair. The receivers are her business connections. These
by her. She is well in with her set. "Leave here 10 P.M.; expect
e three in the morning." "Meet me 2.15." These are two tele-
grams sent in the same week, by the same procurer, one to a receiver
of hers at Swindon, one to another at Yarmouth. One was sent from
Liverpool Street Station, where a child had just been obtained; the
other from Oxford Station, where another had been obtained. Both
children were beautifully dressed, and evidently belonged to the upper
classes; one went to the wife of a fish hand, the other to a retired
tax-gatherer's wife.

The meaning of the telegrams was well understood. The one was
signed "H—l," the other "W—e." Both were from the same person,
who traffics under at least four names. After a time we found out
who this foul and poisonous deceiver was, and traced her to her home,
where her clergyman had no idea of her occupation, and where she had
never but one child, which he regarded as her own. She had a
nurse-like neatness of deportment and dress, and held a testimonial
from a vicar with which the more easily to secure her hapless
victims. The explanation of the secrecy in which she had conducted
her business was that all her appointments for receiving children were
made for distant railway stations within easy reach of some of her
receivers. To her were ultimately traced (what more she had had it
was impossible to say) four-and-twenty babies, none of whom were
in her care, but all of whom in one short year she had received under
pretence of adopting them.

Such is the monster, a baby-procurer, publicly carrying on her busi-
ness, as agents carry on theirs for your governess or clerk; and (like all
agencies) in a manner which those alone who are on the look out for
them observe. Her business success depends on secrecy. So timid and
wily is she, that under cover which seems incapable of suspicion as to
its *bond fides*, you may conduct your negotiations for the transfer of
a child to her to within one point of such success as you want, when
further negotiations are suddenly declined. Negotiations, not only
with one, but with two or three, in different parts of the country, who
were supposed to be separate individuals, are abruptly closed at the
same time, which suggests that you have been corresponding with the
same advertiser, or that there is a union in the procurer's trade, with

alertness for common interests. One apologised for precautions, saying that the existence of the Society created great uneasiness in the trade, and rendered them more than ever necessary, and that advertising agents and papers were all "very chary" now.

Judged from the extent of its advertisements all over the country (from which we selected haphazard for our investigation), this baby-procuring is now a prodigious business. We have found the same person's advertisements as far north as Sunderland, and as far south as Eastbourne. They appear very largely in those places of resort which have earned the name "gay," and extend to the resorts of the English on the Continent. At different times the same person advertises in the same paper under different names, one under three, another under four.

If we may ground an opinion of what we do not know on evidence afforded by what we do know, all procurers obtain their children under false pretences. The statements of their advertisements, their correspondence, their conversations, are mere tissues of lies. Two correspondents, under different names, which eventually turn out to mean the same person, make totally different statements of their circumstances, and whenever by other means you get at the actual facts, both statements turn out to be crafty and misleading inventions. One said that her husband was in a hospital for an operation, which left her temporarily without income. The same one said that she was a widow with one child. Neither statement had the shadow of a foundation. Her husband was a railway-carriage builder in good pay and regular work, and she was childless. Another said she had only one little girl, four and a half years old; the rest of her children had all died at birth. With an air of consistency, she wrote on the deepest mourning paper. She was found to have ten living children, an invalid husband, and much trouble as to ways and means. Wherever it has been possible to get through the precautions as to personal identification and real dwelling of the procurer and to test statements by facts (as the mothers of the children have no means whatever of doing), unfavourable appearances have been explained away by lies.

But false pretences are not always necessary. For instance, two of the children in the large piggery already described had been obtained by the keeper of it herself. She advertised, "Wanted a child to adopt by a respectable married couple; premium required; apply, &c." The address given was that of an accommodating acquaintance five miles away from the advertiser's own miserable den. She inserted her advertisement twice in a London and twice in a Birmingham paper; and with no more knowledge of her than this, two living babies were made over to her, one from Havre, one from Edgbaston. In neither case did the mother of the child see the adver-

tiser's house. The Havre child, she fetched from Southampton. It was "a regular lady's." The other, she met on the platform at Snow Hill Station, Birmingham. These brief advertisements brought her one £10 and one £20 from persons who knew nothing of her, and did not know even her name or address. All the correspondence there had been was as to terms. The children were never to be seen again.

Far is it, alas! from being always necessary to deceive mothers in order to secure their children's charge. There are infamous creatures, mere she-things, who look out for foul and dishonourable people to consign their children to. Such was the following. The accommodation she found for her two children, and for two other children, and three adults, consisted of two rooms, one living-room and one bedroom. In the bedroom was one bed, for her two and the two other children, and three adults. When the place was entered, the only children's food in it was a bowl of putrid bread and milk. Her children had sat daily in chairs till their thighs were now horribly raw with the wood of the chair and their own filth. A chemise or a night-gown was their only clothing. They were now ill, and had lain for days unmoved on pillows, cold, wet, sodden with filth, and creeping with maggots, a piece of sacking over them. Twelve shillings a week the mother paid for them. She periodically visited them, and saw their deadly whiteness, their shrinking lips, their protruding teeth, the dry, hot, weary anguish in them. One died; still the mother visited and saw the other. She visited up to the last. Her children were in this place, wilfully put there one after the other, both being taken away from excellent care to be so. We saw the man of the place. He had the wild eye and restless brain of a hard spirit-drinker, who cared nothing for the rights of a nurse baby, and less than nothing for the wrongs of his wife. He was thirsty, sullen, overbearing, mad; with mind and will and craft enough to have his way. His wife was pitiable, crushed, and dissipated.

Far be it from me to suggest that any large proportion of husbandless mothers deliberately seek such a shambles as this. Many a one sells clothes, trinkets, and watch, and taxes all her small resources to the uttermost to secure ample, if possible, handsome attention to her child. To be bound to part with it for good is bitter enough price to pay. Speaking of the baby to be disposed of to "a respectable married person" advertiser, one letter the Society got possession of says, "I cannot afford the £40 at once, I will give you £20 now, and £20 in a year. Were you to see her, I think you would say she is something to be proud of. I should like to be allowed to come and see her." Another says, "The little one is very engaging. I should wish her to have a plain education, and to be brought up in the Protestant religion. I will, of course, give up all claim to her, but should like to hear how she is. I shall find it hard to pay you." Could such a mother dream of the kind of fate to

which she was consigning her little one, a thousand times rather would she go to the bottom of the sea with it.

As we are not reflecting on unhappy mothers, it can be no sort of answer to any plea for baby-farm regulation to say that they often part with their babies in good faith. The plea rather gathers strength from the fact. Granting that even the great mass of farmed children are obtained from mothers, honestly making the best arrangements they can for baby's welfare, then the plea for regulation primarily urged in the interest of the baby is clinched by considerations in the interest of the mother. She and her little means ought to be delivered from the possibility of such horrible frauds as, by all lines of investigation it is made clear, are now practised on her. I, for one, have no stone to throw at this torn, wits-driven class of woman. I have tears for her. The victim of a trust, maybe, for which there was no foundation, she has become an unhappy mother. In the name of God and humanity, let us relieve her of the chance of being also an unwitting murderer.

The creatures who exist to obtain her child are known to her only by advertisement, a testimonial-letter from a minister of religion, and a hasty glimpse at a railway station while the train stops—her veil down in an agony of fear lest some one on the platform may see her, who knows her. She never supposes that this woman is a mere procurer for some other person.

The price for the absolute disposal of a child varies greatly. On a shrewd guess as to the position of the persons—father as well as mother, if possible—who have to escape disgrace, the procurer puts out feelers and makes demands accordingly, from £5 for servants to £200 for genteel people. It is incredible to what lengths of confidence she will go when she no longer doubts that she has found somebody as knowing and as bad as herself, and sees a round sum of money in it. One who advertised, "A respectable married couple want charge of a baby, or to adopt," in conversation, with the greatest simplicity and straightforwardness refused £25 with child and £25 at death, on the ground that she had "better offers than that." She would take £60. She had been able, she said, to refer to her clergyman till lately, but she had given up going to church and gone to chapel, because the curate had asked if the last child she had was not "born in sin." Another, who advertised, "Happy home for a little child, with every care and attention; nice house and very healthy," agreed, also in conversation, to receive £100, the child to be dead in three months, adding, "The sooner I have it the better." Another, who put her proper and full name and address in her advertisement—and, to the paper she advertised in, gave her vicar as reference—undertook that for £50 a lady's child should not be born alive, adding, "It is easily done; the easiest thing in the world."

For the peace of mind of those who may recognise themselves in these statements, it may be worth while to say that on no consideration shall they be informed against. We wanted to know what people in their profession would do for a consideration, and we learnt it. That was all. Besides, we have neither the documents nor the witnesses which would be required for the technical ordeal of a witness-box.

Whilst such positive undertakings could seldom be got, and least of all documentary evidence of them; the effect of what was got was to leave no doubt that the profession of desire for a baby for love of a baby was dishonest. The advertiser wanted money, not babies; and that got, baby might go to the grave as soon as was safe. To all the facts of the case no other meaning could be given.

It may be well to state some of these meaningful facts. There was an air of humbug about most of the procurers wholly inconsistent with the reality of "want of a child to love, had none and were lonely," &c. Moreover their statements as to "no child" were frequently discovered to be false. Here is a report on one forwarded by the police of the town the woman was traced to:—"Mrs. ——— has been in this town but a short time, and in consequence of the close manner in which she keeps, &c. . . . She has a child of five of her own, and other children not her own, and I may think it necessary to communicate with respect to them." Whilst almost none had ever "adopted a child before," when terms were proposed they unwittingly let out that they had "been paid better than that." One of the most satisfactory of these "never-before" people advertised through a London agency, through which we learnt that she advertised much, but preferred London to country papers because she "got children easier through them. One had just died and she wanted another." Asked why, with three children of her own and evidently enough to do to keep them, she wanted another, she said, "I don't want any more of my own, but my husband and I are so fond of a baby." Before the interview closed she showed quite a student's acquaintance with fatal and safe ways of baby-feeding. Another of them would take a child for £30, but would not give her address because she said her husband was so afraid of "having a child taken away." They had "been done that way before." One wishing to dispose of a child wrote a letter to a would-be receiver, as the husband of a newly made mother too ill to be allowed to know of the birth of her child. "Doctor thinks she will pull through"—immediate care wanted. The writer was a woman, in good health, travelling about, who wrote her letter in London, posted it at Leamington, and lived elsewhere. The child had just been procured from a private lying-in establishment.

The difficulties in the way of getting behind the advertisements has been immense, but wherever the effort has been successful almost all the statements, quite all the material ones, have proved to be useful lies.

Many of the addresses intended to be regarded as the advertisers' own were those of other persons. Some were of shops, where letters were received for a penny. One "respectable married person," who wanted to adopt, had a distraint warrant in her house for rent. Some professing to be married were found to be single. And as for evil suggestions, most of them would listen without effect to what no honest person could have heard without shame and protest.

These wretched conclusions as to the procurer's trade, made certain as to particular individuals by definite knowledge, are confirmed by the multitudinous cautions, and wilinesses, and deceits of those who are in it, and by the bits of dark knowledge and experience implied in so much as they unwittingly let drop. Whatever doubt to the contrary such evidence might leave, is removed by the discovered circumstances of some of these longers for a child. One aged person had an aged husband, asthmatical, had fits, was hard up for daily bread. She would take a child for good and all for £10. Another was the wife of a working bootmaker. Another was a dressmaker who had lost her sight. Another was a coal-yard labourer, who had a chance of buying his master's business if he could raise money by Christmas. He had had several "adopted" children; they were all dead. He was still £10 short to pay for the horse and cart. His wife would adopt for £10. They were really buying a coal business by adopting. Another was a stevedore's wife, out of work. Another was a bankrupt farmer's wife: another, a monthly nurse, who had lost her engagements through drinking.

Of course, the mere procurer does no ill. Her procured children go to receiving houses to be "done for," where in ones, twos, and threes, generally under false names, they remain till they die. The procurer keeps the birth certificate. At an inquest she may be required to furnish it to the coroner, when she produces one wholly regardless of its being the right or wrong one, caring only not to give one which, if the papers make it public, will be likely to get her into trouble. At the receiver's, behind the ordinary screen of an English house, and the great liberties allowed to everybody in the treatment of children in it, without attracting anybody's attention, the child is slowly changed from a bonny baby into a skin and bone corpse. One procurer, however, declared her preference for over-feeding; it was just as fatal as starving. When deaths at a "farm" have attracted attention and remark, or some accident has brought its treatment of children to light, the "farmer" removes. One woman carried on her business in three different places in one year and eight months. In another case, when suspicion had been aroused, a dying child was removed from one house to a second, and a third, and a fourth in eight months. Where it died it had only been a few days. When there has been a conviction for neglect in one place, it does not count in another. It

is not known. Where the neglect is continued, and brings death in the place removed to, there is no presumption against the "farmer." About the experienced masters in the craft, there is the quiet canniness of the devil.

One large and lucrative baby-hunting ground is police-court affiliation cases where "quality" is concerned, and which get into the papers. In one month we came across three children attempted to be captured in this field.

Besides the advertising procurer, there are procurers among the sort of women usually engaged at the birth of these illegitimates—low-class monthly nurses and midwives, nurses at workhouses, and keepers of lying-in houses—most of them probably helping the mother out of her "trouble," not for gain, yet sending to houses which exist for gain. When indirectly asked to see to a child being born dead, one of this last class of persons, not in the least discomposed by the request, replied: "We dare not do that; we never know how a lady will feel to her baby till she's a mother. We prefer to deliver and 'provide.'" He would be an idiot who did not see that to such an audacious woman the two courses meant practically the same thing—the child's death; the choice made was for her own safety.

Here is a "farm" to which a servant, whose child was born in a workhouse, was referred by her nurse there. Its keeper had once been a nurse herself, but drink had brought her down. Our attention was called to it by a young Member of Parliament, to whose wife's baby the mother had become wet-nurse. On the floor of the small fifth-story room of which it consisted was a wretched stinking, black flock-bed. It had no covering of any kind. There was one chair in the room, and a chest of drawers. The place was damp and sour. It was nearly ten o'clock on a February night. There was no fire, neither was there any one in. The owner was traced to a gorgeous drinking den, where one child of a year old slept on the floor at her feet by the bar, the other, a few months old, which was the child we were seeking, lay on her knee, with protruding eyes staring at the gas. Both children were mere skin and bone. "I myself chose the mother to nurse our boy," said the M.P., "because of the magnificence of her baby." Scarcely seven months had gone, and this was the plight it was in. Seven shillings a week were those who had taken from it its mother paying for it, that the strong little thing might be done well by. When the revolting woman was asked if she had got this child from S——, sullenly she said "Yes." To "How has it come to be like this?" she muttered, "It's no appetite." Judging by her evident skill in providing to meet the legal requirements of safe baby-killing, she was no novice at her deadly trade. She had two dispensary tickets, one for each child. She was "all right" for "certificates." Besides which precautions she

had lived in five districts in five months. Her den was a landlord's "furnished" room.

Large numbers of old women, it may be added, take in a single child at a time, to provide them with tea and snuff.

It was a true instinct which called these institutions, "farms." They are comparable with sheep farms, whose motive is fleece and flesh which can be turned into money on which the farmer keeps his family and "gets along." How long his sheep shall live is wholly a question of money-profit. In a home it is precisely the reverse of this. There, a child is valued as food for man's nobler emotions; and to build up character, for which the pocket is gladly taxed, often deeply drained. Watchful, painful love defends it from dangers; its safety and health being the only reward. The mother gives her life for her sheep; the farmer gives his sheep for his life.

No desperate expedients are necessary in this cruel business. For little human lives, frail and dependent, neglect furnishes an easy, smooth and safe incline to the grave; and the "farmers" know it. Talk of ways of feeding and they will show you how well they understand that a grown child's food is a baby's poison. Talk of syrups and laudanum, and they will cautiously smile assent. Talk of opportunities for letting die, and they will take refuge in cant and a sigh. "If it should please God to take it, it will escape all the trials of the world, and be better off," said one. Not an uncommon creed, yet for all that not the less a creed of the devil. Medicines can be procured for diseases the child has not got. Insufficient clothing on bitter nights will bring on ailments; ailments neglected will end in death. It is as easy to get a baby's life out of it as it is to rub off the dust from a butterfly's wing.

By mere neglect, the odds are all against the child living. All children have ailments latent in their constitution. But for patient love and care, the childhood of most of them would be but of few days and evil. The soundest constitutions emerge from cradle and nursery alive only because, happily, in almost every household baby commands these. But in the house of the mere living-maker it is motives of money-profit that reign; and profit increases by every untended weariness and pain, and is completed by death. Remembering that the receiver's undertaking in the cases we are considering is a commercial undertaking, not one of natural instinct, nor of charity, and that when baby dies it leaves money behind it and room for another to do the same, it is not difficult to form an opinion of baby's chances in her hands. Her house is a social shambles to which the unwanted thing goes as a lamb to the butcher. It is this woman who is largely responsible for the terrible death-rate among these illegitimates, which is permanently 100 per cent. greater than it is amongst all other children, including the children of married poverty and cruelty and vice and

crime ; greater far than it is amongst these even when, in periods of most virulent infantile epidemic, it rises to its most abnormal height. Whilst in every thousand of the married-born it is 17 ; of the illegitimate, it is 37.

If the manner of the destruction of these little human things were that of the destruction of our unwanted dogs, or even that once employed in the destruction of babies on the Ganges, outraged humanity would have less to say. But it is neither by the lethal chamber, nor by the short pain of the crocodile's jaws, that they follow one another out of life. It is by methods infinitely more cruel than these.

The deadliness of the receiver's house is the same whether she takes weekly payments or lump sums down. Idleness and bankruptcy can live on three starving children's payments, for there is a constant succession of unwanted children to be had. One is born every ten minutes of the day and the night, the whole year round.

And there is little check to her foul play.

The child cannot complain ; the police are not informed ; and the neighbours, when they know a little, do not interfere. One, on being asked why she did not tell somebody what she knew was happening, said, " You gets no thanks for interfering for them sort of children."

The system of death certificates is but small security ; as a rule it is none at all. Disease generally supervenes, is named on the certificate, and is enough. Even that is often filled in from the lips of the woman who, in the cases supposed, knows that her liberty depends on lies easily and safely told. When the child is seen alive by the doctor, the view is generally only a cursory glance at its face, as it lies in " the anxious woman's " arms ; and, under " convulsions," " bronchitis," and a host of other words which mean want of breath, the whole wickedness of the affair is covered up. One woman who had just secured such a certificate paid twopence at a pawn-shop for a clean night-gown to convey the dying thing to the dispensary. It was till then almost always naked ! In most districts there is a doctor who is, as one of the " farmers " expressed it, " not troublesome about certificates." Where there is no respectable registered practitioner of the not-troublesome kind, there is, at least, an assistant, or a non-registered practitioner, or a registered one without integrity, and hard-up, who for a consideration will do almost anything. All this is well known in this shameless trade.

And should all these chances fail this baby-slaughterer, unless she is a born idiot at her trade, it is only she who can supply the coroner's inquest with the material for its judgment. Its criminal verdict, too, is restricted to manslaughter, and on the evidence produced that is almost never possible. Failing manslaughter, her conduct is nothing criminal. Besides this limit of the coroner's power, there is the

limit of the juror's nature. That the baby they have just seen can have been deliberately made ill and left to die, by that clean, tidy woman before them, so jars on men's usual notion of woman's instincts, that it is dismissed from the jury's mind with something like self-accusation. Even should there be grave appearance to the contrary, it seems impossible. Speaking generally, this juror's instinct has only been overmastered by a *post-mortem* and a two-days' inquiry; whereas there seldom is a *post-mortem*: it is costly; and often inquests on babies take only five minutes.

Even to the very last, baby's road to the grave is made safe and smooth. Where, as once in a way it will happen, a charge of "manslaughter" is preferred; under all the circumstances of skilful baby-farming,—the whole matter of character, conduct to her children, and motive of business too, being excluded from the court,—the prisoner is almost sure to escape punishment. It is seldom possible to prove quite enough for such an indictment.

The whole of the conditions of the trade converge on one central conclusion—viz., that we have not yet the means to meet and check the baby-farmer's criminal temptations. She is carrying on her brisk, brutal trade all over the land in comparative safety.

It is not for the purpose of charging coroners and Assize Courts with indifference to the evils of baby-farming that these statements are made, but as collateral support of the plea for dealing with them at an earlier stage. Prevention, as far as may be, is the only remedy which has the shadow of a chance of success.

On two points—viz., the extent of the practice of starving infants, and the frequent escape of the criminals who starve them—I might fortify myself by quoting from the "charges" of Mr. Justice Day at the 1888 Autumn Assize at Bath, and of Mr. Justice Wills at the 1889 Christmas Assize at Derby.

One point more needs to be dealt with.

There is a belief that an Act of Parliament already exists for the proper regulation of these people, the Infant Life Protection Act, 1872. Few Acts are more profoundly misunderstood. It is a pompous introduction to next to nothing. Excluding all infant lives from its protection, except when two under a year old happen to be found together, it leaves to the "farmer's" mercies a hundred times as many as it even proposes to protect. Its main effect is to teach "farmers" how to escape its provisions and to conduct their business as they like. The man who would have any adequate notion of the nature and extent of English baby-farming, and of the baby sufferings, illnesses, and death produced by the misconduct practised in it, had better not resort to the history of the Infant Life Protection Act. The chief crime made by it, namely, "Unlawfully neglect to register," cannot be committed by ninety-nine out of a hundred who take in babies for a living, and it is

a crime which has, moreover, nothing to do with the horrible iniquities of the system.

Besides, it says nothing whatever to the infamous traffic of the procurer. Assuming that this has attained anything like the magnitude suggested by its thousands of advertisements annually paid for in papers (many papers decline to receive them), it must be admitted that it, too, demands the control of just national sentiment. Procurers as well as receivers must be put under conditions which protect a wretched mother from plunder; and secure an endurable life to the child that that mother commits to their charge. They must be punished for obtaining babies by advertising lies. We have just raised a baby in England to the rank of a dog, we need now to raise it to the rank of a sixpence. To obtain money under false pretences, that is felony; to obtain a baby under false pretences, that must be felony too.

Receivers—drink-ruined monthly nurses, loafing labourers' wives, and blind old tax-gatherers—to whom the little life that is obtained by the genteel-looking procurer goes, must be forbidden to eke out their own living by eking out a baby's dying. I use the words eke out advisedly, for in making dying last consists the whole art of keeping liberty and getting gain. We drive the receiver to do this. If avarice uses mercy, and dispatches its little charge with but one short, sharp pang, we hang it. We hanged Jessie King, we hanged George Horton, because, for securing their ends, they did not resort to the slower, safer, and more infamous arts of the crafty "farmer." They disregarded the plain lesson of the law as to the means to be employed; that was all—and they are dead. The crafty "farmer" gives heed to it; that is enough—and she lives and is free. In the name of all that is human, stabbing is kinder than inflicting aches and burning sores, and lasting thirst, and famine, and fits; and surely, if anybody, the person who deliberately inflicts these, not the passionate user of the knife, ought to be hanged.

One grave objection to what we ask, which is widely entertained, and by the wise and humane chiefly, needs still to be met.

It may be feared that a thorough system of licence and inspection would destroy that secrecy, in which, at present, women stricken with shame are able to bury it, and so save their whole life from absolute ruin. To do that were cruel, unjust, and unreasonable. But widely considered, this very proper dread is wholly on our side, and greatly strengthens the argument for supervision. Hitherto, these English black holes of Calcutta have been beyond the reach of the humane. To-day, by 52 & 53 Victoria, chap. 44, they may be entered. As the new public sentiment extends, becomes acquainted with its powers, and, armed with those powers, is watchful on behalf of children, the misconduct of baby-farmers may play a part in bringing happily buried scandals

and personal miseries to light, which for everybody's sake had better sleep. Whatever may have been the case in the past, in the future, everything that tends to encourage the ill-treatment of an unwanted child must tend to the exposure in courts of all persons connected with its disposal and birth. In five cases (over which we had no control) these unhappy particulars have all come to light, and got into public print; one was the buried story of a housekeeper; one, of a governess; and one, of a young lady of good family. Through a thousand chances of discovery they had concealed that bitter experience till then. Two other stories of the misconduct of persons, capable of untold anguish, who have given big bribes to baby-takers for silence, are now in my hands. Not a word of them shall transpire. Our Society is not for pillorying wrongdoers. It is for stopping cruelty to children. That done, that is enough.

Danger will not arise from instituting national supervision in this trade. It will arise from leaving the trade as it now is; because baby's dangers have recently become its parents' dangers too. What now can be done to secure baby's health and comfort under a proper "Care of Children Bill," will also secure its parents from miserable exposure under the Children's Charter in the witness-box of a court of law, and in the police column of our daily press.

For everybody's sake, all round; for the child's sake, first and above all; for the mother's and even the father's sake; for the sake of our own priceless national sentiment of justice and self-respect; it is urgent that there be made thorough and reasonable regulations for these unhappily greatly needed, and at present shamefully conducted, institutions.

BENJAMIN WAUGH.

MATTHEW PRIOR.

PRIOR'S poems, even the best of them, have been somewhat neglected of late years; it is therefore especially fortunate that they have now found an editor in the author of "Old World Idylls." No other writer is so well qualified to speak of the *vers de société* by which Prior's fame will ever be kept alive as Mr. Austin Dobson; and, as might be expected, the volume of "Selected Poems," which he has prepared for the Parchment Library, is one that will be treasured by all lovers of books that please on account both of the value of their contents and of the beauty of their outward form. Besides an excellent introduction, there are valuable notes, and an etching of Prior taken from a painting by Dahl. Mr. Dobson has had the benefit of access to an account of Prior, more particularly of the earlier events of his life, which was written by his schoolfellow Sir James Montague, brother of the Charles Montague who was afterwards Earl of Halifax. The information thus obtained has enabled Mr. Dobson to correct the generally received account of several matters, as will be more fully noticed hereafter; and from clues furnished by these memoranda, and from other sources, we shall be able to add a few further details in this paper.

Matthew Prior was born on the 21st of July 1664, at Wimborne, according to the view now generally held. A house in Eastbrook in that town is said to have been the abode of his father, George Prior, and we are told of one or more old people who had heard of visits paid by Prior to the place. Hutchins, in his "Dorset," says that about 1727 a labouring man named Prior, of Godmanston, declared to him and others that he was Mr. Prior's cousin, and that he remembered Mr. Prior going to Wimborne to visit him. This is confirmed in a remarkable manner by the fact that a cousin of Prior's, named Arthur,

who made his will in 1685, left £5 to the poor of Godmanston, county Dorset—"the parish where I was born." This proves that part of the family, at any rate, lived near Wimborne. The entries in the books of St. John's College, Cambridge, only add to our uncertainty. In one place Prior is called "Matthæus Prior, Middlesexiensis, filius Georg. Prior generosi, natus infra Winburne in praedicto comitatu," but "Middlesexiensis" is, it appears, an alteration from "Dorcestr.," made by a later writer. In another place, Prior entered himself as of Dorset, and in yet another he is described as of Middlesex. The registers at Wimborne have been searched without result; but probably Prior's parents were Nonconformists. We are told that before a Dissenting Chapel was built in the town, the people met for worship in a barn in the neighbouring hamlet of Cow Grove. To this Prior seems to allude in his "Epistle to Fleetwood Shepherd":

"So at pure Barn of loud Non-Con,
Where with my Granam I have gone," &c.

Several Wimborne names are to be found in the list of subscribers to the 1718 edition of Prior's poems, and we may assume without much fear of error that he was at least born in or near Wimborne. The best known local tradition is that attaching to a copy of Raleigh's "History of the World," in the curious collection of chained books still to be seen in the library of the Minster. A hole has been burned through about a hundred pages of the "Raleigh," and it is said that the damage was caused by a spark from a taper used by young Prior while reading this truly monumental work. On examination, however, it would seem more probable that the hole, which is a regular circle, was made by a poker or other heated instrument; for a spark would almost inevitably have set the book in flames. And, what is more important, the collection of books to which this "Raleigh" belongs was, it seems, given to the town in 1686, many years after Prior had left Wimborne. We fear, therefore, that the tradition must be abandoned.

While Prior was very young, his father, who is described as a joiner by some writers, came to London, and died not long afterwards. Letters of administration were granted by the Court of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to a grandfather on the father's side, of a George Prior, late of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in April 1669; but this George Prior was a minor and a bachelor, and can, therefore, hardly have been Prior's father. Still less claim can be made out for a George Prior, of Highgate, gentleman—Prior, it will be remembered, was called "filius Georg. Prior generosi"—who died in 1675, leaving property at Tottenham. His wife, Dorothy, died in the same year; but they had no son Matthew, though curiously enough, as we learn from her will, Mrs. Prior was in the habit of calling her daughter Martha, "Matt." George and Dorothy Prior were married in 1624,

and in the licence, George was described as "gentleman, of St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, London," and Dorothy as daughter of Thomas Wilkinson, of Tarndon, Chester.

Fortunately Prior had a kind uncle, who became a second father to him. This uncle was perhaps the Prior referred to by Pepys in his "Diary" for February 3, 1660. "We took him (Roger Pepys) out of the Hall to Prior's, the Rhenish wine-house, and there had a pint or two of wine and a dish of anchovies." This Rhenish wine-house was in Cannon (then Channel) Row, Westminster, and Prior refers to the matter in his "Epistle to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq.," which was written about 1689. His uncle, it will be seen, was then dead.

"My uncle, rest his soul! when living,
Might have contrived me ways of thriving;
Taught me with cyder to replenish
My vats, or ebbing tide of Rhenish."

It has generally been said that Prior's uncle kept the Rummer Tavern at Charing Cross, and it appears that Samuel Prior (who has been supposed to be the poet's uncle, and who was probably the son of a Samuel Pryor, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, who died in 1662) was landlord of that house from 1685 to 1688. Of course he may have been proprietor both of the Rhenish Wine House and of the Rummer Tavern; both are mentioned in a couplet in "The Country Mouse and the City Mouse." But Sir James Montague, in his memoranda, connects Prior's uncle with the Rhenish Wine House, and Mr. Dobson brings forward several arguments in support of this excellent evidence. The Rhenish house was a favourite place of resort with the Earl of Dorset and his friends, and there it was that Dorset found young Prior, who had apparently left school for his uncle's trade, reading Horace. The gentlemen were drinking, and the boy, and at Dorset's suggestion he was sent to Westminster to pursue his studies under Dr. Busby. The admission into the school, which might have given us interesting particulars of the uncle, are unfortunately missing; but we know of Prior's selection as a King's scholar in 1681, and of his entry into school at least a year earlier. At Westminster, as we learn from Charles and James Montague, Prior accepted a scholarship, and it is probable that he was at the same univer-

In this year 1687, the will of Arthur Prior, made in 1685, and already referred to, was proved by his son Laurence, the executor. It is worth printing a summary of this document, because it contains allusions to several relatives of the poet's. The testator says that, according to the custom of the City of London, one-third of his estate would go to his wife. To his "cousin Mathew Prior, now in the University of Cambridge," he left £100. He left small legacies to his sister Joane Kellaway; to Mary, and the two other children of Christopher Prior; to Joane Kellaway's children; to the poor of his native place, Godmanston; and to the hospital of Greencoates in Tuttle fields. He had already disposed of a share of the last third part of the estate upon his two daughters; to the one upon her marriage and since; and to the other Katherine, he had lately given the £500 due to him out of His Majesty's exchequer. With this he thought they ought to be content. The residue of the estate was left to his son Laurence, who was to pay Katherine £100 in full, and moneys left by his grandmother, to make her equal with her sister Thompson. If the testator's brothers, Christopher or Thomas, were living at his decease, they were to have £10 each. Not the least interesting thing about this will is the fact, that the testator's name was Arthur. He was Prior's "cousin," and this adds some force to Sir James Montague's statement, that Prior's uncle was "Mr. Arthur Prior." Mr. Dobson, knowing that it was Samuel Prior who kept the Rummer Tavern, naturally suggests that this was written by a slip of memory; but Arthur was evidently a family name, and the keeper of the Rhenish Wine may, after all, have been an Arthur Prior, a near relation and landlord of the other house. Laurence, the son and executor of his father, did not long survive his father, for he died in 1690, was proved early in 1691, by his mother Katherine, who left £200 to his sister Katherine, and the same sum to his daughter Thompson, son of his dearest sister, Mrs. Anne Prior, and "to my cousin Mathew Prior £50, besides the share of the legacy left by my father."

In 1688, Prior was elected to a fellowship of his college, and wrote an exercise on the subject of his appointment as tutor. His appointment as tutor to the King's sons, however, did not last long, for the Revolution came, and the King fled to France, leaving the King James, and

Lord Dorset procured for Prior the post of secretary to Lord Dursley, afterwards Earl of Berkeley, the newly appointed Ambassador to the Hague. Thus, at the age of twenty-six, Prior commenced his career as a diplomatist, and in the year immediately following he found opportunities of securing the friendship of King William. He did not forget to publish various loyal poems; but, with one exception, they are not among those by which his name will be remembered. That exception is the "English Ballad on the taking of Namur," a witty answer to Borleau's "Ode" of 1692, written when the town was retaken by the English in 1695. In "The Secretary," written in the following year, Prior describes his life at the Hague, and his departure on Saturday night "in a little Dutch chaise" to a place of rest, free from tea-parties and dull refugees; "on my left-hand my Horace, a nymph on my right." In 1697 peace was concluded, for a time, by the treaty of Ryswick. Prior acted as secretary during the negotiations, and in October he wrote to Mr. Secretary Blathwayt, reminding his correspondent that by a letter of June 16, 1694, in His Majesty's name, he had been recommended as His Majesty's secretary, and had ever since been treated by the States with all kindness. He now asked that another letter might be sent when the King pleased that he should leave Holland, so that he might have occasion to take his leave and return thanks for the favours he had received. "It would let the States see I was not wholly forgotten by my master, and entitle me to a medal." On his return, Prior was made Chief Secretary for Ireland; but he was soon afterwards sent to Paris as secretary to the Earl of Holland, and he acted in the same capacity under the Earls of Jersey and Manchester. A large quantity of Prior's diplomatic correspondence is still in existence, some in the public libraries, but more in private muniment rooms. Most of the letters evidently relate wholly to public affairs, but doubtless a careful examination would disclose passages of interest to the biographer. One letter to Lord Halifax, dated August 20, 1698, commences, "My good lord and master, I have written one letter to you to congratulate you on your honours, one to condole with you, another to dunn you, and here is a fourth to thank you;" and it concludes thus: "Adieu, Master, nobody respects the Chancellor of the Exchequer more or loves dear Mr. Montague better than his old friend and obliged humble servant, MATT."

In 1699 Prior was appointed Under Secretary of State, and was soon afterwards elected member for East Grinstead, and made a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. Official salaries in those days were, however, somewhat uncertain; and in 1703 we find Prior and the other Commissioners complaining to the Treasury that their salaries were six quarters in arrear. Inquiry was ordered, and the papers were minuted, "They have as much in proportion as the other

officers," which was not a wholly satisfactory reply. Prior lost his post in April 1707, but obtained it again in July 1710. In 1701 he failed in an application for the Keepership of the Records at Whitehall. In the meantime, as Sir James Montague explains, the Partition Treaty was under discussion, and Prior was made use of by William III. and Louis XIV. to convey the messages which neither monarch cared to commit to paper. When the death of the King of Spain altered the European situation, William threw the odium of the unpopular treaty upon his Ministers, and a vote for the impeachment of Lord Somers, Lord Halifax and others was carried. Prior knew that these noblemen had been kept in the dark while the negotiations were being carried on, and were therefore unjustly blamed, but he voted against them because he held that it was better that the servants should suffer than the King's credit be damaged. But his conduct not unnaturally provoked a feeling of coolness towards him in Lord Halifax.

Shortly after Queen Anne's accession Prior joined the Tories, and for a time we hear little of him, except that he wrote some occasional poems, including pieces in celebration of the victories of 1704 and 1706, and that in 1709 he published a collection of his writings, which he apologetically described as the product of his leisure hours; for he "was only a poet by accident." Upon the fall of the Whigs in 1710 he joined with others in establishing the *Examiner*, and in the sixth number ridiculed some lines upon Lord Godolphin, which had been written by Garth. Addison replied in the *Whig Examiner*, and complained of the "shocking familiarity both in his raillees and civilities," though he allowed that Prior had elsewhere shown "a happy talent at doggrel," and been "very jocular and diverting;" but remarks on ingratitude did not come very well from him. In the following month we have the first allusion to Prior in Swift's *Journal*. On the 15th of October Swift and Prior dined at Harley's; Lord Peterborough afterwards joined the party, and they bantered each other as to the authorship of "Sid Hamet's Rod," a lampoon on Godolphin, by Swift. "Prior and I came away at nine, and sat at the Smyrna till eleven, receiving acquaintance." A few days later Swift wrote again about the verses. "Hardly anybody suspects me for them, only they think nobody but Prior or I could write them." During the following weeks the poets were constantly together, dining at Harley's, St. John's, Lord Peterborough's, or an inn. On the 18th of November they dined with Erasmus Lewis at an eating-house, but with Lewis's wine. "Lewis went away, and Prior and I sat on, where we complimented one another for an hour or two upon our mutual wit and poetry." On another day Swift had too much cold pie for supper at Prior's lodgings, and was so much upset that he hated the thoughts of it.

About this time the Government began to negotiate for a peace with France, and in the summer of 1711 Prior, who had been made a Commissioner of Customs in January, was sent on a secret mission to Paris. On his return, accompanied by M. Mesnager and the Abbé Gaultier, he was arrested by mistake; and in order to pacify and mislead the public mind, which was much excited by the story, Swift published in September a relation of Prior's journey, "all pure invention," called "A New Journey to Paris." The tract purported to be a translation from the French, but it was "a formal grave lie, from the beginning to the end." A few days later Swift wrote: "I find the Ministry very busy with Mr. Prior, and I believe he will go again to France." In the meantime the Ministers had conferences with Mesnager at Prior's house. In November plenipotentiaries were appointed to negotiate the treaty with France, and from Swift's *Journal* and a letter from a Jack Wiche (Prior's "old school-fellow and friend") to Lord Strafford, it appears that Prior was named for the post—a noble advancement, as Swift said; but he wondered how so proud a nobleman as Lord Strafford would bear "one of Prior's mean birth" as his equal. Lord Strafford's objections seem to have prevailed, for Prior did not go; and in January Lady Strafford wrote: "I hear Mr. Prior is discontented and does not think the Court does well by him." But he was no doubt satisfied in August, when he was sent to France, with the position of ambassador, though he did not assume the title until the Duke of Shrewsbury returned to England.

Prior seems to have been equally popular with his royal mistress and the French king. In October he brought a letter from Louis to Queen Anne, in which the writer said: "I expect with impatience the return of Mr. Prior, whose conduct is very agreeable to me;" and Anne replied, "I send back Mr. Prior to Versailles; who, in continuing to conduct himself in the manner that shall be entirely agreeable to you, does no more than execute, to a tittle, the orders which I have given him." The peace made at Utrecht in 1713 was followed by great uneasiness at home. A section, at least, of the Ministry viewed with favour a return of the Stuarts, and Bolingbroke and others were in correspondence with the Pretender. In March 1714, Prior wrote to Bolingbroke urging him not to give way to chagrin, but to do his duty in spite of enemies. He himself had more than his share of trouble and apprehension, considering the whimsical circumstances of his fortune, and the uncertain situation of his affairs. They must bear the importunity and impertinence of the world or go into retreat at Bucklebury or St. John's College. Retreat should be made "as late as ever we can." Writing on Good Friday, in reply to a letter from Bolingbroke complaining of illness, Prior exclaimed, "Good God! in case of an accident, what is to become of

us all? And, as I hinted to you, what is to become particularly of your poor friend and servant, Mat, in all cases?" Prior often uses the phrase "Mat and Harry" in these letters, and Bolingbroke, who addressed him as "Dear Mat," assured him that no man loved him better than he, or was with greater sincerity his faithful servant. In May, Prior inquired whether the report that he would soon be recalled was true. It might look like a bagatelle, but what was to become of a philosopher like him? he was, too, plenipotentiary, and ought not to appear neglected and forgotten by his mistress. M. de Torcy spoke of writing to "Robin and Harry" about him, but God forbid that he should need foreign intercession. It was reported that he was to go to Baden, or be added to the Commissioners for settling the commerce. "My lord, you have put me above myself, and if I am to return to myself, I shall return to something very discontented and uneasy." A few days later he wrote again: "It is a long time, my lord, that I have practised to dissemble, under a face not handsome, but seemingly pleased enough, a heart melancholy enough."

The death of the Queen frustrated Bolingbroke's plans, and the Whigs returned to power. Prior remained at Paris for a time, but his position was an awkward one. The author of a Whig pamphlet, published soon after the ascension of King George, and written in imitation of Arbuthnot, alludes incidentally to Prior's early life: "Matt. Spindle-shanks, the tavern-boy, is in a strange quandary, whether he should return home or stay at old Savage's. It is noted for excellent air in consumption, and 'tis very probable that Matt., who is a little infirm, will choose it for his health's sake." There was, too, much trouble in recovering arrears of pay. In October, Prior wrote to Lord Halifax, with whom in earlier days he had been so closely connected: "I have the satisfaction to believe that you think me an honest man and an Englishman." There might be defects of pride in his mind, but he could swear to its integrity; as long as the treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht were legible he might as well be thought a Mahometan as a Jacobite. Since coming to France he had had no advance money or allowance stated by Privy Seal, but always, by a verbal power, drew upon the Lord Treasurer. He hoped that bills would soon be paid, and begged that "our old fellow collegiate and my Fidus Achates, Mr. Richard Shelton," might retain the Commissionership of Stamps given him by Lord Oxford, and that Mr. Drift, who had been with him as secretary eighteen years, might keep his place of first clerk or under-secretary in the Plantation Office, where he had been fourteen years, and had been carefully trained by Prior while he was in that Commission and afterwards. "I have troubled you with a book rather than a letter, but you must remember I have the silence of a great many years to atone for; and a good many things, as you see, to ask." In response to directions that he

must live in less compass, Prior wrote that he had lived like an ambassador—not that he took pleasure in it, for it was only an encumbrance—but for the honour and dignity of the nation. Halifax replied that he had done him all the good he could, and that the king had directed that Prior's allowance as a plenipotentiary, from the first of August to the first of December, was to be paid immediately, and that debts incurred during the late reign would be paid in due course. In the meantime Lord Stair was sent as ambassador to Paris; and Prior's papers were seized; but, as he said, he would have been arrested if he had tried to leave Paris without paying his debts. At last the money came. "It will," wrote Halifax, "be a great pleasure to me in particular, to hasten your return from an unhappy station to your own country and friends, in which number I desire you will rank me." When Prior reached England in March, it was only to be arrested by order of the House of Commons, and in June, upon Walpole's motion, he was impeached, and remained in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. It was no doubt hoped that he would give information against Bolingbroke, whose instrument, to some extent at least, he had been while in Paris. He was invited to dinner at Walpole's, and Bolingbroke fled on the night that he heard of the entertainment. But Prior did not betray his friend. From the Treasury papers we learn that the Speaker acquainted the serjeant-at-arms that Prior, being committed for no offence, ought to pay no fees while in custody, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ordered the serjeant to apply to the Treasury for satisfaction. The serjeant often waited on Prior, in walking out for his health, and he was duly recompensed by the Treasury. Prior was specially excepted from the Act of Grace passed in 1717, but was soon afterwards released. He had occupied his leisure in writing "*Alma*," but he had nothing to rely upon, save his fellowship, which he had prudently kept even in his prosperity, though he had given the emoluments to another. It would, he had remarked, procure him bread and cheese at the last. In 1718 his friends arranged for the publication by subscription of a two guinea edition of his poems in folio, and the work brought in four thousand guineas. Lord Harley added an equal sum for the purchase of Down Hall, in Essex, and there Prior spent the remainder of his days, varied, however, by visits to friends' houses, and to St. John's College. He has left an amusing ballad about his first visit to Down Hall, in company with John Morley, Lord Harley's agent. The description of the ride, and the gossip with the landlady of the Bull at Hoddesdon, make this poem one of the cleverest and most entertaining of all Prior's pieces.

Swift took considerable trouble in procuring subscribers to the edition of Prior's poems, and we have several letters which passed

between them. Prior complained of a cough, which he thought would be his for life. If Swift should visit London (this was written in July 1717), he must come at once to Duke Street, where he would find a bed, a book, and a candle. The "brotherhood" was extremely scattered, yet three or four sometimes met and drank to their absent friends. In more prosperous days the "weekly friends" who met at "Matthew's palace," "to try for once if they can dine on bacon, ham, and mutton-chine," had included Oxford, "humble statesman"; and "Dorset used to bless the roof." In a letter of September 1718, Prior said he coughed, but was otherwise well. He found the greatest pleasure in the conversation of his old friend, Dr. Smalridge. From a letter of Swift's, dated April 28, 1719, we learn that copies of Prior's poems were not yet delivered to the subscribers; "your bookseller is a blockhead for not sending them." Swift had hoped to see Prior; but had now resolved to try the more lazy method of Irish country air. Prior replied, regretting that he should not see Swift; a cough was worse than the spleen, with which he thought Swift was troubled. "My bookseller is a blockhead; so have they all been, or worse, from Chaucer's scrivener down to John and Jacob, Mr. Hyde only excepted." In December he was again at his "palace" in Duke Street, Westminster. All subscribers had now been supplied, and they had "ceased to call the bookseller a blockhead, by transferring that title to the author." His lungs were weak; but he had a very good heart. In May 1720, he complained of deafness; he did not take care of his ears till he knew if his head were his own or not. In February 1721, he wrote that he had been ill that winter. Age was coming on, he said, and the cough did not diminish. He was tired of politics, and had lost in the South Sea mania. In April he was again in London. Matters ecclesiastical as well as civil were, for the most part, he wrote, a complication of mistakes in policy, and of knavery in the execution of it. "Friend Shelton, commonly called Dear Dick, is with me. We drink your health. Adieu." This is the last letter; on the 18th of September Prior died of fever at Wimpole, Lord Harley's seat. He was buried at Westminster Abbey, and a monument, for which he had left £500, was erected to him, with a long Latin inscription by Dr. Freind.

Bolingbroke wrote to Swift, some months later, that he had heard of Prior's death, and that he was sorry their "old acquaintance Matt." lived so poor as Swift represented. Bolingbroke thought that a certain lord had put him above want; he surely might have managed things better with his young patron. It is evident that Prior was often travelling with Lord Harley; but when at Down Hall he amused himself by improving the grounds. For such an end he had professed to wish in lines written as early as 1700:

"Great Mother, let me once be able
 To have a garden, house, and stable;
 That I may read, and ride, and plant,
 Superior to desire, or want;
 And as health fails, and years increase,
 Sit down and think, and die in peace."

In his will he says: "It has pleased God for some years past to bless me his unworthy creature with a greater share of health than I could have expected from the tenderness of my native constitution or the fatigues and troubles of life which I have undergone." He appointed Lord Harley and Adrian Drift, his secretary and friend, executors. The only relative mentioned, his "well-beloved and dear cousin, Catherine Harrison," was to have £100 for mourning.* An annuity was to be bought for Mrs. Elizabeth Cox, a woman, we are told, from whom friends thought him fortunate in being emancipated, even by death; and after the payment of some other legacies, the residue was to go to Adrian Drift and Mrs. Cox equally. His papers were left to his executors, and towards the close of 1739 a volume called "A History of His Own Time," with the date 1740 on the title-page, was published, purporting to be by Prior. Probably, however, he had little hand in the materials thus collected. Heneage Legge wrote to Lord Dartmouth that the book was only a trick of the booksellers; Drift had been dead many years, and all Prior's papers were in the hands of Lord Oxford (Lord Harley had now succeeded to the earldom), who was extremely angry at such an imposition on the world, though the publishers had had the impudence to dedicate the book to him. But the volume contains much that is of interest to the student.

Gay said that Dan Prior was "beloved by every muse;" and Allan Ramsay wrote a pastoral on his death; "Dear sweet-tongued Matt! thousands shall greet for thee." That there were serious imperfections in Prior's character we cannot doubt. He is said to have had a fondness for low society in Long Acre, and his Chloes and Lisettas were very real persons. He was an easy-going, pleasure-

* Prior had a connection, Robert Prior, who was admitted into St. Peter's College, Westminster, in 1710, at the age of fifteen, and was elected to Cambridge in 1713. In the indenture of his admission to Westminster, Robert is described as the son of William Prior, born in London; and in the entry of his admission into Trinity College he is called a Hertfordshire person. Bolingbroke wrote to Prior in July 1713, that he had endeavoured to send "a very pretty lad, who wears your name, and, therefore, was entitled to my very best services, to Christ Church," but he had been thwarted by Bentley, the Master of Trinity, who picked out the boy as his first option. Prior answered, "I am obliged to you very particularly for your care of my friend Prior. I cannot imagine how you came to know that snudging boy, for his mother is very homely. Bentley will always be an ill-bred pedant. . . . I think I shall always have interest enough at Cambridge to make his stay there easy; and if he has the continuance of your patronage, I think, too, matters cannot go so ill but that in four years we may set him afloat in the world." Probably this Robert Prior is the same as the R. Prior, who was editor of a volume published in January 1730, with the title "Lusus Westmonasteriensis. Being a collection of epigrams, decimations, &c., spoken occasionally by the Westminster Scholars."

loving man, popular with all he met. Leigh Hunt, having in mind the portrait often found in old editions of the "Poems," said, "I think some books, such as 'Prior's Poems,' ought always to have portraits of the authors. Prior's airy face, with his cap on, is like having his company." It is not safe to place much reliance in scandalous tales about public men who lived in the days of Mrs. Manley; as Dr. Johnson, no friendly critic in this case, says: "He lived at a time when the rage of party detected all which it was any man's interest to hide; and, as little ill is heard of Prior, it is certain that not much was known." And we have the testimony of the Duchess of Portland, daughter of Lord Harley, to whom, as a little girl—"My noble, lovely, little Peggy"—Prior had addressed charming verses that he "made himself beloved by every living thing in the house—master, child, and servant, human creature, or animal."

Of Prior's poems those upon which he himself set most store are—as so often happens—now little known. He wrote two long poems, and he was disappointed because his friends preferred the lighter of the two. Few persons now living could, we think, honestly say they had read the whole of "Solomon on the Vanity of the World. A Poem. In three Books." In the preface Prior admits that "it is hard for a man to speak of himself with any tolerable satisfaction or success. . . . It is harder for him to speak of his own writings." Out of the mass of treasure to be found in the books attributed to Solomon he here endeavoured to collect and digest such observations and apothegms as best proved the assertions in Ecclesiastes: "All is vanity." He would make no apology for the panegyric upon Great Britain which he had introduced: "I am glad to have it observed that there appears throughout all my verses a zeal for the honour of my country; and I had rather be thought a good Englishman than the best poet or greatest scholar that ever wrote." But in spite of fine rhetoric and many happy turns of thought and expression, "Solomon" is hopelessly tedious, and the author himself, in his poem of "The Conversation," makes his professing friend Damon give utterance to the general opinion:

"Indeed poor Solomon in rhyme
Was much too grave to be sublime."

"For 'Alma,'" said the same candid friend, "I returned him thanks." "Alma; or, The Progress of the Mind," was described by Prior as "a loose and hasty scribble;" but it retains its interest, to some extent at least, because we have here Prior himself, and not an eighteenth century setting of the Old Testament. "Alma" is in Hudibrastic verse, and among the most interesting passages are the eulogies of Butler and of Pope. So far as it has any plan, it is a burlesque account of the theory that the mind moves upwards from the extremities to the head, as a man advances from infancy to old

age; but the poem attracts us chiefly by the humorous passages and witty sayings with which it abounds. The style is wearisome in certain moods, and to some readers always, even as, in the case of Prior's "consummate master" in this method of writing; and we cannot but feel that the poem occupies an undue amount of space in Mr. Dobson's volume. It was, however, desirable to give a specimen of the more sustained efforts of the poet, and extracts would have been inconsistent with the plan of the book. The end of the argument is characteristic. Richard Shelton, the poet's friend, tired of the philosophy, exclaims:

"Dear Drift, to set our matters right,
Remove these papers from my sight;
Burn Mat's Descartes, and Aristotle;
Here! Jonathan, your master's bottle."

As Voltaire remarked, "*Peut-être cet ouvrage est-il trop long; toute plaisanterie doit être courte, et même le sérieux devrait bien être court aussi;*" and Prior's own lines apply to this case:

"Reduce, my muse, the wandering song;
A tale should never be too long."

Another piece, "Henry and Emma," which Johnson called "dull and tedious," but which was for long one of the best known of Prior's poems, has no place in Mr. Dobson's volume. In this effort Prior elaborated and spoilt the fine ballad of the "Nut-Brown Maid." Assuredly "Emma and the Nut-Brown Maid" are not "one," as Prior said.

But enough of fault-finding; it is not necessary to refer again to the political and loyal odes, one of which is supposed to be "in Spenser's manner," though the writer thought he could "make the number more harmonious," by adding a verse to the stanza. Prior's Tales, some of which were first published as single folio leaves, are among his best works, but unfortunately the more important of them cannot now be quoted on account of their coarseness, though Johnson, when Boswell asked if the Doctor would print them all in his edition of the English poets, insisted on their harmlessness. "No, sir, Prior is a lady's book. No lady is ashamed to have it standing in her library." Elsewhere he admits that one of the tales is "not over decent." But Mr. Dobson gives the admirable stories of "Truth and Falsehood," "Protegenes and Apelles," and "The Conversation," in which Damon talks much and condescendingly of the poet:

"I loved him, as I told you, I
Advised him. Here a stander-by
Twitched Damon gently by the cloak,
And thus unwilling silence broke:
Damon, 'tis time we should retire,
The man you talk with is Mat Prior."

We have, too, "An English Padlock" (printed in 1705), in which

the troubled husband is advised to send his wife abroad, to see that what she, "being forbidden, longs to know," is a dull farce, "a staple of romance and lies." When, to shun these ills, she returns to her husband, let him make much of her :

"Wait on her to the park and play ;
Put on good humour, make her gay ;
Be to her virtues very kind ;
Be to her faults a little blind ;
Let all her ways be unconfined,
And clasp your padlock—on her mind."

When we turn to the shorter pieces, which are Prior's best, we find so great a number and variety that we hardly know which to mention. "Every man conversant with verse-writing knows," says Cowper, "and knows by painful experience, that the familiar style is, of all styles, the most difficult to succeed in. . . . He that could accomplish this task was Prior." And Thackeray adds, "With due deference to the great Samuel, Prior's seems to me amongst the easiest, the richest, the most charmingly humorous of English lyrical poems." Where can we match such pieces as "The Remedy worse than the Disease," or "A Reasonable Affliction," where Lubin and wife are in despair at Lubin's approaching death :

"A different cause, says Parson Sly,
The same effect may give ;
Poor Lubin fears that he shall die,
His wife that he may live."

Or the lines upon a lady's troubles :

"From her own native France as old Alison passed,
She reproached English Nell with neglect or with malice,
That the slattern had left in the hurry and haste
Her lady's complexion and eyebrows at Calais."

Or this epigram :

"To John I owed great obligation,
But John unhappily thought fit
To publish it to all the nation ;
Sure John and I am more than quit."

Or the lines "To a person who wrote ill, and spoke worse, against me":

"Pursue me with satire ; what harm is there in't ?
But from all *viva voce* reflection forbear :
There can be no danger from what thou shalt print ;
There may be a little from what thou may'st swear."

In many of his love verses Prior followed the fashion of his day in using classical names, much to the annoyance of Dr. Johnson. The best of these pieces, such as the one beginning "The merchant to secure his treasure," are classical in nothing but the names, but a want of true feeling or faithfulness often deprives them of the charm which they would otherwise possess. This is the case with many of the verses about Chloe and Lisetta, and the rest. Chloe was jealous, and her pretty face blubbered with crying ; the poet expostulates

against having to swear to the truth of a song: "I court others in verse, but I love thee in prose."

"Then finish, dear Chloe, this pastoral war,
And let us, like Horace and Lydia, agree;
For thou art a gail so much brighter than her,
As he was a poet sublimer than me."

"The Turtle and Sparrow," an "elegiac tale," written upon the death of Prince George of Denmark, may serve as a type of the bad taste which Prior sometimes showed. It is pleasant to turn from such a piece to "The Female Phaeton," in which Lady Katherine Hyde—"Kitty beautiful and young, and wild as colt untamed"—frets with rage at the restraint ordained by her wise mamma:

"Fondness prevailed, mamma gave way;
Kitty at heart's desire,
Obtained the chariot for a day,
And set the world on fire."

Long afterwards, when Kitty was Duchess of Queensberry and seventy-one years old, Horace Walpole wrote:

"To many a Kitty, Love his car
Will for a day engage;
But Prior's Kitty, ever fair,
Obtained it for an age."

We have not space to quote the whole of the poem "To a Child of Quality five years old," which Mr. Dobson calls "the crown of Prior's achievement"; but which, though printed as early as 1704, was not included in the subscription volume of 1718. Nothing forbids the poet writing of "dear five-years-old"—"till she can spell;" and when she grows older, too, he may write, and they will still be friends:

"For, as our different ages move,
'Tis so ordained (would Fate but mend it!)
That I shall be past making love,
When she begins to comprehend it."

May we not, in closing with lines written half in humour, half in sadness, "For my own monument," say that Prior has done himself something less than justice?

"Yet, counting as far as to fifty his years,
His virtue and vice weic as other men's arc;
High hopes he conceived, and he smothered great fears,
In life party-coloured, half pleasure, half care.
Not to business a drudge, nor to faction a slave,
He strove to make interest and freedom agree;
In public employment industrious and grave,
And alone with his friends—lord, how merry was he!
Now in equipage stately, now humbly on foot,
Both fortunes he tried, but to neither would trust;
And whirled in the round, as the wheel turned about,
He found riches had wings, and knew man was but dust.

* * * * *
If his bones lie in earth, roll in sea, fly in air,
To fate we must yield, and the thing is the same,
And if passing thou giv'st him a smile, or a tear,
He cares not—yet prithee be kind to his fame."

GEORGE A. AITKEN.

THE PEACEABLE SETTLEMENT OF LABOUR DISPUTES.

THIS is no new question. There have been constant attempts to provide some method of settling labour disputes in an authoritative way, and to prevent the parties taking the matter into their own hands, ever since we first hear of labour questions in English history. But all these attempts alike invoked the strong arm of the law, and the law, being made by those who had nothing to do with labour save to employ and pay for it, inclined towards settlements which were not always as judicial as impartial justice might have dictated. Especially during the eighteenth century many Acts were passed which were directed against combinations of employers or employed, and which provided means for the settlement of disputes in the particular trades to which such Acts had reference. In some cases the justices of the peace were to hear and determine the disputes; in other cases the justices appointed referees to determine the questions. But in 1802 a Parliamentary Committee stated that recent legislation "on labour questions had operated only in favouring the strong and against the weak. Everything is made subservient to the masters, and exclusively too." Thus there grew up amongst the labour class a not unnatural suspicion and dislike of the law, which has shown itself in the practical refusal to adopt methods of peaceable settlement dictated, or even encouraged, by it.

If we take this century alone, we find that there has been frequent legislation upon the subject of industrial arbitration, and that many Acts have been passed with the direct object of furthering the adoption of arbitration in trade disputes. The most important of these is the 5 George IV., c. 96, which was really an Act of consolidation, and made one general law relating to difficulties in every branch of trade and manufacture. It provided that disputes relating to past contracts

arising between masters and workmen might be settled and adjusted by arbitration, either summarily by a justice of the peace, or by referees appointed by such justice. The parties might mutually agree that any matter in difference should be arbitrated in some other way, and the award would be final and conclusive, and powers were given to enforce it.

But this Act has never really worked. The Select Committee appointed in 1856, "to inquire into the expediency of establishing equitable tribunals for the amicable adjustment of differences between masters and operatives," reported that it appeared to be nearly inoperative; hardly any one, whether master or workman, ever resorted to it, and its existence was unknown to many people. It was disliked by masters and men, and "the dislike was inherent in human nature, and in the relative positions of the masters and the workmen." They would rather settle matters amongst themselves by disputation, or even with some degree of violence. There was an antipathy on the part of the workmen to go before the magistrates: it looked like a criminal proceeding: and the masters deemed it a disgrace to be taken to the court.

The evidence given before this Committee contains a mass of valuable information, and shows that, when it sat, men were beginning to see that law was not a necessity in matters of this kind. One of the witnesses, an engineer by trade, said that he knew of no strike that ever occurred which might not have been settled by a Board of Arbitration, but no Act of Parliament was necessary. It was better to have the Board named amicably without the interference of the law at all, for though, if the law were adopted, you had, no doubt, the weight of the law on your side, yet he could scarcely conceive a case in which a decision could be arrived at, by a fair and equal arbitration in which each party named its own arbitrators, to which the workmen would not agree, even if they felt that it was a decision by which they were foregoing something which they had a right to.

Another Select Committee was appointed in 1860 "to consider the best means of settling disputes between masters and operatives," and reported in favour of "the formation of Courts of Conciliation in the country, more especially in manufacturing, commercial, and mining districts." Although a Bill was introduced to carry out this recommendation, no Act was passed until 1867, when "The Councils of Conciliation Act" became law. It recited the Arbitration Act of Geo. IV. and three amendments of it in the present reign, and went on to allow councils of masters and workmen to be formed under license from the Crown, with power to determine the disputes which were contemplated by the Arbitration Act, but without power to deal with the rate of wages or price of labour or workmanship at which the workman should in future be paid. Thus, the whole result of these elaborate inquiries was to provide a Council of Conciliation, in the

place of, or as well as, a Board of Arbitration, but as the powers of the Council were more restricted than those of the Board, the new Act was rather worse than the old one.

But the question of the peaceable settlement of labour disputes was for ever turning up. The appropriate sections of the British Association discussed it, the defunct Social Science Association demanded further legislation upon it, and, in 1872, a new Act was forthcoming, "The Arbitration (Masters and Workmen) Act, 1872." It simply provided for agreements of arbitration between the parties, and these agreements might leave to the board, council, or persons to be appointed arbitrators, the rate of wages, conditions under which work was to be done, or any disagreement or dispute mentioned in the old Arbitration Act, or to which reference was made in "The Master and Servant Act, 1867"—an Act passed to remedy the one-sided law by which protection and assistance were given to masters against servants, but without corresponding aid for servants against masters. But this fresh attempt to deal with the peaceable settlement of labour disputes by law, although really of a more thorough nature than its predecessors, was vain and ineffectual.

And all the time the old costly system of industrial war flourished in spite of universal condemnation, and to-day there are strikes or rumours of strikes in every part of our land; there is a labour agitation, an industrial unrest, which we have never before known the like of. And yet, abroad, men look to England as to the land in which the peaceable settlement of labour disputes has made the greatest progress, and deputations come from German Chambers of Commerce to know how it is that we manage to avoid industrial strife, and German students, of high culture and trained habit of close observation, live here to see for themselves how it is that the labour question is on a footing so much more satisfactory here than it is with them.

There is a good and sufficient reason for this. The fact is that, whilst no body of men have cared to avail themselves of that assistance of the law which has been so often offered to them, yet the peaceable settlement of labour disputes by purely voluntary methods has constantly progressed. Forty years ago important trades in England had appointed voluntary Boards of Arbitration, and, thirty years ago, Mr. Mundella formed, at Nottingham, the first voluntary Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, and it still continues to flourish, and to legislate for the hosiery and glove trade, and its plan has been adopted in the textile and chemical trades, the boot and shoe trade, the lace trade, the building trade, as well as in coal and iron mining, and in iron manufacture.

I am best acquainted with what has occurred in some of the most important industries of Northumberland and Durham. In them the

way to avoid industrial war has been found, and followed with remarkable success. In the coal trade in both of these counties, and in the manufactured iron trade of the North of England, the chosen representatives of employers and employed have met together at stated intervals and under fixed regulations; have discussed and settled innumerable disputes of more or less importance; have, from time to time, established sliding scales by which the rate of wages has been automatically regulated; and when, upon great and general questions, agreement has been found impossible, have referred their decision to one or more independent persons mutually agreed upon. And this system has lasted for long years, and has continued to work through good times and bad times alike, and, though occasionally under circumstances of a peculiarly trying nature, the decisions which have been come to have been loyally accepted.

And this has been accomplished voluntarily, by the mutual agreement and mutual loyalty of employers and employed; and without appeal to any law but that of honour.

This is a general statement of the case, and, as a general statement, it is correct. But there have been instances, even in some of the industries which I have alluded to, in which there has been an interruption of the peaceful policy; the olive branch has been cast aside and the sword drawn. It is not surprising that this should be so. We are not yet thirty years away from the time when, in these very trades, the peaceful solution of labour disputes was a thing unknown. The evil teachings of the olden time are not forgotten. A younger generation enter into work upon both sides who only know what industrial war means by those traditions which soften its worst features, and who experience the glamour which distance lends, not to natural objects alone. To them the questions in which they are so deeply interested seem to have but one side and to admit of but one solution. They are impatient of the tamer way of dealing with them. They refuse to learn from the knowledge of the older men, or to accept the guidance of leaders who have the wisdom of accumulated experience, and strikes are the result. But when such strikes are over, and the costliness of war, even to the victor, has once more been evidenced, all parties return to the *status quo*. It is, speaking generally, true of all warfare alike that the men who desire a war have never seen one.

But, if we give all the weight which they deserve to such failures as these, what a great balance of advantage still remains to the credit of the peaceful system. That system is, as I have pointed out, twofold. The great majority of questions which come before a joint board of employers and employed, or the standing committee of such board, are settled by what is called conciliation—which is simply friendly discussion over the table, but very few matters being sent to arbitration. In a single year 629 disputes in the Durham coal trade

were so settled. More than 3000 have been peacefully disposed of in the Northumberland coal trade in the sixteen years of its existence, and the standing committee of the Finished Iron Trade of the North of England has, in twenty years, met 318 times, and has amicably arranged more than 850 questions, whilst the Board itself has only met 109 times, and in but eighteen instances has arbitration been resorted to.

I do not, of course, say that each of these disputes would have had to be decided even by a local strike had the peaceful method of settlement not existed, but many of them must have been so decided, and in several instances the strike would have been general. They have included every possible variety of disagreement; questions of wages only forming one, though the most important, section. But, recalling the misery, the loss, the ill-feeling, the disorganization of trade, all the evils attendant upon strikes, think of the benefit which industrial peace has conferred upon all parties, and of the great moral gain in the substitution of reason and argument for force and opposition.

It may be well that I should, at this point, describe, in rather more detail, exactly what a Joint Board of Conciliation and Arbitration is, and how it works. I shall take that for the manufactured iron trade for the North of England, which is a good example of such a board. It has succeeded in developing and maintaining friendly relationship between employer and employed in a trade in which a hostile attitude largely prevailed, a trade which had undergone peculiarly rapid development, and into which there had been a large influx of labourers from Ireland as well as other parts of England, so that masters and men were strangers one to the other. This friendly relationship has stood the test alike of prosperity and of adversity, for, during the twenty years' existence of the Board, prices have touched the highest and lowest points recorded, and wages have been reduced to the smallest sum yet given.

The Board is thoroughly representative in its character. It consists of one employer from each works in union with it, and one delegate who is annually chosen by ballot by the operatives at each works so in union with the Board. Each representative is deemed to be fully authorised to act for the works which has elected him, and the decision of a majority of the Board, or, in case of equality of votes, of its referee, is binding upon the employers and operatives of all works which are represented upon it. As a matter of fact it is binding upon the whole trade, and must be so where the greater number of works in the trade are represented on the Board.

At its first meeting in each year, a president and secretary are elected out of the representatives of the employers, and a vice-president and a second secretary out of the representatives of the employed. The Board also appoints a referee, who presides when his presence is required, two treasurers, and two auditors. The employers nominate

ten of their number, exclusive of the president, and the operatives five of their number, exclusive of the vice-president, to form the Standing Committee. Only five of the employers' representatives can vote or take part in any discussion at any meeting of the Committee, the greater number which they are allowed being simply to meet the more frequent absence from home of those upon whom the management of works devolves. The president and vice-president are *ex officio* members of all committees, but without the power of voting. The Board meets twice a year, but it can be convened at any time by the Standing Committee, which meets monthly, or more frequently if business should require it.

All questions requiring investigation are referred, in the first instance, to the Standing Committee, and must be submitted to writing, and supplemented by such verbal evidence as the Committee may think needful. Before any question is considered an agreement of submission is signed by the employer and the operative delegate of the works affected, and if the Committee fail to agree the referee is called in. He has power to take the evidence of witnesses should he desire to do so. Seven clear days' notice of any question to be brought before the Committee or the Board must be given to the secretaries.

I should mention that the Board has issued and circulated printed instructions which direct that any subscriber to it, who has a grievance, must first explain it to the operative representative of his works, and, if there seem to be good grounds of complaint, they must be laid before the foreman, works manager, or head of the concern. "The complaint should be stated in a way that implies an expectation that it will be fairly and fully considered, and that what is right will be done. In most cases this will lead to a settlement without the matter having to go further."

The Standing Committee has power to settle all questions, except a general rise or fall of wages, or the selection of an arbitrator to fix such rise or fall. These points are reserved for the Board itself. In case it can arrive at no agreement upon them, a single arbitrator is appointed, and his decision, at or after a special court held for the purpose, is final and binding on the parties. The Board also considers and decides all questions which the Standing Committee may refer to it.

When an arbitrator is appointed, the party making an application for a rise or fall in wages furnishes him with a printed statement of the grounds upon which it bases its claim, and the opposing party hands in a printed answer. It is desirable that these should be so full that each party may know the exact standpoint of the other, and understand what will have to be met at the hearing. There is sometimes a rejoinder from one or both parties, and, when the case is complete, the arbitrator proceeds to hold his court. The members of the Board

attend, one being appointed to lead the argument upon each side, but opportunity being also given for full expression by every member who wishes to speak upon the matter. Either side may bring forward any evidence, or the arbitrator may require evidence to be brought before him, and, when his award is arrived at, he prints it, and forwards a copy to each member of the Board. A shorthand note is taken of all the proceedings, and this is afterwards extended and printed. Reporters for the press are allowed to be present at the hearing.

The practice, of course, varies considerably in detail in the arbitrations of different industries—reporters are frequently not allowed to be present; sometimes many witnesses are called and there is little argument; but I am describing the practice in one special trade only. Invariably there is a desire to avoid mere legal technicalities, but this does not prevent strict proof being required of statements of fact upon which the parties differ. In practice, and as a general rule, each side is anxious to furnish the other with all facts and figures which it intends to use, and as a result an agreement is arrived at which prevents the necessity of calling much evidence.

The Board appoints an accountant of high position and great experience, by whom the books of the several firms connected with it are audited at the end of each two months, with the object of correctly ascertaining the net selling price of the iron actually invoiced and sold by these firms during the preceding two months. He issues a formal certificate of the average selling price for that period, and these ascertainment are held to be authoritative. He is, of course, pledged to secrecy.

Perhaps the only other matter which needs explanation is the method of providing for the expenses of the Board, and the payment of its members. One penny per head per fortnight is deducted from the wages of each operative earning half-a-crown per day and upwards, and each firm contributes a sum equal to the total sum deducted from its workmen. Each member of the Board or Standing Committee is allowed 10s. for each meeting, and the sum thus obtained is divided equally between the representatives of the employed and those of the employers, and is distributed by each side in proportion to the attendances of each member. Second-class railway fare each way is allowed in addition, and necessary loss to night-shiftmen is made up to them.

This, then, is a description of the way in which a board has been formed and has worked for twenty years in the constant practice of industrial peace. But, if this be so, and if we can point to similar boards, in many different industries, practising a similar peaceful method of settling industrial disputes, and with conspicuous success, how comes it that such methods are not more generally adopted?

What are the real or imaginary difficulties which stand in the way of the peaceable solution of labour questions? Why are not Joint Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration the rule instead of the exception?

Before I address myself to these questions, let me point out again that the peace principle, so far as arbitration is concerned, was long ago adopted in certain trades. There were one or two instances of boards which aimed at the joint arrangement of prices and wages, even so early as 1853. Since that time the principle of arbitration has been widely accepted, so widely, indeed, that there are few trades in which serious disputes have not been settled by references to disinterested persons, and there are probably no important and representative bodies, either of employers or employed, which have not, in one way or another, declared in its favour. In fact the rules of most trade unions make special provision for it. But arbitration is only one department of industrial peace, and the least important. It is the department of conciliation which is the most useful and valuable, and it is exactly in that department that so little progress has been made.

In some trades there is provision for a sort of temporary joint board which adopts a kind of conciliation policy. In the shipbuilding industry, for example, the most important section of the employed are represented by the General Committee of the Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders Society, to which has been delegated full power to settle labour disputes. In the event of a local or general dispute in any district, they meet the special firm, or the employers of the district generally, and endeavour to come to an amicable arrangement. It is sometimes claimed that this plan is superior to that of a joint board, because, as it has no place for a referee, a strike is the only alternative to an agreement, and this fact makes an agreement more probable. But there is really the widest possible difference between the two methods, and the joint board seems to possess many certain advantages. In the first place, it brings the employers and employed together, and teaches them mutual forbearance by showing each side the actual difficulties under which the other is placed, and it does this in a way which is calculated to foster mutual respect, at the same time as it strengthens self-respect. In the second place, it is more likely to encourage the discussion which aims rather at that which is really fair and right all round than at victory. In the third place, the men of the district, the men who are to be affected by the decision, the men who know intimately the ins and outs of the matter, are those who have to argue it with the employers—and, in the case of a local dispute, instead of having to argue it with one firm or, possibly, one individual alone, they have the presence and the moral influence of the chosen representatives of the employers of the district, exercising a restraining force upon any unreasonable member.

I do not wish to imply any doubt as to the excellent work for industrial peace which has been done by the old and successful society to which I have just alluded. Its able secretary recently stated publicly that the aim in past years both of the North-East Coast employers and the society had been to adjust all labour difficulties by peaceful means, and he specially acknowledged the kind and courteous spirit in which they had been met by the employers. It is interesting to know that the plan they adopt has been found so successful, for it is certainly a form of conciliation.

And now, having pointed out certain approaches which have been made to habitual industrial peace, and having also shown how that habitual industrial peace is secured, I must return to answer the question why, when it is so beneficial, it is not universally adopted.

The reasons, in my opinion, are not far to seek. That which I should place first is the prevalence of caste feeling upon both sides. Whilst fully acknowledging that, so far as its most objectionable features are concerned, this is disappearing, it is yet (perhaps unconsciously) all but universal, even where the best understanding prevails between employers and employed, even amongst the wise, honest, good, and earnest men upon both sides.

Where this caste feeling has not been removed or modified by experience, employers do not look upon those whom they employ as men with whom they can discuss upon equal terms labour questions affecting both; and the employed look upon the employer as one who is not amenable to reason, who does not expect his decrees to be argued about. There is no mutual trust, no confidence or sympathy. There is suspicion of motives; doubt on one side of the disinterestedness of any third party proposed by the other; entire want of faith that any good could arise from meeting and talking matters over, for neither believes that it is possible to convince the other.

This caste feeling will be killed out, partly by experience on the part of the employers, and partly by growth of education on the part of the employed. We must always remember that the factory system, the parent of so many trade troubles, has been little more than a century in existence, and trade unions, without which joint boards can, perhaps, not exist, have only been fully legalised for the past fifteen years. During four-fifths of the existence of the factory system the law itself adopted the idea of the supremacy of the employer. The old domestic system of manufacture died out with the utilisation of the steam engine. The patriarchal system as applied to labour died out with the growth of the great factories, but the masters practically retained for long years the power to combine and to regulate labour as they thought best, and to keep wages down, whilst the men were comparatively powerless. Fifteen years is far too short a period to admit of the uprooting of the jealousy, the distrust,

the heart-burnings on the one side, and the dominant feeling upon the other, which ninety years gave strength to. It is not surprising that there are masters who cling to the old relationship of superior and inferior, of master and servant, who have still the feeling that they are the benefactors of the men who give them the agreed amount of labour in exchange for the agreed amount of their coin. For that is, after all, the view generally entertained and sanctioned by no less an authority than Society itself, which regards men who get money in exchange for work as inferior, but men who get money for doing nothing as superior beings, *ipso facto*. And wherever the old feeling, the old feudal feeling, prevails amongst employers—wherever employers do not recognise that the relationship of master and servant has been exchanged for that of the purchaser and the seller of labour—the old doubting, antagonistic, warlike feeling will be found amongst the employed.

So long as employers endeavour to insist that their views alone shall be considered in the regulation of labour, so long, in any case of difficulty, will war prevail. The men will believe that the masters would not advocate a peaceful solution unless they had some strong motive to do so, and unless it must result to their advantage, and both parties will be inclined to think that any peaceful decision which might be come to would only be observed if it were not convenient to either of them to disregard it.

Again, the feeling to which I have alluded arouses an unwillingness on the part of employers in any way to recognise unions amongst the men, and the interference of "outsiders" in their business affairs. This places a serious obstacle in the way of the peaceful settlement of labour disputes by a Joint Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, for such a board can only exist in any trade if it represents practically the whole of such trade in any special district, and such representation is most readily ensured where the employers and employed of the district each have strong and general associations. Before either party consents to join a board it must be satisfied that the other is so truly representative that the decision of the board will be authoritative, and will be practically recognised and obeyed by the trade of the district, for the ultimate sanction of arbitration and conciliation is strikes and locks-out.

Then, again, the idea of furnishing information to others about their own business transactions has been a stumbling-block to some employers who have begun to think seriously about adopting industrial peace. Now, in order that any discussion of trade difficulties may be to profit there must be an equal knowledge on both sides of all necessary facts. It is not enough that the employers should make certain statements. The point of view of the buyer and seller is never the same. However anxious for the truth a man may be, "where

self the wavering balance shakes, it's rarely right adjusted." Even when such facts as can be are actually ascertained, and their accuracy guaranteed, the conclusions drawn from them often differ so widely that a third party must be called in to decide which view is the correct one. But not only have many employers the old feeling that they only have the right to be judge, and that questions of prices, wages, and so forth are for them alone; but each employer is, in relation to other employers, in the position of a competitor, and does not wish to disclose anything to those who may take advantage of it to his detriment. The very knowledge that there must be openness in the place of secrecy, the ignorance of how far this may go, the fear that it may militate against his interests, are barriers in the way of the formation of a board, the undoubted merits of which seem to him to be paid for at too great a price.

But this, in common with the other objections to joint boards, will vanish with full knowledge of their character, and with even a slight experience of their actual working. The books of an employer are neither disclosed to other employers nor to the employed. No evidence is given or asked for which mentions the profits which are being made. The books of each firm, which has given in its adherence to the board, are periodically examined by a skilled accountant, who is pledged to absolute secrecy. At the close of his investigations he gives the result he has arrived at, the average selling price which has been obtained during the period examined. I have never heard any instance of an employer receiving the smallest injury from such investigation.

I have already pointed out that, speaking generally, the decisions which have been come to by voluntary conciliation or arbitration have been loyally accepted and acted upon by both parties. In the history of joint boards, there are, indeed, cases recorded where this has not been so, but they have been the rare exceptions, and have not been upon one side only, and loyal acceptance has been the rule. I must put this point emphatically; for the experience which I have had in several industries, but especially in that of which I have seen the most, the finished iron trade of the North of England, and that exclusively during an unsettled and trying period, has abundantly shown me that awards, come to after patient hearing and careful consideration, are received with a loyalty and appreciation which are not only satisfactory and surprising, but which also give, to the person called upon to decide, confidence and encouragement in the performance of a delicate, difficult, and often painful duty.

And not only so, but the fact of sitting round the same table and listening to each other's arguments; the endeavour to see each other's standpoint and to understand each other's reasons; the learning to give as well as to take; to bear and forbear; to hold your own

opinion firmly and to express it moderately, whilst keeping your mind open to conviction; the desire to come to a sound and fair conclusion; these things are valuable in promoting mutual good-feeling, confidence, and sympathy, which evidence themselves in many ways outside of the sphere in which they have been acquired, and they tend to lessen the caste feeling to which I have alluded, and which is not one of the most wholesome features of our English life. This friendly meeting is the best feature of voluntary conciliation, and is the grand distinction between it and conciliation under the law.

I think, then, that the best way to secure the peaceful solution of labour disputes is to promote the formation of Joint Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration in all branches of industry, and, in order that such boards may be readily formed with the greatest chance of success, to encourage combinations both of employers and of employed. I believe that there will be an increasing tendency, as such boards continue to perform their peaceful mission, for the unions to become allies, instead of competitors, to the great benefit of both classes, and of the community of which they form so important a part.

I need scarcely say that I have not dwelt upon the question of endeavouring to make either arbitration or conciliation compulsory by Act of Parliament, although that has, from time to time, found advocates, because I do not think that anything of the kind is likely to obtain acceptance in this country. It is entirely opposed to the theories and practice alike of the employers and the employed, and would be altogether a retrograde step. There is in certain minds an almost pathetic love of legislation, and especially for other people, but those who would be the most affected will scarcely consent to return to the plan which was tried through last century and failed, as it would fail again even though it were greatly modified.

I would only add, in conclusion, that I have no desire to urge the universal adoption of Joint Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, modelled upon that which I have described. There are cases in which industrial peace has been secured in other ways, and it may well be that, in industries where there are few fluctuations in the selling price of the article manufactured, there is no need for the machinery of a joint board. So long as the desired end is attained, the choice of road is not a matter of importance. But it is well to know that a certain road is a safe and sure one; and it is of the first importance to understand that the English working men do not yet look to the law as their saviour, but still act upon the old maxim that Heaven helps those who help themselves.

ROBERT SPENCE WATSON.

THE RACE BASIS OF INDIAN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

ON a stone panel forming part of one of the grandest Buddhist monuments in India—the great tope at Sanchi—a carving in low relief depicts a strange religious ceremony. Under trees with conventional foliage and fruits, three women, attired in tight clothing without skirts, kneel in prayer before a small shrine or altar. In the foreground, the leader of a procession of monkeys bears in both hands a bowl of liquid and stoops to offer it at the shrine. His solemn countenance and the grotesquely adoring gestures of his comrades seem intended to express reverence and humility. In the background four stately figures—two men and two women—of tall stature and regular features, clothed in flowing robes and wearing most elaborate turbans, look on with folded hands and apparent approval at this remarkable act of worship. Antiquarian speculation has for the most part passed the panel by unnoticed, or has sought to associate it with some pious legend of the life of Buddha. A larger interest, however, attaches to the scene, if it is regarded as the sculptured expression of the race sentiment of the Aryans towards the Dravidians, which runs through the whole course of Indian tradition and survives in scarcely abated strength at the present day. On this view the relief would belong to the same order of ideas as the story in the Ramayana of the army of apes who assisted Rama in the invasion of Ceylon. It shows us the higher race on friendly terms with the lower, but keenly conscious of the essential difference of type and not taking part in the ceremony at which they appear as patronising spectators. An attempt is made in the following pages to show that the race sentiment, which this curious sculpture represents, so far from being a figment of the intolerant pride of the Brahman, rests upon a basis of fact which scientific methods confirm, that it has shaped the intricate groupings

of the caste system, and has preserved the Aryan type in comparative purity, and finally, that within the last few years it has helped to unite the most advanced classes of the Indian people in an organised effort to win for themselves the characteristic Aryan boon of representative institutions.

Some seven years ago, when the vast array of figures called up by the last census of India was being gradually worked into shape, it occurred to the Census Commissioner that this costly statistical material might be made the basis of an attempt to extend and systematise our knowledge of the customs, beliefs, and occupations of the Indian people. Sir William Plowden's suggestions for an inquiry directed towards this end were submitted to the Government of India and commended by them to the various provincial governments, with a pious hope that something might be done to carry them out. In most provinces short work was made of them by the abhorred shears of finance. The inquiry was bound to cost money; it did not promise any immediate return; and local governments straitened in their revenues were naturally disinclined to try experiments. In Bengal the seed fell on more fruitful soil. The larger aspects of the proposal were realised, and early in 1885 it was developed into an ethnographic survey of the traditions, usages, beliefs, and social relations of the seventy millions of people inhabiting the territories administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. A few months later the scheme was extended by adding to it an anthropometric inquiry on lines prescribed by Professor Topinard of the School of Anthropology at Paris, and approved by Professor W. H. Flower, F.R.S., into the physical characteristics of selected castes and tribes of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Panjab. The record of these researches has been printed for the Government of Bengal. It fills four large octavo volumes, which, although complete for administrative purposes, require some further elaboration before they can be published in Europe.

Before attempting to sketch the main results of the Bengal inquiries we may pause for a moment to take stock of our terminology. Thanks to Sir John Lubbock and Dr. E. B. Tylor the study of ethnography has of late years begun to be understood in England. "It embraces," says M. Elisee Reclus, "the descriptive details and ethnology, the rational exposition of the human aggregates and organisations known as hordes, clans, tribes, and nations, especially in the earlier, the savage, and barbarous stages of their progress." In other words, ethnography collects and arranges large masses of social data; ethnology applies the comparative method of investigation, and frames by this means the origin of the tribes themselves.

The study of ethnology has an ancient and curious history. By the discovery of the Carnac and Avebury this worked out

an artistic canon of the ideal proportions of the human figure, the influence of which may be traced in Greek art, which was studied by Da Vinci and Dürer, and which has descended to French studios in the form given to it by their contemporary Jean Cousin. Its latest application may be witnessed in a branch of the Prefecture of Police at Paris, where the features and limbs of convicted criminals are measured under scientific supervision, and the results recorded with a view to tracing their identity in future. For our present purpose anthropometry may be defined as the science which seeks, by measuring certain leading physical characters, such as the stature and the proportions of the head, features, and limbs, to ascertain and classify the chief types of mankind, and eventually by analysing their points of agreement and difference to work back to the probable origin of the various race-stocks now traceable. Like ethnography and ethnology, it forms part of the circle of studies grouped together under the head of anthropology.

Looked at merely as a scientific experiment, an anthropometric examination of even a small fraction of the people of India promised to yield results of no ordinary interest. Nowhere else in the world do we find the population of a large continent broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside of the group to which they themselves belong. Whatever may have been the origin and the earlier developments of the caste system, this absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth at the present day as its essential and most prominent characteristic, and the feeling against such unions is so deeply engrained in the people that even the Theistic and reforming sect of the Brahmo Samaj has found a difficulty in freeing itself from the ancient prejudices. In a society thus organised, a society sacrificing everything to pride of blood and the idea of social purity, it seemed that differences of physical type, however produced in past time, might be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence, and that the science which seeks to trace and express such differences would find a peculiarly favourable field for its operations. In Europe anthropometry has to confess itself hindered, if not baffled, by the constant intermixture of races which tends to obscure and confuse the data arrived at by measurement. In a country where such intermixture is to a large extent eliminated, there were grounds for believing that divergent types would reveal themselves more clearly, and that their characteristics would furnish some clue to their original race affinities.

Apart from these special conditions, the method of having recourse to methods of research more exact in the present case as misleading in their results than the mere collection of facts was brought into prominence by the fact that the same is

and zygomatic arches; and working out their proportions by the system of indices invented by the Swedish anthropologist, Anders Retzius, in 1842. Add to these weight, stature, and the facial angle devised by Cuvier, extend the observations to about a hundred specimens of each group, and it will be found that the averages calculated from this mass of figures bring out a uniform tribal type to which all individuals tend to conform. The data thus obtained from nearly 6000 persons, representing 89 of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian.

In adopting, even tentatively, these designations, I am aware that I am disregarding advice which Professor Max Müller was good enough to give me, about three years ago, in a letter since published (I believe) in an Appendix to his latest work. He warned me against the confusion which might arise from using philological terms to denote ethnological conclusions. I am entirely sensible of the value and the necessity of the warning, and fully recognise his right to speak with authority on such questions. But we must have some general names for our types; it is a thankless task to invent new names; and I trust to justify my invasion of the domain of philology by the universal practice of the Indians themselves, and by the example of Professor Sayce, who did not hesitate, in a recent number of this REVIEW, to speak of the Aryan race as an established ethnic aggregate.

The Aryan type, as we find it in India at the present day, is marked by a relatively long (dolichocephalic) head, a straight, finely cut (lepto-rhine) nose, a long symmetrically narrow face, a well-developed forehead, regular features, and a high facial angle. The stature is fairly high, ranging from 171.6 centimeters in the Sikhs of the Panjab to 165.6 in the Brahmans of Bengal; and the general build of the figure is well-proportioned, and slender rather than massive. In the castes which exhibit these characteristics the complexion is a very light transparent brown—"wheat-coloured" is the common vernacular description—noticeably fairer than that of the mass of the population. Colour, however, is a character which eludes all attempts to record or define its gradations, and even the extreme varieties can only be described in very general terms. As representative Aryan castes we may name the Sikhs and Khattris of the Panjab, and the Brahmans, Kayasths, Babhans, and Chattris of Bengal and the North-West Provinces. A larger series of measurement would probably add several more castes to the list, especially in the Panjab, where the observations were greatly restricted by financial difficulties.

In the Dravidian type the form of the head usually inclines to be dolichocephalic, but all other characters present a marked contrast to the Aryan. The nose is thick and broad, and the formula expressing

its proportionate dimensions is higher than in any known race, except the Negro. The facial angle is comparatively low; the lips are thick; the face wide and fleshy; the features coarse and irregular. The average stature ranges in a long series of tribes from 156·2 to 162·1 centimeters; the figure is squat, and the limbs sturdy. The colour of the skin varies from very dark brown to a shade closely approaching black. The most characteristic Dravidian tribes are the Malé Pahárias of the Rajmahal hills, and the Mundas and Oraons of the Chota Nagpur plateau.* The two latter are better known under the general name of Kol, which, according to Herr Jellinghaus, the best authority on this subject, means "pig-killer" or "pig-eater," and belongs to the large class of epithets by which, since Vedic times, the Aryans have expressed their contempt for the voracious and promiscuous appetite of the Dravidian.

Between these extreme types, which may fairly be regarded as representing two distinct races, we find a large number of intermediate groups, each of which forms for matrimonial purposes a sharply defined circle, beyond which none of its members can pass. By applying to the entire series the nasal index or formula of the proportions of the nose, which Professors Flower and Topinard agree in regarding as the best test of race distinctions, some remarkable results are arrived at. The average nasal proportions of the Malé Pahária tribe are expressed by the figure 94·5, while the pastoral Gujars of the Panjab have an index of 66·9, the Sikhs of 68·8, and the Bengal Brahmans and Kayasths of 70·4. In other words, the typical Dravidian, as represented by the Malé Pahária, has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro, while this feature in the Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of sixty-eight Parisians, measured by Topinard, which gave an average of 69·4. Even more striking is the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data ascertained by independent inquiry. If we take a series of castes in Bengal Behar, or the North-Western Provinces, and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index, so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence. The casteless tribes, Kols, Korwas, Mundas, and the like, who have not yet entered the Brahmanical system, occupy the lowest place in both series. Then come the vermin-eating Musahars and the leather-dressing Chamárs. The fisher castes of Bauri, Bind, and Kewat are a trifle higher in the scale; the pastoral Goala, the cultivating Kurmi, and a group of cognate castes from whose hands

* The distinction between Dravidian and Kolarian tribes, on which stress is laid by some writers, seems to be purely linguistic.

a Brahman may take water, follow in due order, and from them we pass to the trading Khattris, the land-holding Bābhans, and the upper crust of Hindu society. Thus, it is scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of the caste organisation in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose. Nor is this the only point in which the two sets of observations—the social and the physical—bear out and illustrate each other. The character of the curious matrimonial groupings for which the late Mr. J. F. McLennan devised the happy term *exogamous*, also varies in a definite relation to the gradations of physical type. Within a certain range of nasal proportions, these subdivisions are based exclusively on the totem. Along with a somewhat finer form of nose, groups called after villages and larger territorial areas, or bearing the name of certain tribal or communal officials, begin to appear, and above these again we reach the eponymous saints and heroes, who in India, as in Greece and Rome, are associated with a certain stage of Aryan progress.

It would be vain to attempt within the compass of a magazine article to analyse and compare the large mass of figures which have been collected, or to develop at length the inferences which they may be thought to suggest. We can only glance at a few of their more important bearings. In the first place, it deserves notice that the data obtained by the most modern anthropological method agree in the main not only with the long chain of Indian tradition, beginning with the Vedas and ending with the latest vernacular treatise on the theory and practice of caste, but also with the rationalised and critical story of the making of the Indian peoples, as it has been told by Sir William Hunter in the "*Imperial Gazetteer*." Here the historian shows how, through the veil of fable and miracle in which pre-historic India is shrouded, traces may be discerned of a protracted struggle between a lower and a higher race, which would have tended to produce much the same results as our statistics bring out. Studied in the light of these statistics it would seem that the standard Indian theory of caste may deserve more respectful consideration than has been accorded to it of late years.

The division of the people into four classes corresponding roughly to the chief professions or modes of life of the time is in itself plausible enough, and is supported by parallel cases in the history of ancient societies. It is nowhere stated that these groups were rigidly exclusive, like modern castes, and the rules laid down to regulate their intermarriage show a general resemblance to those observed by the Kulin classes of to-day. So far as anthropological considerations are concerned there would be no great difficulty in our recognising the Brahmans Rajputs and higher trading castes as descendants of the three upper classes—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas—of the ancient Aryan

Commonwealth. The Sudras alone have no compact aggregate as their modern representative. But the fourth caste in the ancient system was apparently not of pure Aryan descent, and it is a plausible conjecture that it may have been constantly recruited by the admission of Dravidian elements. The dominant Aryan society must have exercised a strong attraction on the Dravidians, but the only caste into which the latter could ordinarily expect to be received would be the Sudra. Their admission into this group would doubtless have been facilitated by resort to the fiction, characteristic of all early societies, that they had belonged to it all along. But such accretions must have swelled the caste to unwieldy dimensions and thus have introduced the tendency to disintegration or fission, which affects all social aggregates in India. In course of time, as new groups split off, and took to themselves new names, the original caste would have been, so to speak, lost in the crowd, and only a small nucleus would have retained its original designation. In support of the hypothesis that the survivors of the ancient Sudras are to be sought among the higher strata of the so-called mixed castes, we may point to the fact that a group of castes, whose physical characters approach more closely to the Aryan than to the Dravidian type, still cling to the name Sudra, and regard themselves as descendants of the classical fourth caste.

Modern criticism has been especially active in its attacks on that portion of the traditional theory which derives the multitude of mixed or inferior castes from an intricate series of crosses between members of the original four. No one can examine the long lists which purport to illustrate the working of this process without being struck by much that is absurd and inconsistent. But in India it does not necessarily follow that, because the individual applications of a principle are ridiculous, the principle itself can have no foundation in fact. The last thing that would occur to the literary theorists of those times, or to their successors, the *pandits* of to-day, would be to go back upon actual facts, and to seek by analysis and comparison to work out the true stages of evolution. They found, as I infer from troublesome experience among some of my Indian coadjutors, the *à priori* method simpler and more congenial. That at least did not compel them to pollute their souls by the study of plebeian usage. Having once got hold of a formula, they insisted, like Thales and his contemporaries, in making it account for the entire order of things. Thus, castes which had been developed out of corporations like the mediæval trade-guilds, or which expressed the distinction between fishing and hunting, agriculture and handicrafts, were all supposed to have been evolved by interbreeding.

But the initial principle, though it could not be stretched to explain everything, was in the main correct. It happens that we can still observe its workings among a number of Dravidian tribes, which, though

not yet drawn into the vortex of Brahmanism, have been in some degree affected by the example of Hindu organisation. As regards intertribal marriages, they seem to be in a stage of development through which the Hindus themselves have passed. A man may marry a woman of another tribe, but the offspring of such unions do not become members of either the paternal or maternal groups, but belong to a distinct endogamous aggregate, the name of which often denotes the precise cross by which it was started. Among the large tribe of Mundas we find, for instance, nine such groups—Khangar-Munda, Kharia-Munda, Konkpat-Munda, Karanga-Munda, Mahili-Munda, Nágbansi-Munda, Oraon-Munda, Sad-Munda, Savar-Munda—descended from intermarriages between Munda men and women of other tribes. The Mahilis, again, have five sub-tribes of this kind, and themselves trace their descent to the union of a Munda with a Santál woman. Illustrations of this sort might be multiplied almost indefinitely. The point to be observed is that the sub-tribes formed by intertribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connection with the parent group, and stand forth as independent tribes. As soon as this comes to pass, and a functional or territorial name disguises their mixed descent, the process by which they have been formed is seen to resemble closely that by which the standard Indian tradition seeks to explain the appearance of other castes alongside of the classical four.

From the literary theory of caste we are led on to speculate regarding the origin of caste itself. How comes it that the Aryan race, which in South Europe, as Herr Penka has shown, has modified its physical type by free intermixture with Turanian elements, displayed in India a marked antipathy to marriage with persons of alien race, and devised an elaborate system of taboo for the prevention of such unions? An explanation may, perhaps, be found in the fact that in India alone were the Aryans brought into close contact with an unequivocally black race. The sense of differences of colour which, for all our talk of common humanity, still plays a great, and, politically, often an inconvenient, part in the history of the world, finds forcible expression in the Vedic descriptions of the people whom the Aryans found in possession of the plains of India. In a well-known passage the god Indra is praised for having protected the Aryan colour, and the word meaning colour (*varna*) is used down to the present day as the equivalent of caste, more especially with reference to the castes believed to be of Aryan descent. Another text depicts the Dasyus or Dravidians as noseless; others dwell on their low stature, their coarse features, and their voracious appetite. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that from these sources there might be compiled a fairly accurate anthropological definition of the Dravidian tribes of to-day. When it is added that the aggregates which would be included in

the definition represent the lower end of a long series of social gradations which in their turn correspond not only to varieties of physical type, but also to peculiarities of custom and tribal structure, it is obviously but a short step to the conclusion that the motive principle of Indian caste is to be sought in the antipathy of the higher race for the lower, of the fair-skinned Aryan for the black Dravidian.

It will be said, reasonably enough, that this hypothesis, however applicable to certain larger groups, fails to account for the vast network of intricate divisions which the caste system now presents. The differences of type which distinguish the various trading, agricultural, pastoral, and fishing castes from each other are, it may be argued, not sharp enough to have brought the sentiment of race antipathy into play. On what principle, then, were these multifarious groups separated from the larger aggregates of which they formed part? I would reply, by the influence of fiction—a factor which Sir Henry Maine has shown to have contributed largely to the development of early societies. For illustrations of the working of this principle we need not travel far. The caste-making impulse has by no means spent its force, and its operation can be studied in most Indian districts at the present day. In Bengal, where the Aryan and Dravidian elements are in continual contact, it has created a series of endogamous groups, which may be roughly classified as *Ethnic, Provincial or Linguistic, Territorial or Local, Functional or Occupational, Sectarian, and Social*. In the first of these classes the race basis is palpable and acknowledged. The others have been generated by the fiction that men who speak a different language, who dwell in a different district, who worship different gods, who observe different social customs, who follow a different profession, or practise the same profession in a slightly different way, must be of a fundamentally different race. Usually, and in the case of sub-castes invariably, the fact is that there is no appreciable difference of race between the newly formed group and the aggregate from which it has been broken off.

If then caste was an institution evolved by the Aryans in the attempt to preserve the purity of their own stock, and afterwards expanded and adapted, by the influence of a series of fictions, to fit an endless variety of social, religious, and industrial conditions, we may expect that the physical data recently collected will have some bearing on Herr Karl Penka's speculations concerning the origin of the Aryans themselves. Clearly the Indian Aryans represent the furthest extension of the race towards the East. All along the eastern and northern frontier of Bengal we meet with a fringe of compact tribes of the short-headed or brachycephalic type, who are beyond question Mongolian. Starting from this area, and travelling up the plains of India north-westward towards the frontier of the Panjab, we observe

a gradual but steady increase of the dolichocephalic type of head, which Herr Penka claims as one of the chief characteristics of the original Aryans. Bengal itself is mostly mesaticephalic, and dolichocephaly only appears in some of the Dravidian tribes. In Behar, dolichocephalic averages are more numerous; in Oudh and the North-West Provinces this type is universal, and it reaches its maximum in the Panjab. Assuming that Herr Penka has correctly determined the original Aryan type, and that the theory of caste propounded above is the true one, these are just the results which might be looked for. According to the French anthropologists, the shape of the head is the most persistent of race characters, and the one which offers the greatest resistance to the levelling influence of crossing. That the Aryans should have retained this more durable character while undergoing a change in the more fugitive character of colour is in keeping with what we know of the conditions, social and climatic, to which they were exposed. In point of colour, indeed, the Aryan castes are by no means so dark as Europeans are apt to suppose—a fact which partially explains the indignation which the upper classes in India expressed at Lord Salisbury's reference to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as "a black man." The complexion, moreover, tends to grow lighter the further north-west we go, and survivals of reddish-blond complexion and auburn hair are met with beyond the frontier.

A possible objection may be disposed of here. It may be argued that if the Dravidians are dolichocephalic, the prevalence of this character in North-western India may be accounted for by the assumption of an intermixture of Dravidian blood. But if this were so, the proportion and degree of dolichocephaly would increase as we approach the Dravidian area, instead of diminishing, as is actually the case. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that the races of the North-west, if originally brachycephalic, could have acquired their dolichocephalic form of head from the Dravidians, without at the same time acquiring the characteristic Dravidian nose and the distinctive Dravidian colour.

The student of European history will naturally inquire, whether ideas which have exercised so marked an influence over social development have not also made themselves felt in the sphere of politics. The modern theory of race has within our own times contributed greatly to the changes which have transformed the map of Europe and shifted the centres of power. In India, where race distinctions, sharper than any we know in Europe, have been maintained from generation to generation by a system of artificial selection, their political influence has hitherto been almost imperceptible. External pressure has everywhere held the ethnic element in check. Only within the last few years, and under the stimulating influence of the study of English history and literature, has the Aryan section of

the Indian people risen to the consciousness of a sort of unity, and attempted to give it political expression in the National Congress, which, a few months ago, held its fifth annual session. This awakening of the upper classes—the Aryan castes—of India, though brought about by contact with European thought, does not in all respects correspond to the Western national movements to which it bears a certain general resemblance. The essential difference was clearly brought out by Sir Comer Petheram, Chief Justice of Bengal, in an address delivered by him as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in January last year.

“Above all,” said the Chief Justice, “it should be borne in mind by those who aspire to lead the people of this country into the untried regions of political life, that all the recognised nations of the world have been produced by the freest possible intermingling and fusing of the different race-stocks inhabiting a common territory. The horde, the tribe, the caste, the clan, all the smaller separate and often warring groups, characteristic of earlier stages of civilisation must, it would seem, be welded together by a process of unrestricted crossing before a nation can be produced. Can we suppose that Germany would ever have arrived at her present greatness, or would, indeed, have come to be a nation at all, if the numerous tribes mentioned by Tacitus, or the three hundred petty principedoms of last century, had been stereotyped and their social fusion rendered impossible by a system forbidding inter-marriage between the members of different tribes, or the inhabitants of different jurisdictions? If the tribe in Germany had, as in India, developed into the caste, would German unity ever have been heard of?”

The ethnological argument here used does not exclude, nor, if the address is rightly understood, was it intended to exclude, the possibility of the Indian people advancing in the direction of representative government by a route somewhat more direct than the reconstruction of their entire social system on European lines. It is true that the idea of nationality does not assume the same form in India and in Europe. But anthropology shows us that an appreciable unity of racial type underlies the apparent diversity of the educated castes from whose ranks the leaders and supporters of the Congress movement are drawn. The scientific data upon which this conclusion rests confirm and illustrate the unbroken current of Indian tradition which preserves the belief in the continuity of the Aryan stock. Whatever may be thought of the proposals of the Congress as an essay in practical politics, there can be no doubt that its propaganda have drawn together the most advanced sections of the Aryans in India, and that the political aspirations which unite them owe much of their strength to the consciousness of close ethnic affinity.

In truth, this intellectual and political awakening, be it of good or of bad omen for India, is no more than the necessary outcome of the process of evolution which was set in action when Lord Macaulay induced the Government of India to make the English rather than the Oriental classics the basis of the higher education. Some have seen

in Lord Macaulay's decision a characteristic lack of political foresight, and have blamed him for lightly sowing a seed which in the course of half a century has brought forth embarrassing fruit. As an English statesman and man of letters he could, however, hardly have given other advice than he did. And his action after all was perhaps scarcely so important as it is often made out to be. Had he held his hand or taken side with the Orientalists the same results would sooner or later have been brought about by the influence of the missionary schools and colleges, which, from the first, regarded English education as a possible stepping-stone towards the extension of Christianity. However this may be, it is too late now to think of things as otherwise than they are. We can no more restrict the study of English literature than the Popes of the fifteenth century could have set bounds to the study of classical antiquity. And wherever English literature finds its way the teachings of the Congress tend to take root and flourish.

If, then, it is impossible to arrest the stream of tendency which issues in the Congress movement, may it not be a more profitable pursuit to inquire how its force should be conducted into a useful channel and enabled to do its part towards governing the people of India? Any scheme which attempts to compass this end will have to reckon with certain general considerations arising from the influence of the race element. It must be borne in mind that the Indian social system, among both Mahomedans and Hindus, presents about the most perfect example of organised, though as yet unused, political machinery that it is possible for the human imagination to conceive. A caste is a ready-made caucus of the most compact character and adaptive structure, a permanent unit which is always there, which needs no nursing or looking after, and which, above all, is not liable to drop in pieces as public opinion changes or political enthusiasm wanes. It has its council which initiates proposals, its popular assembly which decides by acclamation on the questions laid before it, and its executive officers who give effect by fines, penances, and, in the last resort, by the ancient Asiatic sanction of boycotting, to the judgments which are pronounced. Instances are not unknown in which this organisation has been employed to further objects of some public importance. In one of the wilder districts of Bengal, during the Census of 1881, a curious rumour got about among the Dravidian tribes that the numbering of the people was merely the preliminary to the wholesale deportation of the men to serve as camp-followers in Afghanistan, and of the women to work as leaf-pickers in the tea-gardens of Assam. This silly fable, embellished with characteristic but highly indelicate details, created a general panic. Many thousands deserted their villages and hid themselves in a range of forest-clad hills, where they hoped to escape the official enumerators. The number of the fugitives was large enough to

vitiating the census statistics for that area, and the day fixed for the final enumeration was perilously near. Something had to be done, but any attempt to compel the tribes to come in would only have increased the panic. The district official used his personal acquaintance with some of the tribal headmen or elders to induce them to meet him and talk matters over. By explaining to them in simple language the real object of the census, and laying stress on the necessity of knowing, for the purpose of relieving famine, the exact population of a district which had within living memory suffered from two severe famines, he succeeded in inducing them to exert their influence to get the people back. So effective was their action and so readily were their orders obeyed, that within three days the villages were again occupied, and whatever may have been the defects of the census in that part of the country, they certainly did not lie on the side of omission.

The same thing was done, only in a more humorous fashion, by a district officer in the Central Provinces. Some of his tribes took fright and ran away, and he induced their headmen to listen to explanations. Relying on the fact that wagers of various kinds figure extensively in Indian folk-lore, he solemnly assured them that the Queen of England and the Emperor of Russia, having quarrelled as to which ruled over the most subjects, had laid a big bet on the point. He went on to explain that the census was being taken in order to settle the bet, and he warned his hearers in a spirited peroration that if they stayed in the jungle, and refused to be counted, the Queen would lose her money, and they would be disgraced for ever, as *nimak-harâm*, or traitors to their salt. The story served its purpose, and the tribes came in.

Trivial and grotesque as both incidents must appear, they may help to bring out some points which are worth remembering. They show us how wide is the moral and intellectual gulf which separates the Dravidian races at one end of the Indian social system from the cultivated Aryans at the other, who have assimilated so many English ideas, and are now striving to introduce corresponding political institutions. The Dravidians are everywhere on a far lower level than the Aryans, and between the two extremes we may trace manifold gradations of culture and capacity. But property, especially property in land, and the power which masses of men can exert when they move together, are not so concentrated in the hands of the more advanced race, nor are they distributed according to intellectual attainments. Any scheme of representation that professes to be final must take account of these facts. To establish a literate oligarchy, and call it representative government, would be a mere evasion of the real difficulty of the problem. Any one with a turn for constitution-making can construct abundant voting apparatus out of the municipal institutions which

already exist in the towns; but a franchise framed on this basis would leave the landed interests practically unrepresented.

On the other hand, the adoption of a wider franchise may give undue leverage to the caste organisation, the peculiarities of which we have already indicated. "If, under certain conditions, foreign officials can manipulate this agency with such far-reaching effect, it is easy to imagine what a formidable political engine it might become in the hands of a competent wire-puller. Many people believe that the appearance of a shoal of professional politicians of the American type would be the first result of any extension of the principle of representative government. A few specimens of the class have already shown themselves, and the large centres of population in India are in some respects favourable to its development. We may no doubt reply that the professional politician is a necessary evil; that everywhere, except in England, representative institutions tend to bring him to the front, and that in America, where his habits can best be studied, he has not done so very much harm after all. But readers of Mr. Bryce's great book on the American Commonwealth will remember how he explains that behind the boss and the caucus, behind the manifold appliances for manipulating votes, there exists a great reserve of solid and sensible public opinion, which asserts itself every now and then with telling effect, and can be relied upon in any real crisis to save the true interests of the country from being sacrificed to the vanity or spite of either political party. Can we say, at present, that any such reserve of practical wisdom exists in India? Can we confidently hope that the leaders who will wield the tremendous voting apparatus which the caste organisation provides will never lose their heads, and make an unwise use of the power they will have, to lead millions of men to vote solid on almost any conceivable question? These are questions to which experience alone can find the answer. Prudence demands that such experience should be gradually and tentatively acquired.

Notwithstanding these dangers, the extent of which we have endeavoured not to understate, it seems likely that the problem of extending representative institutions in India will have to be faced in a not very distant future. That such privileges should be claimed is nothing more than the logical consequence of our resolution to govern India by English rather than Asiatic methods. The nation which has set the rest of the world the standard example of constitutional government cannot consistently decline to apply its own doctrines to its Asiatic subjects as soon as they have shown themselves fit to make a proper use of the boon. Nor does it follow that action need be deferred until the whole of India has attained the necessary educational level. The provincial system of government would readily lend itself to a partial extension of representative institutions. A similar conclusion is suggested by the financial difficulties in which our

domestic policy has involved us. Instead of ruling India by the simple Oriental system which contents itself with looking after its revenue, and for the rest leaves people to shift for themselves, we have from the first set up a high and progressive ideal of civilised administration. The demand for a variety of improvements, such as village sanitation, special forms of education, improved medical treatment, and the like, grows continually, but brings with it no proportionate increase of financial resources. Money must be found to meet these wants, but any further increase in general taxation is felt to be undesirable. It follows that a system of local taxation enforced by local representative bodies offers us the best chance of being able to continue the career of administrative progress on which we have embarked. Such a system is also, as history teaches, the best, if not the only, school for the wise exercise of political rights.

Remembering, then, that the population we have to deal with is almost wholly agricultural, it would seem that a commencement must be made with the rural unit, the village. By strengthening the village organisation, and legally recognising the authority of the *panchayat* or elective council of village elders, one of the oldest and most durable of Indian institutions, a solid foundation would be laid for further development. Before we begin to make all things new it is clearly essential to ascertain what can be done with existing machinery. In a series of tracts addressed to the people of India the leaders of the Congress have appealed for support to the rural population, and it may be inferred from this that they consider the Indian villager capable of exercising electoral functions. Whether he is or is not can only be determined by actual experiment, and there are many forms in which such an experiment might be tried without producing any disastrous results or materially changing the present system of Government. My own impression is, that, within the range of subjects of which he has personal knowledge, he is considerably more intelligent than the English agricultural labourer.

It would be impossible within our present limits to sketch even the outlines of a scheme of village representation. But it would seem that the administrative reforms recently carried out in Prussia may furnish some general ideas which might bear translation into Indian forms. There a bureaucratic system bearing a surprisingly close resemblance to that prevalent in India has been leavened by the infusion of an elective element. The elective village headmen whose powers had fallen into disuse have been revived with the best effect, and a system of communal and provincial councils has been introduced. The example does not seem impossible to follow. Recognise village councils by law; give them small quasi-judicial powers, both civil and criminal, such as the village headmen in Prussia exercise; provide for their election; create a communal revenue and let the councils administer

it for local purposes ; and it is reasonable to expect that the *pancháyat*, now officially rather discredited, will gradually rise in dignity and influence. The personal law of a large number of castes is at present administered solely by their councils, and much interesting custom has by this means been preserved. Once let the village council be made a reality, and the leading men of these caste councils will seek election to it. It will thus assume the representative character which at present is wanting, and the village itself will cease to be a mere mob of individuals, none of whom can assume any responsibility for the common interests. Given a number of villages thus organised, and the task of forming them into larger units for electoral purposes would be a mere matter of arrangement. Their representatives, the elected members of the village councils, would, I believe, in course of time become as capable of forming a sound judgment on the political questions submitted to them as the peasants of most European countries. In advancing slowly and cautiously on these lines we shall at any rate avoid the fatal error of beginning at the wrong end.

H. H. RISLEY.

THE LAND PURCHASE BILL.

THE more Mr. Balfour's Land Purchase scheme is examined by the public, the less, I think, will the public like it. I have called it Mr. Balfour's Bill; but there seems to be some serious doubt as to whether Mr. Balfour is really the author of the scheme. Many insist that the Bill is mainly Mr. Goschen's production; and, indeed, it seems more like the device of a clever experimentalising financier than the Bill of a practical Irish Chief Secretary. If one were free to indulge in mere idle speculation on such a subject, I should be rather inclined to conjecture that the measure came out of an appeal from the Chief Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "Look here"—we may suppose for the moment such an appeal taking place—"I have to bring in a Bill for the buying out of some of these Irish landlords, but the trouble is, that the British taxpayers are sure to make a fuss about having their credit pledged for such a purpose. You know all about figures and finance—can't you tinker me up some sort of plan which will show that nobody will run any risk, and that everything will pay for itself out of its own pocket?" Thus put upon his mettle we can imagine Mr. Goschen going to work and devising an elaborate scheme, by virtue of which everybody is shown to be able to dance without anybody having to pay the piper. For assuredly the most prominent and the most carefully elaborated part of the Bill is that part which concerns itself to show that the British taxpayer runs no risk of being called upon to pay anything. A plain-minded man is a good deal puzzled at first; but still, being plain-minded, he has to come back always to the very plain fact that there are thirty-three millions of money to be got at somehow, and he cannot see on whose credit that money is to be raised unless on the credit of the British taxpayer.

Another difficulty arises about determining the authorship of the

Bill, for Mr. Chamberlain, although he does not actually claim the scheme as his own, yet describes it as practically identical with a scheme which he had prepared. Is this Bill then only Popkin's plan, after all? Perhaps I may explain this allusion to Popkin's plan, a term applied in the House of Commons three years ago to a scheme of which Mr. Chamberlain was the author. The phrase was taken from a speech of Mr. Disraeli's in one of the debates on Peel's Corn Law policy in 1846. Mr. Disraeli told the House of Commons that the first day after Peel had made the exposition of his policy, a gentleman "well known and learned in all the political secrets behind the scenes," met him (Disraeli) and asked what he thought of the plan. "I said I did not exactly know what to say about it; but, to use the phrase of the hour, I supposed it was a great and comprehensive plan." "Oh," he replied, "we know all about it; it is not *his* plan at all, it is Popkin's plan." Then, having made this amusing announcement on the authority he described, Mr. Disraeli turned to the Speaker and asked: "Is England, sir, to be convulsed for Popkin's plan?" Further, Mr. Disraeli asked whether the Minister will "appeal to the people on such a plan? Will he appeal to England on a fantastic scheme of some pedant?" Mr. Disraeli answered his own question with the words "I do not believe it." The Government, we may be sure, have not the remotest idea now of going to the country on the Land Purchase Bill, whether it be Mr. Balfour's, or Mr. Goschen's, or only Popkin's plan coming up in a new form.

What is the object of the measure? Let any one try to strip the Bill of its multitudinous details and get a clear good look at its construction, and he will soon see what it is meant to do. It is meant to assist some of the least successful and the least popular of Irish landlords to get a higher price for their land than they could get in the open market. There seems to have been some misgiving of this kind in the mind of the author of the Bill, for one of the conditions on which the Land Department is to make a vesting order is that the agreement is "*bona fide* and without collusion." But what would be considered collusion? A landlord has got his affairs into a mess; he wants to sell his land as fast as he can; he does not want to stay; he does not like the place; he does not like the people; the people do not much like him. He goes to one of his tenants and shows the man that it will be for the advantage of both of them if they can agree upon a sale and purchase. He lets the tenant see that it will even be for his advantage to agree to a much larger sum than could be got by any sale in the open market; for the Treasury will find the money, and the repayments are spread out in such a fashion that a trifle over the fair amount could do the tenant no harm and would do the landlord much good. Then the landlord clinches the suggestion by saying: "If you don't consent to this I'll not consent to the sale."

Would that be called collusion if it were discovered? If that be collusion there will, I am well convinced, be very few sales under any such measure which would not be arranged by some such collusion. But the whole thing could be managed by a friendly hint hardly reducible to words. The tenant, to be sure, cannot be compelled to buy. No; but he may be made to see that if he does not consent to buy at once, and to buy pretty much on the landlord's terms, all the hard conditions under which he holds his land and of which he complains will be kept up for him. In any case he wants to buy if he can; he does not want to be cut off from all chance of buying; and the present Bill, if passed into law, will be a capital instrument in the hands of a certain class of landlord to get out of the Treasury and the tenant together a good deal more than they could have any possible hope of getting out of the open market. Now assuming, what I hope to be able to prove, that the credit of England must be pledged to this purchase scheme if it is to be a reality in any sense, I do not see what the unsuccessful Irish landlords as a class have done for the British taxpayer that he should be willing to put his name to a bond securing to them a positive pecuniary boon or bribe which he may have to pay for in the end.

For myself—and I am only speaking for myself in this article—I may say that the moment I knew that the sale was not to be compulsory on the part of the landlord, there was an end of any inclination towards the measure on my part. The Bill has three objects as set forth in its preamble. It is a measure “to provide further facilities for the purchase of land in Ireland;” “for the improvement of the condition of the poorer and more congested districts;” and “for the constitution of a Land Department.” For the constitution of a Land Department! As if they had not Departments enough already in Ireland! As if they wanted any more! As if the people of Ireland had the slightest faith and confidence in most of the Departments by which they are already blest! As if a new Department of Dublin Castle could, to use a phrase of Carlyle's, “exhilarate any creature” outside what I may call the “Liberties” of Dublin Castle! Still, let the Department pass. *Va pour le ruban*—the phrase is Molière's, and, if I may be allowed to say so, quoting from Byron, “not ill applied;” for there will be ribbons to give away out of this. There might be a tale of almost romantic interest told of the manner in which whole families have been enabled in Ireland to recompense themselves for the stinginess of Nature or Fate, or an unappreciative public of solicitors and clients, or a War Office that would not recognise true merit, by means of a Department of Dublin Castle. However, let us accept the Department and “argue not with the inexorable.” Every change in Ireland under the rule of a Castle Government means a new Department. Therefore let us take the Land Department for granted.

That is one of the three avowed objects, of the Bill ; I feel almost inclined to say that is one of the two real objects of the Bill. It is put last, but perhaps it ought to be put first. Then we have the object of providing further facilities for the purchase of land in Ireland, and then the improvement of the poorer and more congested districts. May I call attention to the fact that it was not any Government official who first pointed out the necessity of special treatment for congested districts in Ireland ? If I am not greatly mistaken, the very phrase itself was first used in that special application by Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons, and it was Mr. Parnell who first suggested that "migration" and not "emigration" was the proper course of remedy. The Land Purchase Bill covers both emigration and migration, but its clauses, so far as I can form a judgment, will have absolutely no practical effect either way. The important part of the Bill is, of course, that which deals with the sale and purchase of the land. The Land Department being constituted, an agreement for sale and advances is to be made on certain conditions. These are— "If the landlord and the tenant of a holding in Ireland make an agreement for the sale of the holding to the tenant, and either—the purchase-money is agreed on by them, and specified in the agreement—or, the agreement refers it to the Land Department to fix the price of the interest which the tenant agrees to buy in the holding." Now the last provision will be seen; from what I have already said, to be of little or no value. Suppose the Land Department to be all that the best friends of the tenant could wish it, yet it is plain that the tenant cannot go before the Land Department without the consent of his landlord. How could he ? The tenant shrinks from the conditions of sale and purchase offered by the landlord. He says he would much rather take his chance with the Land Department. Thereupon, nothing prevents the landlord from saying, "If that be so, then I decline to consent to any sale and any purchase," and where is the tenant then ? This Bill seems as if it were ingeniously designed to put the tenant at the absolute mercy of his landlord. It will create two distinct and different classes of tenantry living side by side under the same apparent conditions to begin with, but under totally different conditions forced on them by Mr. Balfour's measure. Let us take the case of two brothers. One holds a farm under a landlord who is willing to sell. Let us suppose him to be a good landlord, anxious to do all he can for his tenants, but compelled by the pressure of the times to endeavour to get bought out of his land. The other brother holds under a landlord whom we shall suppose to be good also and unselfish, but who has been on the whole doing fairly well with his land, and has his theories and principles about ownership and responsibility, and is not inclined to part with his property. He will not sell. Then you have the two brothers, who are absolutely on a level

to begin with, before this scheme of Mr. Balfour's was devised, but who from that moment become absolutely unlike in conditions, and of whom one is supposed to be put on the high road to prosperity, while the other is left in the ditch by the roadside.

It may be argued that a good landlord will always be willing to sell. Nothing of the kind can seriously be maintained. There are excellent landlords who have a strong faith in the principle of landlordism, and who believe they are doing good to the whole community by maintaining it. Then there are landlords who have good intentions, but whose property is heavily encumbered with mortgages, and such-like loads, and in whose case the payment of the purchase-money in its yearly instalments would be an advantage rather to the creditors than to the owners. Hardly anything could be more utterly unsatisfactory than this sudden creation of two distinct classes of tenants in Ireland, whose luck or ill-luck depends not on themselves, but solely on the will of their landlords. If the Bill were meant to do any good at all to the country in general, it ought to have been made one of its principles that a tenant wishing to purchase should have the power to apply to the Land Court to order a sale if it thought proper, just as a tenant could apply to the Court under the previous legislation to fix a judicial rent. Nearly all the Tory legislation which professes to carry out anything in the nature of social or economic reform is spoiled by this introduction of what is oddly called the "voluntary principle"—a voluntary principle which, as one of my countrymen said of reciprocity, is "all on the one side." The way of Tory legislation is to indicate in a measure that there is something which a landlord or an employer ought to do, and then to leave him to do it, or let it alone, just as it pleases him. A really good Land Purchase Bill for Ireland must be a measure of social revolution in the best sense of the words. It must start on the principle that a great change is to be wrought by the law. The law, not the landlord, must rule.

I must say that I believe the British taxpayer would be willing to run any risks, and even to spend much money, for the sake of a real and final settlement of the Irish land question. How many years have passed away since John Stuart Mill made his famous recommendation to the English people to have recourse to heroic remedies in dealing with that Irish land question! Twenty years at least have gone by since that time, and the heroic remedies are still untried. I am convinced that if the English public now were offered some scheme which promised a final settlement, they would not shrink from the mere risk, the mere responsibility, the mere cost in money. But the scheme put forward by Mr. Balfour is not in the nature of a heroic remedy. It does not promise to settle anything. It rather, indeed, indicates the departure of a new agitation. It is not accepted thoroughly by any class of persons in Ireland. It is repudiated

altogether by those who speak in the name of the great majority of the Irish people. It is not accepted unanimously by the landlords and the landlord class. Some of the Dublin newspapers which are most devoted to the interests of Tory landlordism, denounce the Bill quite as strongly as *United Ireland* denounces it. I do not think that, if the measure be carried in its present form, there would be anything like a strike against the payment of the purchase-money by those who had taken advantage of the Bill. But I do say that if such a thing were from any reason ever to take place, the Irish political leaders would be fairly entitled to say that they, at least, had warned us of the risk we were running when we forced upon the Irish people a measure which they had not asked for, and were unwilling to accept.

If all this is a reason why we should not pass the measure, it is assuredly a still stronger reason why England should not involve herself in a sort of little National Debt all over again. The measure certainly will not settle the Irish land question. Those who listened to Mr. Parnell's speech when he moved his amendment to the motion for the second reading of the Bill, can hardly have much doubt on that subject. I have heard a great many harsh things said of Mr. Parnell—I have heard a great many offensive things said of him—I have heard many false things said of him—but I never heard any one say of him that he did not understand the Irish land question. According to him, what will this measure of Mr. Balfour's do towards the settling of that question? It will buy out one landlord out of nine; and it will buy out the landlords who have the least claim to be bought out. It will buy in one tenant out of four; and, as a rule, it will buy in the tenants who have the least claim to be assisted by the State. Now, in the face of a statement like this made by Mr. Parnell, what is the excuse for asking the British taxpayer to pledge his credit for this measure? But, it may be asked, does he pledge his credit? Well, let us see. What is the alternative? What is the fund which stands between him and his personal responsibility? The Bill itself is enough to quote on this subject. The Government say that they are prepared to intercept and to seize upon certain securities in Irish local funds—in funds assigned by the English Treasury for the most part—to meet the risk of a loss on the land purchase scheme. Let us turn to the Bill itself. Any one who is not satisfied by the clauses of the Bill as to the responsibility of the British taxpayer is beyond the reach of argument. The Government propose to establish a guarantee fund. This fund is to consist of the Exchequer contribution of £40,000—the Exchequer contribution when the duties on certain local licences are transferred, as in England and Scotland, to local authorities; the Irish probate duty grant; the grants for rates and contributions in lieu of rates on Government property in Ireland; the grants in aid of the

cost of maintenance of pauper lunatics in district asylums in Ireland; the grants in aid of the salaries of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in Ireland, and of the salaries of medical officers of workhouses and dispensaries in Ireland; of the cost of medicines and medical and surgical appliances in Ireland; of the salaries of officers appointed under the Public Health Act; of the grant in aid of the maintenance of children in industrial schools in Ireland; and the grant for the expenses of the Commissioners in Ireland under the account headed "National Schools." I wonder how the British taxpayer likes the look of his securities? I wonder how he likes the idea of "collaring" the salaries of the poor schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and of the medical officers in the Irish workhouses, to meet any deficiency in the payment of the instalments of purchase-money? I wonder how he likes the idea of the pauper lunatics being turned adrift in Ireland if the purchase-money be not annually paid up? Does not all this belong to the realm of grim burlesque? In Webster's pathetic, terrible "Duchess of Malfi," the cruel, vengeful, selfish brother of the Duchess turns loose the madmen from the asylum on his sister in order to frighten her into submission. Is the English ratepayer prepared to play the part of the Duke Ferdinand, and turn loose the madmen of the Irish pauper lunatic asylums of Ireland on his poor sister Ireland in order to frighten her into submission to the demands of the Land Purchase Bill?

Remember, too, that this punishment would fall chiefly on the poor tenants who had not got any benefit out of the measure. According to Mr. Parnell's estimate, one out of every four tenants at most would gain by this Bill. If those who got the advantage of the Bill should fail to meet their legal obligations, then those who had had no benefit by it would have to do without education and medical attendance in workhouses, and would have their pauper lunatics returned on their hands, or else would have to make good the deficiencies of their neighbours who had got their farms and their purchase-money. Of course everybody in his senses knows that these guarantees would not be enforced—could not be enforced. Even in Ireland there must be some consideration shown by the ruling authorities for the decencies of civilisation. The Chief Secretary has yet to be invented who could come to the House of Commons and say, "The annual instalment of the Land Purchase Fund has not been fully repaid this year, and so we have stopped the salaries of the schoolmasters and mistresses and the medical officers in Irish workhouses, and we have evicted all the pauper lunatics and sent them drifting along the streets and roads." Of course nothing of the kind could be done, and as nothing of the kind can be done, then we have to fall back upon the British taxpayer. The British taxpayer has to reflect that even if he does make a sacrifice he is not settling the Irish land question. He is establishing a system which may benefit one tenant out of four. What

does that mean but the starting of a new agitation on the part of the three tenants who have been thus left out in the cold? Are they going to sit down tamely and submit not only to being shut out from all the benefit of the Act, but also to having to accept part of the pecuniary responsibility of those whom the Act favours? Will they not forthwith set going a new agitation for a far wider scheme of purchase, and a far more liberal advance on the part of the Government? Would they not be quite right in doing so? Then where is the settlement under this Bill? What are the English taxpayers pledging their credit for?

Again, suppose for the sake of argument that the Irish local securities were really available funds for the purpose and were sufficient, who guarantees them? Dublin Castle? But can Dublin Castle guarantee anything in the name of the Irish people? When the authorities in Dublin Castle can succeed in getting a supporter of theirs elected for the very division of Dublin in which the Castle stands, we shall begin to believe in the possibility of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary and the Grand Juries being able to offer a guarantee in the name of the Irish people. As matters stand, the authors of this Land Purchase scheme propose to give a guarantee which if it were theirs to give would be not alone utterly insufficient but wholly unacceptable, and they propose to give it in the name of the Irish people, for whom they have as much authority to speak as the Austrian commandant of a Venetian garrison in the old times had to speak in the name of the people of Venice. Let us face the facts steadily. A Coercion Government can offer nothing in the name of the Irish people. A Coercion Government can indeed do a good deal to get the offer of an Irish landlord to sell his estate accepted by the landlord's tenants. A reluctant tenant can be pressed in various ways. He may be a member of the local branch of the National League—indeed, he is almost certain to be. He may have been present at some meeting of the branch when some one called for a cheer for William O'Brien or a groan for Mr. Balfour. He may be reminded of these crimes, and it may be hinted to him that if he does not close with his landlord there may be an prison in which all his sins will be remembered. No one who knows anything about the present state of Ireland will say that I am talking about impossibilities or even improbabilities. In that way a Coercion Government can undoubtedly be of direct or, at all events, indirect assistance in bringing about a settlement between landlord and tenant for the sale and purchase of land. But between the Irish people and the British taxpayer the Coercion Government can offer nothing in the way of guarantee. Mr. Balfour answering for Ireland is like Gessler answering for Switzerland. The British taxpayer who believes in that assurance deserves to have to pay for his credulity.

But Mr. Balfour has deliberately taken a course which makes his

position much worse than he need have made it. He has declared his conviction that the leaders of the Irish Party in and out of Parliament are opposing his Bill only because they believe it will fully and finally settle the Irish Land question, and because with that settlement their occupation will be gone and they will no longer be able to live by agitation. Mr. Balfour is an accomplished man, and in many ways a very clever man. But, quite apart from a matter of good taste and good feeling, and a rational recognition of possible sincerity in those who differ from us, is there not something akin to positive stupidity in such an argument on such a subject and at such a crisis? Can it be that Mr. Balfour really believes what he says? Is he really so ignorant of human nature—is he so blind as to what is going on under his very eyes? Did he ever hear or read of a great national agitation—one might almost say a great social revolution—carried on to success by men who only got it up to make a living by it? Will he refer us to any page of history which gives us an authentic account of such a phenomenon? Or, to come to a matter of small and practical detail, will he give us the names of the Irish members—of any Irish members—who have gained in the vulgar and pecuniary sense by their connection with the Irish National cause? I can give him, if he cares about it, a fairly long list of the names of men who have lost by it. But what manner of ruler of a country is he who tells the Irish people that the men whom they have elected to represent them by the most overwhelming majorities are adopting their cause only to make money out of it? If anything were needed to make his Land Purchase scheme detestable in the mind of the Irish people it would be just this sort of senseless cynical calumny. Mr. Balfour is too clever by half. He overdoes his sceptical cleverness. If he has not imagination enough to conceive the possibility of men acting and suffering for some higher end than the making an ignoble livelihood, then he ought to have cleverness enough to pretend to a people like the Irish that he really does believe they have such persons among them. I hope all British taxpayers will take account of this in estimating the value of the security which the Irish Chief Secretary has to offer them as a guarantee that they are not to be called upon to pay for the buying out of a few of the least deserving Irish landlords. I hope all British taxpayers will observe that this Chief Secretary, whose power and influence could not get a candidate rejected by a lesser majority than ten or fifteen to one in any Irish constituency outside the University of Dublin and a certain portion of Orange Ulster, undertakes to settle, in the name of the Irish people, what three out of every four Irish tenants will be willing to sacrifice for a measure which brings them in no benefit whatever.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY.

COMPENSATION FOR LICENSES.

I.

TWO years ago, when Mr. Ritchie's excellent Bill for County Government was nearly wrecked by his unhappy licensing clauses, somebody wrote the following words: "The Government is already a sleeping partner in the Drink Trade, as every Budget shows. This Bill and Mr. Goschen's Budget will create as many sleeping partners as there are counties in England." "The Drink Trade, like the shirt of Nessus, so clings to the Bill as to be identified with it." The shirt of Nessus was torn off by the public indignation of the country, and the Bill was saved. But it seems to cling to the Government. Mr. Goschen has slipped into the manifold financial details of the Budget a compensation for publicans tenfold worse than Mr. Ritchie's licensing clauses. Is the Drink Trade a condition of life to the party now in government? Is it not possible to maintain the constitutional and conservative traditions of the Empire without buying or bribing the goodwill of the Drink Trade? The worst enemy of Lord Salisbury's government could hardly impute a lower motive or harbour a more dishonouring suspicion.

And yet here we are once more, face to face, with the same covert scheme to establish and to endow the Drink Trade, and that for the first time with the money of the people of England, in violation of the facts of history, the decisions of the law, and the welfare of the people at large.

We complain of this all the more intensely, because the condition and the future of the Drink Trade ought to be discussed and decided on its own merits only, and as a question of prime and vital importance to the United Kingdom. Instead of this we have now for the second time a covert and indirect introduction of the whole question treated not as a matter of history and law and policy, but as a scheme of finance. It is upon this ground, and not on the plea that moneys

raised upon granting of licenses can be better applied, that we earnestly appeal to the public opinion and public conscience of the country, including the Government itself, to obtain the excision of this portion of Mr. Goschen's Budget as the same opposition two years ago cut out the licensing clauses from Mr. Ritchie's Bill.

I. We are compelled therefore once again to restate the reasons and laws which govern the Drink Trade.

1. Encouraged by brewers, distillers and publicans, and by all interested in it, both in private life and by Chancery of the Exchequer for the sake of revenue, nevertheless, the Drink Trade has at all times of our history been subjected to rigorous limitations to repress its evil effects by the Acts of the Legislature. The Drink Trade has never had need of legislative promotion, but has always needed legislative repression. It stands alone in the history of free trade.

2. A license to sell intoxicating drink is a legal limitation and precaution taken against the trade. So far is it from a personal property negotiable, or giving claim to continuance or renewal, it is a simple permission to sell intoxicating drink under two stringent limitations, the one in point of time, that is, for one year only; and the other in point of conduct, that is, on the part of the holder of the license and on the conduct of the business.

3. A license therefore is a permission to the holder and a prohibition under penalty to all other men to sell intoxicating drink. The whole licensing system is intended to restrict and to minimise the extent of the trade. It was to put away tippling houses and to limit the number of places where intoxicating drink was sold, that the first licenses were granted in the time of Edward VI. They were granted only to persons commended by local authority as fit to hold the responsible duty of checking the vice of intemperance.

By what torture of reasoning can it be contended that an annual license is a personal property or a negotiable value, attaching either to the holder or to the house? So much for the history of a license in itself.

II. Again and again for many years publicans, brewers, and licensed victuallers have attempted to set up a claim of a vested interest. Both Parliament and the judges have made short work of this vested interest.

1. The Act 35 & 36 Victoria, chap. 27, section 6, defines the tenure of a license. "It shall be in force for one year from the date of its being granted." The Act 9 George IV. chap. 1, section 13, says for one year "and no longer."

2. Justice Stephen, in the Court of Queen's Bench, November 1882, said: "By the renewal of a license we mean a *new* license granted to a man who had one before."

3. Mr. Patterson, in his book on the Licensing Acts, says of the Act of 1874, "there is nothing in this or other Acts to make it compulsory on the justices to renew the license any more than in ordinary cases."

4. In the "Justice of the Peace," in 1883, it was laid down: "The discretion of the licensing justices to grant or refuse or transfer a victualler's license is absolute, and they are not obliged to state any reason for their refusal."

5. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, in the Court of Queen's Bench, May 18, 1878, said: "According to the Act of 1828 the justices have the same discretion to refuse a renewal as they had to refuse granting a new license."

6. Viscount Cross, when Home Secretary, declared that magistrates had just the same power to refuse renewals as they had to refuse new licenses.

7. Sir William Harcourt, when Home Secretary in 1883, said the law is that every license is annual and may be refused; the magistrates have power to prohibit any sale.

8. Mr. Justice (now Lord) Field, in the Court of Queen's Bench, November 1882, said: "In every case in every year there is a new license granted. You may call it renewal if you like, but that does not make it an old one. The Legislature does not call it a renewal. The Legislature is not capable of calling a new thing an old one. The Legislature recognises no vested right at all in any holder of a license. It does not treat the interest as a vested one in any way."

9. Baron Pollock, also in the Court of Queen's Bench, January 31, 1884, said: "The notion that there is a property of the landlord in a license cannot be considered as sound law."

10. Mr. Justice (now Lord) Field and Mr. Justice Wills, April 30, 1888, united in the same judgment. Justice Wills said, in 1874, that a new license is defined as a license granted at a general annual licensing meeting in respect of premises in respect of which a similar license has not been granted before, which was a little modified from the definition of the Act of 1872, but only to correct a mistake from the use of the words "*licensed premises*," inasmuch as *premises* were never licensed, the license being in all cases a *personal* one.

11. What wonder, then, that the late Mr. Nash, Barrister-at-Law, and counsel to the Licensed Victuallers' Association, said: "Now, I am sorry to say, having looked into this question most exhaustively, and having compared notes with my brethren well

versed in these matters, that there cannot be the smallest doubt that in the strict sense no such thing as a vested interest exists. . . . The mere mention of the term vested interest should be avoided, as it infuriates every Court from the Queen's Bench downwards." *

Nevertheless, Mr. Goschen assumes that publicans have a vested interest to be compensated, overturning without a word the decisions of judges and the definitions of the Legislature.

III. In defiance of all these Acts and authorities, Mr. Goschen's Budget would create for the first time a vested interest in the holding of a license, and the effect of creating this vested interest would render it impossible to deal with publicans without compensation.

1. Nevertheless, our history shows that from the time of Edward III. to this day Parliament has dealt with the Drink Trade, reducing and prohibiting its sale in England, Scotland, and Ireland, often by extensive and peremptory measures, without a particle of compensation.

2. In our colonies, as in Canada, local option and temperance legislation have no shadow of compensation.

3. In the United States, as in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Iowa, and Kansas, there is no compensation.

4. A claim for compensation was brought in appeal before the United States Supreme Court, and the appeal was dismissed.

But now it may be said that surely to put a man out of a lawful trade, on which he has lawfully entered, without compensation, is obviously unjust.

To which I answer :

1. No ; if he has entered upon it with a full knowledge that his tenure of it is for a year only.

2. No ; if upon the tenure of a year he has made imprudent outlay. There is no compensation for imprudence. Imprudence must bear its own penalty.

3. No ; if he has more than compensated himself already during his year's tenure out of the large profits, which were obviously the reason and the motive for seeking the license.

The profits of a public-house are notoriously so large that a year's trade is a disproportioned remuneration both on money spent and on toil involved. In this sense a license is of the nature of a monopoly, and gives to a publican an exclusive right in the midst of his neighbours to make for a year a great profit in the sale of intoxicating drink. He has no right to compensation, because he cannot obtain the profit and the monopoly of another year.

* "Compensation," by Mr. Malins, p. 45.

That we may form some idea of the enormous profits of the Drink Trade, we may take the following facts. Mr. Caine, who I am glad to see is about to republish his pamphlet, stated, two years ago : "A new house was built at Newcastle-on-Tyne, at a total cost for site, building, and incidental charges, of £800. A license from an old house was bought and removed to it, and its value rose to £6300. The house was shortly afterwards sold for that sum." Under the compensation of Mr. Ritchie's Bill, "it would be impossible to withdraw the license even on grounds of public convenience without a compensation of £5500."

"A house in Liverpool with a license, worth £2000, was bought by a brewer for £10,500. The compensation would be £8500."

"Another house in Liverpool, purchased a few years ago for £800, before the grant of a license, was lately sold for £8500, which would require a compensation of £7700."

"A gin-palace near the docks was built for less than £8000. All the steamship owners in vain opposed the grant of a license. A leading brewer has offered £20,000 for it, but the offer has been refused. The compensation would be £12,000."

If these clauses had become law, the Drink Trade "would have been endowed and protected at the cost of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty millions of money ; and this compensation would go not only to publicans, but also to brewers, and even still more to ground-landlords."

But Mr. Goschen's scheme raises no question of millions of money, but of a sum so ludicrously small, that no perceptible diminution for generations to come in the evils of the Drink Trade could be obtained by it. But the principle involved in it, in violation of law, policy, and public morality, would be for the first time established in the law of England, and our public revenues would be applied to its encouragement and support.

HENRY EDWARD CARD. MANNING.

II.

THE establishment by law of some scheme for providing safety for those interested in public-house licenses appears to have a remarkable fascination over the present Government. They attempted it in their Local Government Bill of 1888. Then it evoked a passionate protest from the country, not merely from those who are styled "temperance fanatics," but equally from the sober and sensible working men. It cost the Government two seats, one at Southampton, where a Tory majority of 668 was turned into a minority of 885; and one at the Ayr Burghs, where a Unionist majority of 1175 became a minority of 63—a defeat reversed a few weeks ago, when another election was taken without this complicating issue. The Government wisely withdrew their proposals, the culminating influence being, it is said, a private remonstrance signed by all the Conservative members for the Metropolis.

Mr. Ritchie's proposal for compensation was, that if the County Councils, acting as licensing authorities in place of the justices, thought fit to refuse to renew a license for any cause other than offences against the law, an arbitrator should be appointed, who would value the public-house *with* and *without* the license attached, and that the difference should be paid to those interested from funds derivable partly from taxation and partly from increased licensing charges on the remaining publicans. The Government, though defeated in 1888, do not seem to have been disheartened, and are once more attempting to introduce by the back door the principle which two years ago was kicked down the front steps.

Their new proposal appropriates certain revenues from liquor *pro rata* to the County Councils, for the express and only purpose of buying up public-house licenses with a view to their extinction. It is

mixed up in the same Bill with schemes for the superannuation of the police, and the suspension of power to grant any more new licenses. These latter form the sugar-coating which it is hoped may induce Parliament to swallow the pill of compensation.

Mr. Ritchie is very indignant at being charged with a desire to "compensate." He vows that the word "compensation" never appears in the Bill at all, and that in doing what the Government have done they do not in any way lay the basis of compensation. He asserts that they do not desire by their proposals to lay down any lines upon which compensation is to proceed when Parliament comes to deal with the whole question of licensing. I am sure Mr. Ritchie is sincere in these declarations, but nobody appears to agree with him. He has alarmed the whole Temperance party, even the most moderate section of it, and the fiery cross has gone round the country. The liquor trade hail the Bill with joy, their leading organ, the *Morning Advertiser*, calling on the trade, wholesale and retail, to give unanimous support to legislation which "asserts the principle that the suppression of a license through no misconduct on the part of its holder shall be effected by payment for its extinction." The Conservative press join in the chorus. The *St. James's Gazette* contends that "the Government has successfully asserted the principle that the extinction of a license shall be accompanied by compensation."

It is therefore abundantly clear that the Government have once more thought it wise to bring on the compensation struggle, and by getting the House committed to a small and limited proposal, to establish the principle in an Act of Parliament in such definite form that it will be impossible for future Governments to go back upon it. They evidently attach greater importance to this than to any other Bill they have before the House. Already the session is committed to a programme fully up to, if not beyond, its powers; and it appears as though the Government were prepared to set aside even their boasted remedial legislation for Ireland to secure the safety of their old and trusty allies the publicans from the dangers of a possible Radical successor.

If the Bill becomes an Act of Parliament, the first County Council that exercises the powers contained in it, and negotiates successfully for the purchase, out of public money, of the interest in a license granted for twelve months only, establishes and roots in a precedent that cannot be departed from. The temperance party feel that this is a question of life and death to their hopes, and will therefore resist by every legitimate means within their reach the passing of this measure. They cannot and will not entertain any proposal which confers anything but a twelve months' interest in a public-house license, holding that nothing more exists; or can exist, without fresh legislation conferring it.

I dismiss as unworthy of consideration what is called "compas-

“siorate” compensation. It is scouted alike by publican and teetotaler. The licensee is either entitled to compensation or he is not. If he is, he is then entitled to the full and complete compensation proposed by the Government in its Bill in 1888, to which Mr. Ritchie declares he and his colleagues still adhere, and they are quite justified, if the law is not clear, in attempting to amend the law. The temperance party, and I think I may add the great bulk of the Liberal party, demur entirely to any such view, and refuse to entertain the question of legal compensation at all.

The liquor trade differs from every other. There is not, and never has been, free trade in intoxicating drinks. It is a privileged monopoly, jealously guarded by Acts of Parliament, every one of which has been passed with the intention of protecting the public from the publican. It is treated in those Acts as a dangerous, crime-creating trade; the person entrusted with the license to sell must be a man of spotless reputation, and must reappear at the end of his term, of twelve months, the utmost limit of time during which the State will trust him with his dangerous responsibility, that the justices may be satisfied that his reputation remains spotless. The house in which he carries on the business must be of a certain character and proportion; before he is licensed, the justices are bound to take into account the requirements of the neighbourhood; and after he is licensed, he is placed under strict police supervision. Nothing can be clearer: a license is a permission granted to a most carefully selected individual, living in a carefully selected house, to sell a dangerous article for twelve months, and no longer; and the State, by closely limiting the period, has always reserved to itself the right to withdraw the permission.

This principle is solidly established—that a publican’s license is held subordinate to the public good and the common weal. The holder of a license for one year only has no legal claim whatever to a license for the next year. Mr. Justice Field declared, in the Court of Queen’s Bench, in November 1882, that “in every case in every year there is a new license granted. The legislature recognises no vested right at all in any holder of a license.” A publican’s license is not considered to be “property” in the sense of property which would pass to the holder’s trustee in bankruptcy; for in a recent case in which such a trustee took possession of a bankrupt publican’s license, and opposed applications for its temporary transfer to the landlord of the house, the learned Chief Judge in Bankruptcy held that the trustee had no right to the license. (*Ex parte Royle*, 46 L.J., Bankruptcy, p. 85.)

The recent well-known case of *Sharp v. Wakefield* shows that renewals of licenses may be refused at the absolute discretion of the justices; the action of the Westmoreland Justices in this case having

been confirmed on appeal by the County Quarter Sessions, the Court of Queen's Bench, and the Court of Appeal; the latter finally deciding that the justices had an unlimited judicial discretion in the matter, and might refuse to renew a publican's license on other grounds than the want of qualification, bad character, or misconduct of the applicant.

All this is proved, upheld and fully admitted by the Bill now before the House. It is therein expressly stated that *new* on-licenses shall only be granted "at the free and unqualified discretion of the Licensing Authority," and Mr. Ritchie stated that these words were inserted to make it clear that no right whatever should attach in the case of new licenses. But I contend that *every license now in existence* has been granted on precisely similar terms; and on the same grounds, no right whatever should attach to them either. The attempt on the part of the Government to establish these compensation rights, is in itself an ample avowal on their part that they do not now exist in law.

Of course, the contention of the Government can only be, that, existing in equity and morals, they ought to be made legal. I deny the equitable or moral claim. No compensation ought ever to be given for the extinction of a privileged monopoly for which nothing has been paid to the State granting it, simply because the monopoly has changed hands, and money has passed between successive monopolists. A monopoly in its very nature bars all claim for compensation. It already confers what is equivalent to compensation in the advantage given by the monopoly. This particular monopoly is granted for a strictly limited period of time. If the monopolist makes money during that period, he has received his compensation. If he has lost money, where is his claim?

The equitable position of the holder of a license is quite clear. He has special profits from a license, the possession of which *restricts competition*, while he knows perfectly well that he is under risk of having the monopoly withdrawn.

It is perfectly true that the risk of withdrawal has been slight, and that on the strength of it, the monopolist has been able to sell his chance of renewal to other monopolists. *Caveat emptor!* The buyer knew what he was about; and if any one has been silly enough to give excessive prices for the speculative chances of renewal, he cannot expect the British public to step into his shoes.

How have these artificial values been created, from which the Government think the present owners ought to be bought out? I take one or two cases out of many hundreds.

Four or five years ago some one built a gin-palace opposite the entrance-gates of one of the great steam-ship docks in Liverpool. He spent £8000. When it was finished, he applied for a license. His application was opposed by every shipowner using the dock, and by every stevedore and master-porter employing labour in the dock.

Their opposition was fruitless, and the license was granted. The owner of the gin-palace was worth £8000 as he ate his breakfast; he sat down to his tea worth £20,000, having refused that sum from a big brewer for his house, plus a twelve months' license and the speculative chance of renewal.

Sir Andrew B. Walker, of Liverpool, has for forty years been slowly amassing 250 public-houses in and about that city. I doubt if they have cost him £500,000 all told. He has just sold them to a company for £2,000,000, and the prospectus declares that the wholesale and retail profit of his business has been over £200,000 a year for some years past. This gentleman has had 250 licensed monopolies, out of which he has realised a princely fortune, and which he has sold to a sanguine public, greedy of high rates of interest, for an enormous sum. If I had attempted to make money out of drink without these licenses, I should have been sent to prison.

No doubt it may be hard upon the last speculator in monopolies that he should suddenly find that the State which granted them has decided to withdraw them, but he cannot pretend he has gone unwarned. The buyers of Sir Andrew Walker's 250 monopolies knew, or ought to have known, that an attempt on the part of one of the strongest Governments of the century to establish a vested interest in them had to be withdrawn in the face of popular indignation, and that the strongest and richest non-party organisation in the kingdom, the United Kingdom Alliance, has for twenty years been agitating for the total and immediate suppression of the liquor traffic.

It is well that the public should thoroughly realise what these proposals of the Government to recognise a vested interest in State monopolies really mean. It is admitted on all sides that the value of the on-licenses of the kingdom, on the basis laid down by Mr. Ritchie in 1888, and reaffirmed this Session, cannot be less than £200,000,000 sterling. With this amount the Government proposes to endow a trade which has already made vast profits out of its monopoly, a monopoly which Parliament or Local Authority would then be unable to withdraw, until the whole amount of this endowment had been paid out of the resources of the country. It would turn the shares of Peter Walker & Son, and all the other brewery-cum-tied-houses companies into a security as good as Consols. The infatuation of the Government is beyond all explanation. It thinks that the electors of this country will consent to confer this vast endowment on a trade which is the most fruitful source of crime, misery, ignorance, social and moral degradation, disease and premature death. If Mr. Ritchie and his colleagues persevere in their proposals, I fear nothing but disaster will await the Unionist party at the next election.

The Government contends, that by levying additional taxation out

of drink and drink sellers, to be ear-marked for compensation purposes, the cost will not be laid upon the general public, but on the trade itself, which in future is to live upon its own fat. But I refuse to accept any such proposition. The revenues of the country are raised from various sources, taxes on income, property, succession, probate, stamps, customs, excise. The community have a common interest in the proceeds, present and prospective. If a portion of this revenue is set aside for some new purpose, it either weakens the prospective revenue in case of fresh needs or sudden emergencies, or some other tax must be levied to make good the deficiency. Revenue derived from excise is just as much the property of the general taxpayer as revenue from tea, tobacco and income. The power to levy increased taxation on any of these sources of income forms the reserve fund of the nation, and the incidence of any one of them does not affect the common property of the whole. This setting aside of special revenues for special purposes is bad in principle, and dangerous in its probable results. The specious argument that those who do not drink will bear no share in the cost of the proposed compensation will not hold water for a moment.

No one can deny that in emergency, such as a costly or disastrous war, the first tax that would be strained to its utmost capacity would be that upon intoxicating liquor, and those engaged in its sale. If two-thirds of the persons engaged in the trade were driven out of it by High license taxes, does anybody suppose that compensation would be given? It will be the probable fate of the liquor trade, in the early future, if the foolish proposals of the Government are placed on the statute book. Compensation will utterly prevent the reduction of drinking facilities through the refusal to renew on the part of County Councils, and public opinion will return a Parliament that will take a short cut out of the difficulty by that ready method of High license charges which is becoming so popular in many of the States of the American Union.

W. S. CAINE.

VESTED INTERESTS.

A VESTED interest is the latest form of property which society has recognised and enforced. It is a claim on the part of individuals to levy a more or less enduring tax on the industry, profits, or income of others, and this by the force of law, or under the authority or connivance of Parliament. It was not heard of till comparatively recent times. The doctrine of vested interests is now being rapidly, and in my opinion, dangerously extended. It is clear that many who allege vested interests do so on grounds which might be as solidly maintained on behalf of other persons, and other classes, and that unless the principles upon which such demands are to be recognised and admitted are very rigidly and scrupulously defined, society runs no small risk of being impoverished by importunate claimants, or arrested in its entire progress. For there is, and I fear there can be, no change in the organisation of society, however obvious and urgent it may be proved to be, which will not, in appearance at least, perhaps in reality, imperil some existing advantage. There is rarely any great invention which does not displace labour, at least for a time, and constrain those who have been engaged in the old process to submit to loss, perhaps to privation. There is no reform, however necessary, in the conduct of social business, which does not press hardly on those whose occupation has grown up under the old, or unreformed conditions. The invention of the power-loom ruined the hand-loom weavers. A modification of the verbiage employed and the labour spent in the exigencies even of a modern title to land, would diminish, it would seem inevitably, the occupation of solicitors. The discovery and development of railroads on which locomotive engines could haul passengers and goods, must have seriously curtailed the industry of stage coaches, the income derivable from turnpike

trusts, and the dividends heretofore received from canal shares. All improvement is a loss to those who worked on unimproved lines. But if it is to be alleged that those who are thus displaced, curtailed of their profits, or unemployed, are to be compensated at the expense of those who work on the new lines, I cannot see how progress can be made, and society escape impoverishment. In the nature of things, the claimants must submit to the contingency, or they must show a particularly strong case, or they must be unduly favoured by those who make and administer law. I shall attempt here to point out what are the circumstances under which an interest is unquestionably vested, and examine into others on behalf of which a claim is made.

In the early days of Parliamentary administration and legislation, practices, which we should, in our days, rightly consider to be outrageously unjust, were common and familiar, and apparently provoked no indignation. Our kings constantly repudiated their debts, and, not infrequently, with the sanction of Parliament. This was done on behalf of Henry VIII. Loans under the name of benevolences were extracted from the rich, made illegal by statute, revived, and turned by Parliament into legal liabilities. There were people who defended Cecil's book of rates, Noy's ship money, and even the plunder of the bankers' money in 1672, when it was lodged in the exchequer. On the other hand, it was a favourite doctrine that the king could not make a perpetual grant out of the crown estate, still less out of the taxation of the country. No rational person could have believed or admitted that the grants which Charles II. made to his illegitimate children would be a perpetual charge on the British taxpayer. We still go on paying, if they are not commuted, pensions to the representatives of General Monk, of General Schomberg, of Pulteney, Earl of Bath, and other such people. We may be sure that when these gifts were made, no one imagined that they were to be perpetuities, or that the power which bestowed them was not competent at any time to resume them. No one, I am convinced, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, conceived that the Bentincks and others would be enjoying the vast donations which were bestowed on them up to the conclusion of the nineteenth century. There is nothing which modern habit has recognised more completely as a vested interest than a colonel's commission. It was apparently much more the property of the officer in the eighteenth century than it now is; for it was constantly the case that the colonel had raised the regiment at his own cost. But in 1734, two peers were deprived of their regiments for voting against Walpole's Excise Bill, and six others of their sinecure pensions. The policy of the action was disputed; but its strict legality was not challenged. On the other hand, resistance was made to Parliamentary grants for supporting the dignity of a peerage,

even in the case of Chatham, and in general all such proposals were impugned.

The Revolution of 1688 established the first and the most indisputable of vested interests. I mean the right of the public creditor to the punctual payment of his interest, and repayment of his principal in full, if the State were determined on ridding itself of its obligations. The strict maintenance of the public faith in the obligations which the State binds itself by when it borrows, is as just as it is politic. It may be that the greater part of the public debt was raised in order to achieve illusory and even mischievous purposes. Wars on behalf of a sole market, the principal object of Chatham's expeditions, were of the former kind. The war with the American plantations was of the latter. There were not wanting persons, up to comparatively recent times, who have disputed the liability of the nation in respect of these loans. But though the doctrine that the public policy of successive governments should be continuous, is a dangerous, a disastrous, even an immoral theory, it would be even more dangerous and disastrous to dispute the validity of engagements entered into with the public creditor. The popular defence for the sanctity of these obligations, that the nation has inherited the benefits as well as the struggles of bygone public action, has never seemed to me to be worth much. For in the first place, many of those who have inherited the liability, have succeeded to no other part of the inheritance; and in the next, the progress of the nation is very doubtfully due in any appreciable quantity to the wisdom of bygone administrations. The inheritance, too, of Great Britain after 1782, according to what was then thought wisdom, was enormously curtailed in comparison with what it was in 1763. But an inheritance of public faith and honour, the unbroken satisfaction of formally contracted obligations, is of infinite value, not merely because it makes the creation of fresh obligations easy, but because it inculcates commercial integrity, the most difficult lesson for states and individuals to learn.

Of the same kind with these public debts are municipal obligations secured on the income of local taxation. The incidence of this local taxation, is indeed, grossly unfair. Occupiers, entirely apart from any contracts which they have made, the policy of which contracts is exceedingly disputable, and might very properly be made the subject of legislation, are constantly and increasingly burdened by the obligation of making permanent improvements on the landowner's, or ground landlord's, estate, to which that fortunate personage contributes nothing. Now I am persuaded that nothing tends more powerfully to develop the growing hostility to landed property than the evasion of those legitimate liabilities which should be met and liquidated by the owners of it. Nothing would be more ruinous than an attempt to reconstruct society on theoretical principles. But angry men are very apt to be

led into the advocacy of violent remedies, and in time, I cannot say at what time, no anger is hotter than the conviction that fiscal injustice is being perpetrated. But the liability which is created, even though it be unrighteously imposed, is a vested interest of the true kind, and, as far as the creditor is concerned, must be religiously and scrupulously respected. In point of fact, the State has delegated a part of its powers to the borrowing municipality or other organisation, and the duty of the borrowers is as stringent in relation to those local, as it is to imperial, liabilities.

It may seem that I am proving what needs no proof. But my object in dwelling on these facts is to point out what a true vested interest is, in order that I may show, as I go on, what is a doubtful vested interest, and what is finally a fictitious or unwarrantable one. For it will be plain, that if such an interest in no way resembles that which is confessedly binding, or is deficient in the evidence of any genuine or real contract, the claim is always disputable, and may be entirely untenable. One would never admit that one was bound by the claimant's view of the case, one must never allow that his real or reputed social or political influence is to justify his demand, but one must have ample proof, that in his relations to the public, and in the rights which he assumes under these relations, there has been an antecedent and clear recognition of his contingent demand, and the public's contingent liability to compensation. And this evidence, necessary in the case of an individual, should be still more strictly demanded when the vested interest is claimed as an inheritance. A pension granted to the Earl of Bath and his heirs, to Marshal Schomberg, &c. &c., not to quote other and even more startling illustrations, is totally different from the interest payable on money advanced and loans created. In the latter case, there is undoubted value received; in the former, there was no value, the service was in some cases doubtful, in some even discreditable, and it is intolerable that posterity should be permanently charged with what was in its inception a scandal, an indecency, and a positive wrong. The power which gave them or permitted them is clearly entitled to demand that they should cease. Now this power is Parliament, or rather the House of Commons. And though it is probable that hereafter Parliament will not permit such grants, it would be well if the Legislature marked its disapprobation of past acts, by rescinding what a bygone generation had no earthly right on any ground to impose on posterity. Besides there is good reason to believe that the respect which has been shown hitherto to such indefensible grants is made a more or less plausible excuse for advancing claims which are in no greater degree defensible.

The pensions which have been granted with full knowledge during the lifetime of those who have been engaged in the public service are distinctly vested interests. They are part of the terms, if I may be

pardoned the expression, under which the service was hired. The bargain may have been improvident, the terms may have been far too high. I have been accustomed to say that our judges are bound to justify the £5000 a year or more which is paid them, and that few succeed in doing so, and when I am told that they did better when they were in practice, I am full of compassion for their former clients. It may be that the other services are overpaid. On that, I can form no opinion, nor if I could, would it be important to my argument. I entirely recognise that the public is bound, during the lifetime of every person whose services it has secured, to the terms of its bargain. But it is not debarred from revising this bargain in the case of all new comers. It is under no hereditary obligation, and I can conceive no process under which an hereditary obligation could be made binding, any more than I can conceive a perpetual and unalterable Act of Parliament. I am not, it will be observed, assuming that the present arrangement would be wisely changed. All I assert is that it cannot be unchangeable. The vested interest is particular or individual, and ceases with the individual.

Analogous to this case, but not nearly so clear, was the compensation granted to the clergy under the Irish Church Disestablishment Act. Here no security, with full knowledge on the part of one of the parties, had been given or implied, beyond the exceedingly arguable question, as to whether persons who are necessarily damaged by what we must assume, *or hypothesi*, to have been an imperative and urgent change, are entitled to consideration and compensation. I shall be able to point out cases which are incomparably harder than that of the Irish clergy was, in which no compensation was awarded, and, indeed, no compensation could have been. And I shall be able to quote a case in which ample compensation was made, where on no consideration whatever was compensation justified. In the case of the Irish clergy, the existing beneficiaries were presented with a sum calculated, perhaps liberally, on the expectation of life, and those who were not beneficed, but might expect to be promoted, were also compensated. Now this could not be challenged, in my opinion. The Irish Church had committed no offence which would justify any deprivation, and its members could not be held responsible for the circumstances which made a political change imperative. They who held benefices had been presented to them for life, and during good behaviour. There was no ground on which they could in fairness be dispossessed. The case of the curates was more doubtful, and the claim less defensible.

Now let us take another case. After the affair of 1715, the Parliament of Great Britain determined on abolishing the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland. The marvel is that these abominations were allowed to last so long. But it was, perhaps still is, a feature in the Scottish character, that it has been constantly desirous of retaining an

abuse, apparently because it seemed a part of the nationality. And indeed, the Scotch waged a long and very unequal struggle to maintain it. Now it was clear that no social or political union was possible in Scotland, if a swarm of little chieftains were to be recognised as kinglets. But after 1745 Scotland, even Lowland Scotland, was exceedingly sensitive and very irritated. The war in the Highlands had been finished savagely, and the House of Hanover was decidedly unpopular north of the Tweed. So the Government of the day bought the Scotch heritors out. A protest was indeed lodged against the Bill. The names appended to it are not considerable, and that of one of the Lords is remarkable. It is that of Laurence Shirley, Lord Ferrers, who might have had an instinct against all jurisdiction, for he came to be hung. Now this was a case in which a political error was committed in order to conciliate opposition, for none of the Scottish lords who took the money signed the protest. It was a case, in short, in which a reform, an inevitable reform, was most unjustifiably bought, and it formed the precedent for a far worse transaction more than half a century later, and was quoted, ineffectually indeed, later still.

The constitution of the Irish House of Commons was the work of those who advised James I., after that pacification of Ireland which followed on O'Neill's rebellion, and the social changes which Davis constrained. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to discover the reasons which induced the Lancastrian and Tudor Sovereigns or their Ministers to confer the privilege of sending members to Parliament on Gatton and Bletchingly, on the Cornish and the Wiltshire boroughs. It would be impossible and entirely unprofitable to seek after the motives which induced the English Government, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to bestow a similar franchise on the beggarly hamlets which sent a majority of the Irish members to the Parliaments of Wentworth, of Molyneux, and of Grattan. It is easy, however, to discover why, in the eighteenth century, the franchise became valuable. The worst scandals of the English civil list were acts of virtue by the most defensible practices of the Irish civil list. When a lucky rogue fled from justice to Ireland, and carried his spoil from England, he was made an Irish peer. When a ministerial favourite was too scandalous to be rewarded by Walpole or Newcastle, he was made an Irish placeman, and the attempts to purify the English House of Commons, inadequate as they were in the days of Anne, were not copied in the discipline of the Irish House. The privilege of making laws for the Irish people was indeed denied, under Poyning's Act, to the Irish Parliament: the power of levying taxes on the Irish people, and distributing the proceeds among the Irish peers, and the Irish representatives, so called, was a convenience to the English Government, and was conceded. A seat in the Irish House of Commons was therefore a possible advantage of a very solid kind.

The Irish House sat during the lifetime of the Sovereign, and one of the reforms which the Irish reformers at last and after many efforts procured, was the limitation of parliamentary existence to eight years. I do not think that in all the farces which have been played in history, under the name of representative institutions, anything was ever more grotesque and indefensible than the old Irish House of Commons: that, indeed, which subsisted up to the Union. It was actually far worse than that of Scotland.

Now I will assume here that the Union of 1800 was necessary, inevitable, beneficent. I am concerned with the economical circumstances only which accompanied it. Base and corrupt as the majority of that Parliament was, it is plain that the measure with which Pitt's name is indelibly associated would never have been carried if the patrons of seats in the Irish Commons had not been bribed. Elected Parliaments have, by an obvious and accurate metaphor, been called the grand juries of nations, the members of which are bound to do justice between contending interests. However much, in practice, Parliament has violated or evaded this duty, it always professes to fulfil it. When it does its worst acts, it always puts forward or accepts plausible sophisms for its misconduct. But the majority of the Irish House of Commons, as Flood indignantly alleged, never professed a higher motive than personal interest. To affect public virtue was too transparent a fiction. So these people had to be bought, and the British taxpayer is still paying the interest on the purchase-money. Mr. Goschen has recently and very properly, the opportunity offering, been able to reduce the interest. The stock is probably in very different hands from those which originally received the compensation. It is very difficult to conceive a vested interest which has less defence than that of a seat in Parliament.

The two cases of the compensation for the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in Scotland, and the compensation given to the proprietors of nomination boroughs in Ireland, both entirely, and upon any principle, indefensible, are, I cannot doubt, the precedents and defence of the modern doctrine that whatever the State, ignorantly or negligently, permits to exist, cannot be extinguished or reformed without compensating those who have made profit out of a wrong. When the first Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, the precedent of 1800 was strongly pressed, especially in the House of Lords, and particularly by Lord Mansfield, one among the numerous illustrations of how dangerous and mischievous it is to bestow hereditary rank and power on great lawyers, for no more marked contrast can be found than that between the illustrious and wise judge who received the peerage and the successor who inherited it. Fortunately for the honour of the Legislature, compensation was refused, and the later precedent was not created. But unluckily the mischief had been

done. Still, bad as the unreformed Parliament of Great Britain was, it had never in its worst days been guilty of the scandals which were normal, habitual, and recognised in the Irish House of Commons.

If we take the principles which have guided Parliament in compensating vested interests, I know no stronger case than that which could be made out on behalf of the English agricultural labourer at the time when the New Poor Law was enacted. The English peasant had, at various periods in his history, been deliberately stripped of certain definite advantages which he possessed. By the Act of 1562 he had been constrained to accept the wages which the justices in Quarter Sessions thought proper to allow him. How severely these personages administered the Act is proved by the fact that employers were more merciful than the law, or, rather, than those who interpreted it. In 1589 came the Allotments Act, under which it was highly penal to build a cottage with less than four acres of land attached to the occupancy, and penalties were also imposed on the overcrowding of inhabitants in cottages, severe fines being put on those who allowed more than one family to dwell in one of these cottages, or, indeed, any other. The Act lasted for nearly two centuries, and was undoubtedly a great boon to the peasant, for the farmers in the eighteenth century complained that it made him too independent. Then the various Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by which I do not mean those which distributed common or open fields into several and fenced ownerships, but those which enclosed and appropriated the commons, deprived him of another advantage. Furthermore, the progressive stringency with which the Game Laws were enacted and administered, some of them, and those the worst, being of very recent date, cut him off from incidental advantages which he freely enjoyed up to comparatively modern times.

Now, when these invasions on his social or traditional rights were effected, and the privilege of making a bargain for his labour, the advantage of an inalienable allotment to his cottage, the right of using the parish common for his little stock, and that of snaring game on the open land for his subsistence, were successively taken away, and the conduct of those who did him these injuries was criticised, the answer regularly given was that his maintenance was the first charge on the land. We are of course aware that the famous poor law of Elizabeth was enacted in 1601. But there were poor laws in plenty during the whole of her reign, and the object of all of them was to compensate the labourer for the restraint which the law put on his power of demanding what wages he thought proper. I am quite aware that the excuse was of doubtful sincerity, but it was always put forward in defence of these changes. I am also aware that those who paid for his supplementary maintenance were constantly those who did not

use his services; in other words, that the burden of supporting him was put on to those who did not obtain the advantage of plundering him; but this was an incident subsequent to the social conditions under which Elizabeth's poor law was enacted, and practically unforeseen by those who enacted its provisions. But for more than two centuries it was alleged that the maintenance of the peasant was a first charge on the land and on its profits.

The New Poor Law of 1834 took away all that had been pledged, I do not say guaranteed, to the poor, without any compensation whatever. Now, it cannot be doubted that the changes to which I have referred were invariably justified by the reservation which I have quoted—that the labour of the peasant should be employed, and failing this, that his maintenance should be guaranteed. The defence of the Corn Laws, too, and of their obvious effect on wages, was always borrowed from the same topic, that if the cost of the peasant's livelihood was heightened, the charges of it were imposed on the land. But the New Poor Law, perhaps inevitably, declined to find him work, and coupled his maintenance with harsh and degrading conditions. Besides, the Corn Laws were kept in existence twelve years after the New Poor Law was enacted, and were surrendered to an agitation which was almost national, and to the calamity of the Irish famine, which was as national. I cannot imagine on any plea which has been alleged on behalf of vested interests in modern times, any case in which the defence is better made out than in that of the English peasant. But a moment's reflection will prove that it could not have been satisfied without ruinous concessions. It is proved by implication that concessions which have been made to others whose claim is far less valid, have been favours and not equities. It may be that they seemed to be politic, it does not follow that they are just, and it may be doubted whether it is ever politic to yield to a demand on the public purse, the justice of which may be very effectively controverted. Let us look at one or two of these cases.

About five-and-twenty years ago, Parliament decided on reforming the old courts which were known collectively as Doctors' Commons. In these courts a system of law, mainly derived from the civil code, was administered, and the practitioners in these courts were known as advocates and proctors, the analogues of barristers and solicitors. Now, the changes in the administration of law which Parliament had resolved on effecting, and the new laws which it had determined on enacting, were certain to increase the business of those who were engaged as advocates and proctors, and in no sense whatever, actual or prospective, was these people's livelihood from their calling liable to curtailment. But Parliament, led by the precedents of unjust and superfluous compensation to interests which no ingenuity could declare to be vested, agreed to give these people compensation, apparently

because it had improved their position. The examination of their position led to a singular result. They put in enormous claims, and the Commissioners, one of whom was my informant, were aghast at the liabilities which Parliament had sanctioned. But an astute member of the Board bethought himself of comparing the claims of profits made under the old system with the income-tax returns which these honest people had made. The discrepancy was enormous, and the unpaid and undeclared liabilities which were disclosed, still due from them, went a great way towards clearing off the liabilities with which the thoughtless and unwarrantable generosity of Parliament had burdened the exchequer. The income-tax is a very bad tax, and not even the ingenuity of Mr. Gladstone has been able to discover a decent apology for it. But on this occasion it did a valuable indirect service, for it neutralised, to a considerable extent, an act of folly and a consequent fraud. I do not think that the compensation to the advocates and proctors would ever have been seriously proposed if it had not been the case that still more indefensible compensations were given in the Acts for abolishing heritable jurisdictions in Scotland, and for carrying the Irish Union. I am persuaded that if one were to extend the practice into cases infinitely more defensible than those which I have quoted, not only would necessary reforms be arrested, but the taxpayer would be overwhelmed with the burdens which Parliament, having regard to consistency, would impose. But it is only what Juvenal calls the chicks of the white hen who get these superfluous favours.

Rightly or wrongly, Parliament resolved, near twenty years ago, on abolishing purchase in the army, and making entrance into that branch of the public service depend on competitive examinations. Now a competitive examination is by no means the best way in which you can test fitness for any function whatever. Its chief excuse, and experience proves that it needs a perpetual excuse, perhaps some limitations, as soon as people can get over the craze in its favour, is that it is an escape from more serious evils, as any one who knows about the constitution and practice, for example, of the Oxford colleges, before the first University Act of 1854, would have to confess.

During the reign of the early Georges, regiments were constantly raised on what may be called the joint-stock principle, the officers, from the colonel to the ensign, subscribing the funds necessary for enlisting, clothing and drilling the recruits. The system received the sanction of Parliament, and was a recognised process, and value was given for the rank, pay and pensions of the agents in this method of raising forces. Indeed at the time, so great was the hatred of a standing army, that it may be doubted whether the House of Commons would have voted supplies for what they insisted was the enslavement of the people, and the revival of the enormities perpetrated during Oliver's

reign, even if the most powerful Minister had pressed them to yield. The successors of that party which denounced a standing army, and was unreasonably jealous of it then, are as unreasonably fond of it now. But there cannot be a doubt that the original subscribers had a vested interest, on the principles which I have laid down, and that successive purchasers had a vested interest also. The nation could not recover its army for itself without compensation. In my opinion, it should have given that compensation to every officer who had purchased his steps, whether he left the army or remained in it, the State electing, as part of the bargain, whether it would retain his services or dispense with them. It did not take this honest and straightforward course, and in consequence considerable pecuniary loss was inflicted on some of the most deserving and valuable men in the public service. The fact is, it was forced, under the traditional doctrine of the vested interest, into giving undue compensation to the least valuable and the least deserving.

The Government, or at least the War Office under Government, had strictly limited the price at which commissions could be transferred by sale. The tariff had all the force of law. But many purchasers had given more than the statutable price, especially in those regiments which are seldom called into active service, and it is not uncharitable to suppose that there were motives, other than heroism, which heightened the price that these inactive warriors gave. It is, again, not unfair to suggest that such persons were not the most desirable and trustworthy of officers, and indeed the Crimean war supplied several painful illustrations of the case which I put. On every ground then, especially that the parties had knowingly broken the law, the compensation should have been limited to the regulation price. But the sons of Zeruah, not in this case as valiant as David's champions, were too strong for the Treasury, and the excess was paid by a patient people. Few cases more strongly illustrate the difference between a vested interest which should be recognised and a false vested interest than the final settlement of the Army Purchase Act. The Act did not a few wrongs, and it condoned breaches of the law.

Closely analogous to the vested interest, and indeed on analysis an offshoot of it, is the modern doctrine of compensation for the compulsory purchase of land, houses, and property inseparable from land—*i.e.*, requiring the permanent use of land for its existence. No community allows that the ownership of any land whatever is indefeasible. Even the most sacred spots, round which public and private sentiment may be clustered, must, if need arise, be sacrificed to public exigencies. We know, for example, what would be done if a siege had to be sustained. Now, of course, those who are displaced should be compensated. If their property is wanted for the public service, its

value should be appraised fairly, and paid for promptly. But I see no reason why they should get more than their property is worth. In the early days of railway legislation, owners constantly got forty or fifty times as much as their property was worth, and, I regret to say, constantly in exchange for their votes in Parliament. One of these persons, a man of rare integrity and honour, the late Lord Taunton, actually refunded to the Great Eastern Company £100,000, which he inferred had been paid to him for land in excess of its value. I do not know whether any person, equally fortunate, has followed his example. At last, the system was found to be intolerable, even ruinous, and the value of land is settled by arbitration. Even here, however, the doctrine of a vested interest, when the interest is indefeasible, comes in, and 10 per cent. in compensation for disturbance is added to the arbitrated price. Now in many kinds of business, a factitious 10 per cent., for which no value has been received, may make all the difference between profit and loss.

The expense of street improvements in London has been enormously increased by this factitious compensation. The cost of housing working men in London has been greatly heightened by the same fact, and by another even more evil practice to which I will advert, now happily a thing of the past. Even if a part of what we have heard is true, the system has led to serious corruption in the London Metropolitan Board of Works. The members of that Board, it is said, learned privately, and in their official capacity, that a new street was resolved on. Why should not they, as private persons, buy up houses which would have to be taken in order to construct the new street? The public must pay the 10 per cent. The land or house owner had done nothing, as they see clearly enough, to deserve it, and knew nothing about his future advantage. It was obvious business to buy the property at its real value, and sell it to the Board at that value, plus the 10 per cent.; no great reward to the patriotic vestryman, who whilst doing the public the inestimable service of improving the metropolis could surely be excused, even commended, for having an eye to business. Some of their practices have been traced and discovered, and it is believed that more might be.

In the valuations of property condemned for human habitation, because totally unfit for it, it used to be the practice to take the rent actually paid by the miserable tenants, and of course to add to this the inevitable 10 per cent. In this way the price paid for getting rid of abominable dens, the removal of which was absolutely needed for the public health, cost the ratepayers more than well-built mansions in the best part of London did. It was a practice to speculate in these places, to cram them with destitute wretches, and make a profit out of what was even then an offence. Who got the purchase-money I do not know. I presume that the freeholder had

the largest share. Our forefathers did not compensate the owners of Alsatia, the Mint, the Savoy, and the Westminster dens, and I do not see why we should give more than the bare value. At last the system was altered, chiefly owing to the action of Sir Richard (now Lord) Cross—at least he assured me so himself. But the 10 per cent. remains in deference to the new and untenable doctrine that one must needs compensate what the owners of something are pleased to call a vested interest, if they are clamorous and powerful enough to extort it.

In the same way the old telegraph companies were purchased at a price which was far in excess of their possible value. This transaction is now about twenty years old. The system has the advantage of being under Government, of being carried out with enforced economy, with many privileges, and, therefore, many savings which private enterprise cannot secure, and notwithstanding, as I read recently in a statement of one of the Ministers, the service cost half a million more than it earned in the year. The public had to pay for an untenable vested interest. The State should have paid what the undertakings were worth. They should have enforced honest terms by the threat and the reality of competition. As it was they treated the plant as indestructible, the undertakings as a legal monopoly, and then paid on this fictitious capital 50 per cent. more than it could possibly be worth. And it is noteworthy that the President of the Board of Trade, when debating Mr. Watt's motion for the purchase of the railways, cited this very purchase of the telegraphs as a reason why the Government should hesitate exceedingly before it purchased any property whatever. Parliament, in short, has recognised in its doctrine of vested interests such extravagant compensations that it is debarred in common prudence from making the nation the victim of its own practices.

In 1880 the Government had nearly completed a project for purchasing, on behalf of the London ratepayers, the property of the London Water Companies. The same extravagant and indefensible estimates had been made about the capital value of the property by Mr. E. Smith, and he was supported in his views by members of the Institute of Surveyors, a body of scientists who have, in my opinion, inflicted more injury on the public and their clients than is generally known or even suspected. Mr. Smith's calculations assumed that the undertakings were exempt from competition, a contingency to which all their Acts expressly subject them; that their plant was indestructible; that they had a vested interest in the right to tax the inhabitants under colour of supply, and that the 10 per cent. maximum, which they might divide, was a guaranteed dividend; as though Parliament in its most insane moments would ever guarantee any commercial undertaking whatever a 10 per cent. dividend backwards

and forwards, out of the public or private purse. Upon these assumptions the price of compensation for appropriating these undertakings was based. Fortunately, the bargain was examined by a Select Committee on which I served, and the principles of the scheme were repudiated. It has been my fortune subsequently, when three of the companies came for increased borrowing powers, to define and introduce into the Acts very different rules of action from those which marked the older project. Now it is difficult to defend principles of purchase which experience has shown to be ruinous, and which would assuredly end in grave public disaster if many such negotiations were carried out. There is no higher value in an undertaking than that for which it will sell, and the price at which an undertaking will sell is generally indicated with sufficient accuracy by the capitalised value of its stock, before it is inflated, as the Telegraph stocks were, by the prospect of a Government purchase.

The common practice in relation to what are assumed or asserted to be vested interests, is the most serious hindrance to fiscal and social reforms. It was alleged a generation ago that landed property had been bought, subject to certain charges, levied for the service and the fabric of the Established Church, and that, therefore, no act of the Legislature could equitably relieve the owner from such contingencies. It is obvious that this reasoning would apply to relief of any property from any burden, wise or unwise, disastrous or foolish, which had been laid on it. If it were true it would have been a conclusive criticism on Sir R. Peel's tariff reforms, the boldest and most far-seeing legislation which any country has adopted. It would be a sufficient answer to any fiscal change whatever, that property, no matter what, had been subjected to the charge, and therefore could not and should not escape it. It would be the doctrine that taxation is ransom with a witness, the amount of the ransom to be unchangeable and inexorable. I am well aware of the difficulty which there is in the way of shifting taxes and imposing new ones, and Chancellors of the Exchequer have been disagreeably surprised at the ferocious criticism to which their projects are subjected.

The remission of a tax, no doubt, confers an advantage on some who have hitherto been the subjects of it, or the channels of it, for I believe that it is difficult if not impossible for the first payer of a tax to shift all the burden of it on to other shoulders, and in some cases he cannot shift it at all. Even in those cases where he seems to transfer it wholly to his customer, his business is cramped. If an article is taxed to three or four times its original value, or cost of production, it must be a very singular commodity if its use is not curtailed, and the dealer is not forced to acquiesce in narrower and more stinted transactions than would have characterised his trade, if the impost had been less. Over and over again it has been shown that the lessening



of import duties has proved a great spur to business, and has even put the Exchequer, after a time, into the possession of a higher revenue than it gathered under a larger impost. In point of fact, not only is Swift's dictum true, that in the arithmetic of the customs, two and two do not always make four, but the paradox of the Greek proverb, *πλέον ἡμῶν παντός*, half is more than the whole, has been over and over again verified by experience.

As the remission of every old tax is a benefit, and that frequently to an amount which is considerably in excess of the sum which is actually paid, so the imposition of a new tax may frequently involve a greater loss than the actual charge imposed. This is alleged, for example, in the case of Mr. Goschen's wheel tax. Had it been extended to all carriages which use such roads as are kept in repair at the public charge, and had it not contained that apparently ineradicable unfairness of agricultural or *quasi* agricultural exemptions, the tax would have been perfectly, ideally fair. It is impossible to escape Mr. Goschen's contention, though one might obviously criticise the reality of its application, that those who use the road should pay for the road. They should not indeed pay the whole cost, for the foot passenger uses it. But, of course, the contribution from the wheels would be only a percentage of the total cost. The opposition to the tax seems to me to amount to a claim that people who use roads for trade purposes have a vested right in having a perfect road supplied for them at the cost of other people. Let me take a case. The London vestries have determined to pave the principal thoroughfares with wood. It is a very expensive kind of pavement, and is not very durable. But for purposes of traction, a wooden pavement is nearly as perfect as a tramway. Now it needs no great effort of the imagination to see that a very large share of the profits annually earned by the London Omnibus Company, and the cab proprietors, are due to the outlay on roads procured from the taxation of shopkeepers along the lines of highway which are thus paved. I cannot see why these people should be mulcted in order to assist the personal profits of these carriage proprietors. They cannot in equity have a vested interest in other people's taxes, and wide reaching as the doctrine of vested interests is, I do not think if the case were fairly stated, and the impost were universal, that it could be successfully criticised.

Of course, there are and will be people on whom the tax presses more severely than it does on others. But I cannot see that any one has a right to carry on his business at somebody else's cost. Goods must be carried, and the cost of carriage is part of the cost of distribution. But the cost of carriage, like any other service, ought to bear its own necessary charges, and a well-repaired road is part of the cost of carriage. Nor does it at all follow that the public will have

to pay for the enhanced charge, any more than that they always derive a benefit from the remission of a tax. It is not so many years since London cabs paid a tax of 1s. a day, or £18 5s. a year. The tax was greatly reduced, but the fares were not lessened, the vehicles are not much bettered, and the cost of traction all the while has been greatly lessened. The saving to the health and strength of horses must be very great, but it seems that van-owners and carriers are constantly fined in London for working diseased horses.

The most recent demand for compensation on the plea of vested interests, one which has been boldly put forward, and is angrily resisted, is that of recognising a property in a public-house license, of making it, as has been said, an estate of inheritance. It is not new, for it has always been held out, *in terrorem*, against those temperance reformers, who are by no means the advocates of abstinence, but conclude that as the profits and wages of the country pay the charges which are directly traceable to the intemperance of those who become ultimately criminal or destitute, they who pay should be intrusted with the control of those places which admittedly are responsible for those results. But the public-house interest has great political strength, owing to its organisation and the peculiar opportunities which it possesses for making its influence felt, to say nothing of the great wealth possessed by brewers, who generally own the freehold, or, at least, hold mortgages of those places.

Public-houses in England have always been under police control. In the manor courts they are under the supervision of two officers annually checked by the homage. When the local jurisdiction of the parish was gradually and finally transferred to the justices, the licensing system of our day commenced. It is only the county magistrates who have the control of licenses, the grant, the refusal to grant, and the revision of decisions arrived at by town or borough magistrates. Recent decisions in the law-courts have affirmed that the discretion of the quarter-sessions is absolute, and that there is, as yet, absolutely no property in the license, quite irrespectively of the conduct of the licensee.

The license of a public-house is really a mere form of police, entitling the police constables to enter such houses at their discretion, to report on the character of those who keep and those who frequent such houses, to put some check on drunkenness and disorder, and to prevent if possible their being made the harbour of criminals. The regulations do something in these directions, but only a little, as all who are acquainted with the trade testify. The competition of public-houses is very sharp, the outlay for attracting customers is very great, but the profits, if all I have heard is true, are enormous. Certainly the price at which they change hands from brewer to brewer is very often many times in excess of the capital value of that at which they

are rated. It is now proposed that a system of supervision, under which feeble attempts are made at limiting the number of such houses, and rigid police inspection is theoretically enforced, may be held to have created a property in the owner, and that if the renewal of the license is to be refused, the refusal is to be made a moral plea for compensation; that, in brief, a man is to hereafter have an estate in his own power of wrongdoing. The new form, it is true, is permissive, but the sting of the measure is the virtual recognition of a new kind of property in a calling, which the present law declares to be no property at all. In this case, I cannot but conclude that the doctrine of vested interests has been carried to a point which it has never reached before.

The concession has indeed something to countervail it, which I do not remember to have noticed in the very numerous comments which I have read on the new departure. If the license is so exceptional an advantage that it should in equity be compensated by the general taxpayer on being extinguished, two things it seems must ensue. No licensing court will grant a new license, because by doing so they will create a new vested interest against the ratepayers, for whom they may be considered the trustees. The project, therefore, tends towards making the new property in police control a more or less regulated monopoly, which cannot grow greater and may grow less, and this on behalf of brewers and distillers, whose gains are already reputed to be excessive, and as the evidence of certain joint-stock companies of recent formation indicates, are correctly so reputed. And in the second place, if this be a valuable property, (and the contention of those who claim compensation affirms, whether it be recognised by the legislature or not, that it is,) the profits of these houses justify the exceptional rating of them, to an amount often four or five times as much as that at which they are customarily rated. I cannot see, even under the Rating Act of William IV., how they can escape coming to the full under the force of the definition, that the rateable value of a tenement is the amount at which one can reasonably expect it would be let. But if this is to be the result of the claim, certainly in the interest of brewer and publican it had better not have been made. I have heard of a public-house being sold at eighty years purchase of the reputed rent. This would justify a fourfold rating of what has been commonly valued at twenty years' purchase for rating purposes. I cannot see how an appeal could be consistently maintained against such a valuation. But it is clear that if the rate were sustained, the potential compensation would hardly be a blessing in disguise.

• J. E. THOROLD ROGERS.

THE LAW IN 1847 AND THE LAW IN 1889.

THE following paper was written and delivered to the Law Students at Birmingham early in last year; but I then refused to publish it, as it might be thought to refer to passing events and living men, at that time the subjects of personal and strong controversy. This reason against publication, never one founded in fact, has, by lapse of time, ceased to be of any avail; and as there are some who still desire to see the paper in print, it is not worth while on this score, and in so small a matter, any longer to object. Haste and incompleteness are much better objections; but these are beyond my power to remove or lessen, and I will say only that I am as fully aware of them as any reader can be. I wish to add that when the paper was written I had, of course, not seen the important and admirable paper of Lord Herschell on the duties and responsibilities of an advocate.

Many years ago, in 1877, my honoured friend William Edward Forster persuaded me to go to see him at his Yorkshire home, and to deliver the prizes at a great meeting held at Bradford, which he then, and to the day of his death, represented in Parliament. He and I had to make speeches; and as it was an educational gathering, we spoke about education. About his speech I will say nothing, except that it seemed to me excellent and characteristic; but mine undoubtedly was weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable. Next day in a London newspaper there was an article on our speeches. Had the Chief Justice or Mr. Forster nothing to give us but platitudes on education; an old and worn-out subject, on which neither of them had anything fresh to say; of which, indeed, their knowledge was the knowledge of other men, long since assimilated by every one interested

in the matter. If, now, they would have told us something about themselves, how they prepared themselves for their parts in life, how they got on in the world, how far and in what respects their career might be an example or a warning to other men; then, indeed, we might have listened, certainly with interest, possibly with advantage. Well, I remember saying to my friend, supposing we had taken the advice, we know, by experience, the article which would have followed. Who are these men who expect to interest us in their egotistical reminiscences? A second-rate politician, a third-rate lawyer. Have they really the vanity to suppose that, beyond their own families and dependents, who must affect an interest they do not feel, any human being cares one farthing how they managed to achieve any position in the world, which did very well without them before their appearance, and which will be hardly conscious of it when they disappear? So, no doubt, would our young gentleman, our daily oracle and monitor, have said, and not without reason.

Twelve years have passed away, and one's sensibility to attack and criticism has become, or, at least, ought to have become, twelve years blunter. But I still think it would be unwarrantable presumption to occupy your time with a personal narrative, or to attempt to direct you into paths which I have trodden more by chance than choice, and which have as often led me away from, as towards, that earthly goal which all human life should aim at, success in some definite and honourable pursuit, chosen with prudence and followed with energy. Yet, without so wasting your time, it may be that I may, not altogether uselessly, employ it by a sort of comparison between what the Profession was when I entered it, and what it is now, by considering how far the outward changes in it are changes which affect its real life, whether or no they have altered in any manner the principles of conduct, which, as far as I know history, no great and honourable lawyer has ever questioned in theory, or defied in practice.

I began my legal life in 1847, and at that time the Common Law rested mainly, though not exclusively, upon special pleading, and truth was investigated by rules of evidence so carefully framed to exclude falsehood, that very often truth was quite unable to force its way through the barriers erected against its opposite. Plaintiff and defendant, husband and wife, persons, excepting Quakers, who objected to an oath, those with an interest, direct or indirect, immediate or contingent, in the issue to be tried, were all absolutely excluded from giving evidence. Nonsuits were constant, not because there was no cause of action, but because the law refused the evidence of the only persons who could prove it. I do not speak of Chancery, which had defects of its own, because I pretend to no more knowledge of Chancery practice than is picked up by a common lawyer who, as he rises in his profession, is taken into Courts of Equity to examine a witness or to argue a case

upon conflicting facts. Questions as to marriage, and as to wills, so far as they related to personal property, were under the jurisdiction of courts called ecclesiastical, with a procedure and principles happily of their own, and presided over by judges not appointed by the Crown. The Admiralty jurisdiction, at all times of great, in time of war of enormous, importance, was in practice committed to an ecclesiastical judge. Criminals, except in high treason and in misdemeanour, could be defended by counsel only through the medium of cross-examination. Speeches could be delivered, with the above exceptions, only by the prisoners themselves, and the system of writing speeches for the parties themselves to deliver, a system of which, in questions of real property, the orations of Isæus, and, in other matters, those of Lysias, Isocrates, and many even of Demosthenes himself, are examples, this system never, I know not why, obtained in this country.

Then, too, during large portions of the year, the Common Law Courts were, from necessity, altogether closed. The circuits occupied, not quite, but nearly, at the same time, the services of fourteen judges; and while the circuits went on there was no work for common lawyers in London except at the Privy Council and in the House of Lords. The circuits were great schools of professional conduct and professional ethics; and the lessons learnt upon them were to receptive minds of unspeakable value. The friendships formed on circuit were sometimes the closest and most enduring that men can form with one another; the cheery society, the frank manners, the pride in the body we belonged to, the discipline of the mess, the friendly mingling together on equal terms of older and younger men, the lessons to be learnt both from leaders who were good and leaders who were bad by the constant attendance in court which was the invariable custom, the large amount of important and profitable business which was transacted; all these things gave the circuits a prominent and useful place in the life of a common lawyer, which, I am afraid, they are ceasing to have, except in a few of the largest and most populous counties.

Such, in rude outline, was the Bar when I joined it forty-two years ago. The system had its great virtues, but it had its great and crying evils; and they were aggravated by the powerful men who at that time dominated Westminster Hall, and whose spirit guided its administration. The majestic presence of Lord Lyndhurst, a luminous, masculine, simple, yet most powerful mind, the very incarnation to an outward observer of courtesy and justice, was departing from the Bench; Lord Denman, high-bred, scholar-like, with a noble scorn of the base and the tricky, was just about to follow. The ruling power in the Courts in 1847 was Baron Parke, a man of great and wide legal learning, an admirable scholar, a kind-hearted and amiable man, and of remarkable force of mind. These great qualities he devoted to

heightening all the absurdities, and contracting to the very utmost the narrowness, of the system of special pleading. The client was unthought of. Conceive a judge rejoicing, as I have myself heard Baron Parke rejoice, at nonsuiting a plaintiff in an undefended cause, saying, with a sort of triumphant air, that "those who drew loose declarations brought scandal on the law." The right was nothing, the mode of stating everything. When it was proposed to give power to amend the statement, "Good Heavens!" exclaimed the Baron, "think of the state of the Record!"—*i.e.*, the sacred parchment, which it was proposed to defile by erasures and alterations. He bent the whole powers of his great intellect to defeat the Act of Parliament which had allowed of equitable defences in a Common Law action. He laid down all but impossible conditions, and said, with an air of intense satisfaction, in my hearing, "I think we settled the new Act to-day, we shall hear no more of Equitable defences"! And as Baron Parke piped, the Court of Exchequer followed, and dragged after it, with more or less reluctance, the other Common Law Courts of Westminster Hall. Sir William Maule and Sir Cresswell Cresswell did their best to resist the current. Cresswell was a man of strong will, of clear, sagacious, sensible mind, and a sound lawyer; Sir William Maule seems to me, on reflection, and towards the close of a long life, on the whole, the most extraordinary intellect I ever came across. He could split a hair into twenty filaments at one time, and at another could come crushing down, like a huge steam hammer of good sense, through a web of subtlety which disappeared under his blow. A great scholar, a very great mathematician, who extorted, as I have been told by Cambridge men, a Senior Wranglership from examiners wedded to the synthetic method, in spite of his persistent and indeed defiant use of the analytic; a great linguist, an accomplished lawyer, and overflowing with humour, generally grotesque and cynical, but sometimes alive with a rich humanity. He was a somewhat disappointed man; his life was said hardly to court inspection; he was certainly, with all his great gifts, personally indolent. He was not a great judge, not because he could not, but because he would not be. He played with his office. An utter disbeliever in the virtue of women, he was cruel to them in court; but, with this large exception, there was nothing mean about him, nothing unjust; and anything like brutality or fraud roused his indignation, and brought out all the nobler qualities of his strangely compounded character. Baron Parke was, in a legal view, his favourite aversion.* "Well," I have heard him say, "that seems a horror in morals and a monster in reasoning. Now, give us the judgment of Baron Parke which lays it down as law." With the advent of Lord

* Baron Martin thus spoke of Baron Parke in his judgment in *Lord Derby v. Bury Improvement Commissioners*, 3 L. R. Exch. 133:—"He was without doubt the ablest and best public servant I was personally acquainted with in the whole course of my life."

Campbell to the Chief Justiceship, a great lawyer, not wedded to the narrow technicalities, which he thoroughly understood, but did not admire, came to the assistance of good sense and justice. But for some time he struggled in vain against the idolatry of Baron Parke to which the whole of the Common Law at that time was devoted. Even so very great a lawyer and so independent a man as Sir James Willes dedicated a book to him as the judge "to whom the law was under greater obligations than to any judge within legal memory." One of the obligations he was very near conferring on it was its absolute extinction. "I have aided in building up sixteen volumes of Meeson & Welsby," said he proudly to Charles Austin, "and that is a great thing for any man to say." "I dare say it is," said Austin; "but in the Palace of Truth, Baron, do you think it would have made the slightest difference to mankind, or even to England, if all the cases in all the volumes of Meeson & Welsby had been decided the other way?" He repeated his boast to Sir William Erle. "It's a lucky thing," said Sir William, as he told me himself, "that there was not a seventeenth volume, for if there had been the Common Law itself would have disappeared altogether, amidst the jeers and hisses of mankind;" "and," he added, "Parke didn't seem to like it."

Peace be with him. He was a great lawyer, a man of high character and powerful intellect. No smaller man could have produced such results. If he ever were to revisit the glimpses of the moon one shudders to think of his disquiet. No *absque hoc*, no *et non*, no colour, express or implied, given to trespass, no new assignment, belief in the great doctrine of a negative pregnant no longer necessary to legal salvation, and the very nice question, as Baron Parke is reported to have thought, whether you could reply *de injuriâ* to a plea of deviation in an action on a marine policy not only still unsolved, but actually considered not worth solution! I suspect that to the majority of my hearers I am talking in an unknown tongue, and it is strange that in the lifetime of one who has not yet quite fulfilled the appointed span of human life such a change, such a revolution in a most conservative profession should be actually consummated. I must not indulge in any feeble attempt to reproduce the men who then, bound in the fetters of this system, yet in spite of them, enlightened us by their intellect, instructed us by their learning, charmed and touched us by their eloquence. Two alone remain of the great men of those times, Lord Bramwell and Sir Montague Smith, whom I mention, because they have, though living, entered upon the inheritance of their fame; the last, the most sensible, weighty, and sagacious of men; the first, a great lawyer, a keen intellect, who has chosen to cloke the kindest and most generous heart that beats on earth under a garb of caustic

but humorous cynicism. The rest are gone: Willes, the greatest lawyer, I should think, since Sir William Grant; Jervis, the quickest mind, the keenest, tersest, swiftest advocate; Kelly, who outlived his fame, but who was in his prime the not wholly unequal rival of Follett and of Campbell; Crowder, not much out of his profession except a kindly gentleman, but in it the greatest master of *Nisi Prius* I ever knew; Erle, whom I knew only as a judge, but whom I have heard in youth, and who was, in my opinion, by far the greatest advocate of his time; Cockburn, the accomplished scholar, the splendid orator; and Charles Austin, probably the most highly gifted of them all by nature, but who devoted his noble powers to mere money-making, and who would be, so fast does the world move, by this time forgotten but for the glowing eulogy of him to be found in the autobiography of John Stuart Mill.

And with these men the system under which they flourished has gone to rest too. Parties are examined, husband and wife are heard, special pleading finds no refuge upon the habitable globe, except, as I believe, in the State of New Jersey, in America. Law and equity are concurrently administered; marriage, wills, Admiralty cases are dealt with by the profane hands of judges with not a flavour of ecclesiasticism about them. Of the administrators of the new system, those who made it, and those who now preside over or contend under it, the living and the lately dead, it is not for me to speak. Roundell Palmer, Mellish, Cairns, Blackburn, Charles Russell, Horace Davey, Henry James, John Karslake, who led

“A life too short for friendship, not for fame”—

these and many more, whom I cannot even presume to catalogue, must wait for a better, a fitter, a younger man to commemorate as they deserve their many great and various merits. I do not think, however, that as English law has grown more just and reasonable English lawyers have grown less learned or more dull.

There is one possibly impending change, as to which you have, I understand, been addressed here by the present Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke, whose opinion is favourable to it: I mean, the introduction of the American practice as to our profession: the allowing the functions of the attorney and the functions of the barrister to be exercised by the same person. It is true that in the great cities of America, where there are firms of lawyers, the principles of natural selection send some of the firms into court and keep others in chambers, so that the practice a good deal modifies the principle. But the principle remains, and I believe the extension of it to England is not so very far off. Whether it will be a benefit or no I do not feel sure. I once asked Mr. Benjamin, who had had experience of both systems, which, upon the whole, he thought the best. He replied that

the question could not be answered in a word. "If," he said, "you ask me which is best fitted for producing from time to time a dozen or a score of very eminent and highly cultivated men, men fit to play a great part in public affairs, and to stand up for the oppressed and persecuted in times of trouble and danger, I should say at once the English. If you ask me which is best in ordinary times for the vast majority of clients, I answer at once the American." This was very weighty and very impartial evidence, and, I think, if Mr. Benjamin was right, that what is clearly for the benefit of the vast majority of clients is certain to be established in the end. Without expressing any opinion whatever upon recent hotly controverted facts, which I cannot do, and which would be quite improper for me, if I could, I may say so much as this, that I think they have appreciably hastened the advent of the change.

There is one consideration, the weight of which has lately been much increased, which in my judgment makes strongly in its favour. No doubt can exist in any reflecting mind that the prejudice, which, it is useless to deny, exists against the honour and morality of the profession, arises mainly from the supposed conflict between the rules of the profession and the first principles of ethics. It is said, and it is believed, that statements and conduct, which honour and morals would condemn, are sanctioned by the principles of our profession. That men in all time belonging to our profession have done things as advocates, which they would disdain as men, I sorrowfully yet freely admit. But this is to say nothing against the profession itself. Some clergymen preach things they entirely disbelieve, some soldiers and sailors violate the laws of war and of honesty, some traders cheat, some professional witnesses fence with scientific truth, of which they ought to be the impartial guardians. This only shows that in all professions, however noble, however sacred, men are to be found whose conduct is not guided by the moral code, I will not say of the New Testament, but of Aristotle or Cicero. More is heard of the shortcomings of lawyers, because their acts come home so closely to what Lord Bacon calls men's business and bosoms, because they practise in the light of day, and before the face of men. I deny altogether that their principles are different from those which guide men of honour in any other calling. We practise in courts of law, we contend for legal results, to be arrived at according to legal rules. In criminal courts men are punished not for sins, but for crimes; some sins, amongst the worst men can commit, are unpunished and unpunishable by human tribunals. Crimes even are not punishable till they are proved, and they can be proved only according to rules of evidence which are rules of law. *Mutatis mutandis*, all this is true of civil issues tried in civil courts. Now, these are the tritest platitudes, and yet they are habitually forgotten or disregarded in the

discussions which arise about the morality and honour of lawyers. Grant, what no believing reader of the New Testament can deny, that advocacy is a lawful calling, grant that what a man may honourably say and do for himself an advocate may say and do for him, not more not less, and I ask for no further concession, and I desire to be judged by no other rule. A man in a court of law may rightly and honourably contend that by law an estate belongs to him, a debt is due to him, damages should be paid to him, a crime has not been committed by him. By legal means he contends for legal right, by the same means he repels legal wrong; and what he may do or may not do for himself an advocate may do or may not do for him. A man may not lie for himself, neither may his advocate for him; a man may not deliberately deceive, or accuse a man of a crime of which he knows him to be innocent, or devise, or without careful inquiry and reasonable belief disseminate, a slander, and neither may his advocate.

Now, I think it cannot be denied that the English system greatly increases the temptation to do these things by dividing the responsibility for them. A man makes a deadly attack upon the character of another, which turns out to be unfounded. He says he followed his instructions. Granted that he did; if he took reasonable care to inquire into the nature of the evidence and the character of the witnesses, he is no more to be blamed than any man who repeats something to the discredit of another which he has heard upon authority, which he knows, or has satisfied himself, to be unimpeachable. But if he makes no inquiry, the mere statement in the brief is absolutely no excuse whatever, and he deserves the scornful condemnation of all honourable men. There ought to be, there can be, no doubt about this. If it were otherwise our profession would not be the profession of a gentleman, and would deserve all the hard things its enemies ignorantly say of it. Think for a moment. What a counsel says in court, if at all relevant to the inquiry (some authorities carry it even further), is absolutely privileged; so that the subject of a slander so made is entirely without redress. If what I say is not sound, it follows that, according to the rules of our profession, an unscrupulous attorney, making no inquiry, may instruct a counsel to utter an atrocious slander; the counsel so instructed may, without inquiry, utter and enforce it; and the subject of it, however foul the slander, and however absolute his innocence, may stand for the rest of his life, as Thackeray says of Addison, "stainless but for that, but bleeding from that black wound"—a wound which cannot be healed, because he can neither force the man who stabbed him to withdraw the weapon, nor yet to meet the man whom he has stabbed in fair and equal fight. A man, indeed, not dead to honour and good feeling, will withdraw an accusation the moment he discovers he has made it on evidence which he cannot trust, and withdraw it as openly

as he made it, tendering such amends as hearty regret can frame for having been misled into it.

This was the common practice when I was young : I do not doubt it is the common practice now ; but I have read arguments to show that an advocate may indeed thus act if he thinks fit, but that there is no rule of his profession binding him to do so. I cannot myself conceive a worse enemy to the profession than he who maintains this ; I cannot conceive anything more likely to lead, and which would more justly and surely lead, to the imposition of some legal curb on that free speaking of the advocate, which, when restrained by the ordinary rules of honour and morality, is almost the most precious right which a free people can possess. It is obvious that, outside the court, an advocate (unless he is forced to speak by assaults on his conduct) had far better be silent as to personal attacks which he has made in it. Excuses which may be made for the language of an advocate in the discharge of his duty have no force whatever as to what he may say when he is not performing it. Then he is like any other man, subject to the same rules, liable to the same condemnation if he breaks them. It is no part of his duty out of court to deal in defamation ; the public and society justly look on him then just as they look on any other gentleman, and if he is found to bear false witness against his neighbour, upon instructions which he has not verified, and which may possibly have misled him, he must not only submit to the disapprobation of all honourable men, but to the still heavier reproach that he has done something to let down the character of a great profession and to justify the slanders uttered against it by its enemies.

I do not, as I have said, so understand the rules of our profession. I have lived amongst those who did not so understand them. Within my own experience Cresswell, Thesiger, Crowder, Cockburn, Bovill, Karslake, Collier, Holker, Honyman (I will not speak of living men, and I speak only of instances I have known ; I doubt not there are hundreds of others), these men have withdrawn from cases sooner than persist in attacks which they found to be groundless made upon instructions which they discovered had deceived them ; in some cases had been intended to do so. Sir Alexander Cockburn once said that a man who behaved otherwise deserved to be branded as a criminal conspirator, and on an occasion which has become historical he qualified the perhaps too loose generality of a dictum of Lord Brougham, by saying that an English advocate should maintain his client's cause "*per fas* but not *per nefas* ; with the sword of the soldier, not the dagger of the assassin." These are the rules which I believe guide the conduct of all honourable men in our profession from the highest to the lowest ; these are the principles which no man who respects himself will ever violate in practice ; and by which, if his practice were

questioned, he would not for a moment hesitate to have it judged. These principles are plain and simple, and ought not to be difficult to follow. Our profession does not stand outside Christian ethics; and the rule, rightly and sensibly interpreted, that we should do to other men what we should wish in like case other men should do to us, is as good for us as for the rest of mankind. I am very sure that no man of character will question this, and I am also sure that if ever, in time past, present, or to come, any such man is supposed to have acted otherwise, it can and will be only because the facts relating to his conduct are inaccurately stated, have been imperfectly apprehended, or are altogether misunderstood. But as we value our honour and love our profession let there be no paltering with these principles, and no hesitation in condemning any departure from them.

There is one step further still, which I will illustrate, withholding names, by an instance which I heard myself. In a Divorce Bill, before the creation of the Divorce Court, and heard, therefore, in the House of Lords, there was clear evidence that a woman resembling the incriminated wife had been seen in a compromising position with a young groom in the stableyard of a nobleman's castle. The attorney knew that the wife herself was the woman, and he suggested this to the counsel, but said that there was a maid, whom I will call Rose, upon whom suspicion might plausibly be thrown. Suspicion, happily unsuccessfully, was thrown upon Rose by the counsel, who actually told the story himself; and when somewhat roundly taken to task for it, calmly observed "that he had followed his instructions, but that he always felt it was rather hard upon Rose." I thought then, and think now, that this conduct was infamous, and that, in his case at least, it was true that a man in a wig and gown had done that which if he had done without those appendages, most honourable men would have said with Henry the Fifth,

"We would not die in that man's company";

or, with Horace:

"Vetabo sub . . . isdem
Sit trabibus fragilemve mecum,
Solvat phaselon."

(I would not sleep under the same roof with him, or go to sea with him in the same boat.)

Now, whatever one may think of the counsel, it is plainly inconceivable that if he had been attorney as well as advocate, and had himself heard the confession of his client, he would have descended to such almost incredible baseness as to put upon another what he knew from his client she had done herself. Let me say that this was an exception, and that I have lived my life amongst men as incapable of it as Bayard, and who would have con-

demned it as sternly as St. Paul. While, therefore, I am not insensible to the many advantages of the present system, the comfort of which to the advocate I enjoyed for six-and-twenty years, I cannot shut my eyes to the many countervailing benefits to be found in the American practice if and when it is ever introduced into the English courts.

"Here, then, my words have end." Too long, and yet desultory and superficial. Forgive their imperfections, accept them as a poor token of goodwill from an old judge to youthful students, from one at the end of his career to you who are at the beginning of yours, from memory to hope, from winter to the spring which will surely and very soon replace it, from one who has had much more success than he deserves, and who wishes you to succeed at least as well and to deserve it better.

COLERIDGE.

DANTE IN HIS RELATION TO THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE opinions of Dante, like those of every great writer who has treated of ethical, political, or religious subjects, have been made the battle-ground of bitter controversy. Apart from those who fall into the shallow trap of seeking the greatness of the poet in some secret doctrine which can be read by the aid of a verbal key, there are many who have sought for Protestantism, and some who sought for Socialism, or even Nihilism, in his pages.* And their interpretations, as was to be expected, have called out those of an opposite school, who have turned him into a champion of orthodoxy, and have treated his denunciation of the Papal policy as a separable accident of his poetry. Now in a sense it may be maintained, that both parties are "right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny." Those who see in Dante's words the germs of religious and political change are not altogether in error, though they sometimes look for the evidence of their view in the wrong place. The writers who are most revolutionary in their ultimate effect are not those who violently break away from the institutions of the past and set up a new principle against them, but rather those who so thoroughly enter into the spirit of those institutions that they make them, so to speak, transparent. When the soul becomes visible, the body is ready to drop away. We often find systems of doctrine surviving the most violent attack from without, and apparently only deriving new vigour from the contest. But one thing there is which they cannot survive—viz., being thoroughly understood and appreciated, for the intelligence that has fully appreciated them has *ipso facto* grown out of them and beyond them. It has extracted the principle from its former embodiment, and so made it capable of entering into combination with other principles to produce new forms of life and thought. It is in this

* E. Aroux: "Dante Hérétique, Révolutionnaire, et Socialiste."

relation that Dante stands to mediæval Catholicism. In attempting to revivify its ideas, he "betrayed its secret." As Plato in his "Republic" developed the ruling ideas of Greek politics to a point at which they necessarily break through the form of the Greek state and destroy it, so Dante, in giving a final and conclusive utterance to mediæval ideas, at once revealed the vital source of their power, and showed where they come into contradiction with themselves and point beyond themselves for their completion. The attempts made to prove that Dante was a "Reformer before the Reformation," or a "Revolutionary before the Revolution" are, in the sense in which they were made, vain and futile: and, in spite of the rough way in which he denounces the state of things ecclesiastical and political, writers like Ozanam and Hettinger have no difficulty in showing Dante's complete orthodoxy, and his complete acceptance of the Catholic system of life and thought. Even from the first the Catholic Church recognised that the attacks of Dante were the wounds of a friend, and that it would be an absurdity to put in the Index a poem which was the most eloquent of all expressions of its own essential ideas. The revolutionary power of Dante's poetry lay in quite a different direction. It lay just in this, that Dante held up to mediæval Catholicism its own ideal, the very principle on which it rested and from which it drew all its power, that he judged it by that ideal, and that by that ideal he found it wanting. For, although, as "the most hopeful son of the Church Militant," Dante seemed to himself to be able to indicate one simple way in which the old order of Church and State could be restored, to all but himself the very expression of the conditions necessary for this return to the past was the demonstration of its impossibility.

In this article, it is not proposed to consider Dante as a poet, or at least to enter into any questions directly connected with the poetic form in which he has expressed himself, but rather to treat him as a writer who sought in his own way to read the signs of his times, and to declare to others the lesson he had thus learnt. In doing so, we are judging Dante according to a standard which he himself has set up. The poetic form, indeed, is inseparable from Dante's thought, as is shown by his comparative failure to utter himself in prose; but to himself it was, so to speak, an inseparable accident, necessary only as the vehicle of his message to his time, as the form through which alone he could express his whole conception of human life, and "justify the ways of God to man." If ever there has been a poetry which was indifferent to its own matter, it was certainly not the "sacred poem to which heaven and earth had set their hands so that for many years it had made the poet lean." The "*Divina Commedia*" was for Dante simply the last perfect expression of the same thought, which in all his other works, both of prose and verse, it had been his effort to

utter. It is not, indeed, a didactic poem in the ordinary sense of the word. Dante was too perfect an artist not to see that the direct practical movement of the preacher or the orator is alien to the contemplative spirit of poetry. But it is didactic in the sense that it is an effort to exhibit the ideal truth of things, the moral law of the world, which is hidden from us by the confusion of phenomena, and the illusion of our own passions. Hence the first problem suggested by the "*Commedia*" is, how Dante's poetry becomes the vehicle of a complete philosophical and theological view of human life without ceasing to be poetry.

We may answer, in the first place, that the reason why Dante is able to be philosophical without ceasing to be poetical, is the same which enables Plato to approach so closely to poetry without ceasing to be a philosopher. By Dante, as by Plato, every part is seen in the light of the whole, and therefore, becomes a kind of individual whole in itself. Dante can be faithful to truth without ceasing to be a poet, because for him, the highest truth is poetical. His unceasing effort to reach the poetry of truth and the truth of poetry may be evidenced in many ways. He began his career as a poet by a kind of Wordsworthian reaction against the affectations of the Provençal school, from which he received his first lessons in the art of verse. In a well-known passage in the "*Purgatorio*," Bonagiunta di Lucca, one of his poetical predecessors, questions him as to the reason of the superiority of his lyrics. Dante answers that his secret was simply strict adherence to the truth of feeling. "I am one, who, when love inspires me, make careful note of what he says, and in the very manner in which *he* speaks within, I set myself to utter it." Bonagiunta is made to answer: "Now, I see the obstacle which made me and the Notary and Guittone fall short of the sweet new style, which in your verses sounds in my ears. I see clearly that your wings follow closely after the dictation of love, which was certainly not the case with us." In the description of outward things, Dante's minute accuracy, as of one who wrote always "with his eye on the object," is one of his most obvious characteristics. Sometimes he goes so far in breaking through the conventional limitations of poetical language as to give us a shock of surprise, like that which we receive from the homely detail of Wordsworth; though in Dante we never meet with those pieces of crude undigested prose to which Wordsworth sinks in his less inspired moments. More often Dante falls into this kind of error in relation to the prose, not of bare fact, but of thought. In his anxiety to utter the whole truth of his theme, and to make his work a kind of compend of philosophy and theology, he sometimes introduces definitions and expositions of doctrine, which are too abstract to be fused into unity with any poetic symbol; as, for instance, in the curious Aristotelian lecture on the relations of the

soul and the body, which he puts into the mouth of the poet Statius. Generally, however, the intractableness of his theme is overcome partly by the Platonic cast of Dante's thoughts, to which we have already referred, and partly by the realising force of imagination with which these thoughts are grasped. The synthetic power of poetry, which individualises all that is universal, is made the servant of the philosophic synthesis, which overcomes abstraction by grasping ideas in their relations. The passage in the thirteenth canto of the "*Paradiso*," where St. Thomas is made to expound the scale of being, and the parallel passage in the first canto, are good instances of the way in which Dante conquers this difficulty. And it is remarkable that he succeeds, not by expansion, but by compression of thought; in other words, he makes the conceptions of philosophy and theology poetic, not by diluting them in metaphors, but by a concentrated intensity of expression, which suggests the connection of each part with the whole, and the presence of the whole in every part.

What, then, is Dante's theme? To this Dante himself gives an answer which might at first sight seem inconsistent with the very nature of poetry, as a direct sensuous presentment of its object. In his letter to Can Grande della Scala, to whom he dedicates the "*Paradiso*," he declares that the subject of the "*Commedia*," taken literally, is the state of souls after death. But, he goes on, if the work be taken allegorically, the subject is man, as by the good or ill use of his freedom he becomes worthy of reward or punishment. Now, many modern critics might be disposed to say that to play in this way with double meanings is necessarily to lose the immediate appeal of poetry to our inner perception, and to "sickly o'er the native hues of" imagination "with a pale cast of thought." Nor can we escape the force of this objection by saying that the allegory is an after-thought, which occurred to Dante only when his poem was completed, and did not affect him during its composition. On the contrary, during the course of the poem he frequently directs our attention to the "subtle veil" under which he half conceals and half reveals a higher truth: and this deeper meaning is suggested to us not only by the numerous symbolic figures which are introduced at each stage of our progress, but by the main lines of the structure of the "*Commedia*." Even this might be regarded by some as a concession which was forced upon Dante by the ideas of his time. But, when we look more closely, we see that such a double meaning is no mere literary convention, but that it is inwrought into the very essence of Dante's work. It was, in fact, the necessary condition which he had to fulfil, in order to be, what Carlyle calls him, "the spokesman of ten silent centuries." If Dante was to give poetic expression to the consciousness of the Middle Ages, it was as necessary for him to live in two worlds at once as for Homer to live in one. What

characterised the Homeric age was the fresh sense of the reality of life and its interests, and therefore the poet of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" could introduce the world of the dead only as a shadowy and spectral existence at the extreme verge of his picture of the living world. But to the highest consciousness of the Middle Ages it might almost be said that the parts were inverted, and that the world of the living was but a shadowy appearance through which the eternal realities of another world were continually betraying themselves. The poet who made himself the interpreter of such a time was obliged to encounter all the difficulties of this strange division of man's being. He must draw his picture, as it were, on windows lightened by an unseen sun. However alien it might seem to the nature of poetry, or at least to the ordinary theory of its nature, he must be prepared to live in an atmosphere of double meanings, of crosslights and symbolic references, in which nothing was taken for simply itself; and yet, in spite of this, he had to be "simple, sensuous, and passionate," in order to be a poet at all. It is his strange success in this apparently impossible task that gives the unique character to Dante's achievement. His poem seems as if it were constructed to refute all the ordinary canons of poetic criticism, and to prove that genius is its own law. But the key to the difficulty is not very hard to discover. It is just through the symbolic nature of his theme that Dante finds his way back to poetic truth and reality. It is because the other world, as he fixes his eyes upon it, turns for him into an enlarged and idealised counterpart of this world, because its eternal kingdoms of "Hell," "Purgatory," and "Paradise," are for him the symbol of the powers which underlie and control the confusing struggle of human life, that Dante is able to give to his journey through all these supernatural kingdoms the vivid force of natural realisation. Hence it may fairly be said, that it is just because the "Commedia" is symbolic that it is true. Accepting the dualism of the Middle Age, Dante can transcend it only by the double reflection of each world upon the other.

The meaning of this last statement will become clearer, if we consider for a moment the nature and origin of that dualism. It arose out of the opposition of Christianity to the ancient forms of life which it had to overcome. As in every great revolution by which a new principle of life has been introduced into human history, it was to be expected that the negative side of Christianity should manifest itself first. Till the enemy was conquered, it was impossible that he should be recognised as not altogether an enemy. And the materialism and sensualism, which were partly consequences of the fact that ancient civilisation was in process of decay, made it all but impossible for the Christian, under the fresh inspiration of the most idealistic faith which the world had ever seen, to admit any kindred

between the new life and the old. The Church was necessarily militant against the world, till the world was subdued. Only after the first shock of antagonism had ceased, and the new society was secure in itself, did it become possible for it to see that there were many elements in the old system which might be appropriated by it, and used as materials for the new social structure. And it was not till centuries had passed, not indeed till the present age, that it could be discerned that there is a deeper root of unity, from which all religions and civilisations spring, and in view of which even such a change as the introduction of Christianity can be regarded as a step in the development of one life.

Christianity was, therefore, at the outset, and in the eyes both of those who accepted and of those who rejected it, a revolutionary idealism, which, as it turned the cross into the highest symbol of honour, seemed to invert all the old standards of excellence, and all the old criteria of truth. "Those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." The characteristic of the new religion, which was most prominent in the minds of its earliest converts, is the antithetic abruptness of its inversion of the outward, and, we may even say, of the inward order of ancient life; and it was the apparent lawlessness involved in this revolution which turned the prejudice of the world against it. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted the humble and meek," is the birth song of the new creed; and St. Paul, who made the first steps toward turning the immediate utterance of Christian feeling into a theory, is continually insisting on the theme that "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty." The same thing seen from the outside made the Roman emperors regard Christianity as the most fatal and horrible of superstitions, a superstition which inspired the dregs of society with a subversive madness, and made them for the first time unsubmissive to the firm hand of Roman discipline. It is true that Christianity was not outwardly revolutionary in its immediate aims. It preached submission to lawful authority, and not revolt; and it recognised even the empire that persecuted it as, in a sense, "ordained of God." But the instinct of its enemies was true. It submitted, not because it accepted the world's law, but because it stood so far off from that law that it could easily avoid any conflict with it: because, in the idealism of its faith, it could treat the whole order of secular life as something extraneous and indifferent. The Christian slave endured his chains, because slavery and mastery, the dunghill or the throne, could matter little or nothing to one whose citizenship was in heaven. Such a doctrine hid its revolutionary power in the excess of spiritualism. But the imperial instinct of Rome recognised that such submission was

treacherous, and that the political system of the empire must necessarily be destroyed by the development of a principle, which it could neither assimilate nor overcome. The Church grew within the empire, at once using it, and exhausting its energy by the invasive power of its stronger spiritual life, till in the course of time the imperial authority had to choose between extinction and submission.

The intellectual narrowness that hinders men from grasping more than one aspect of a great principle at one time, and even the limitations of human speech, are continually tending to exaggerate relative into absolute opposition, and to reduce unity into identity. And, as in its distinctive maxim, "Die to live," Christianity contained the germ at once of a deeper antagonism, and of a more comprehensive reconciliation, between the different elements of man's nature, than any previous system it was inevitable that in its development it should sway between the two extreme poles of Manichæan Dualism and a Pantheism in which all difference of good and evil was lost; though it could not identify itself either with the one or the other without losing its distinctive character. The necessity of conquering other forms of belief and of contending with the materialism of ancient civilisation tended at first to throw emphasis upon the negative rather than the positive aspect of the maxim. And this tendency was seconded by the order of thought in the maxim itself, which involved that self-realisation should be sought through self-sacrifice. The consequence was that the early Church threw all its weight in this direction, and viewed its own life as essentially opposed to that of the kingdoms of this world, which it expected soon to be subverted by the second coming of Christ. It is, however, noticeable that, in its earliest form, Christianity is less hopeless of the world, less dualistic than it afterwards became: even the Millenarian idea being itself a witness that the first Christians saw no incongruity in the idea that this world should be directly turned into the kingdom of God, or in the hope that, without passing through the gate of death, the faithful should have their mortal nature transformed entirely by the power of the new life. The explanation of this lies partly in the fact that the first Christians received the principle of Christianity in its unevolved completeness, before the tendency to emphasise one side of it had gained strength. Still more it lay in the natural confidence of those who first felt the inspiring power of the new faith, and who had not yet learned to estimate the obstacles that stood between the simple acceptance of the Christian principle in its unexplained generality and the realisation of it in a complete system of life and thought. In the first intuitive apprehension of a new idea of life everything seems at once to be attained, its universality men seem to possess a present infinity, a present unlimited good, which can be resisted by nothing but itself, and which includes everything. In this sense Hegel

speaks of the infinite value of the ununfolded religious emotion, as it exists in the breast of the simplest man who has felt its power. But, in another point of view, an idea so apprehended is merely a germ, which as yet has shown as little of what it contains or of the real results to which it will grow as the acorn shows of the future oak. In the course of the second century, when the first fervour of hope and faith was over, it began to be seen that the perfect fruition of the Christian ideal could not be grasped at once. The immediate hope of a sudden divine change of the world disappeared, and with it, we might almost say, the hope of a realisation of Christianity in this world. The first steps toward the building up of an organised community of Christians brought with them a consciousness of the immense hindrances, inward and outward, which stood in the way of the realisation of a Kingdom of heaven upon earth. And, though the idea that human nature is capable of a complete purification and regeneration could not be lost without the loss of Christianity itself, the belief began to prevail that such completion can be attained only in another world.

Hence the apparent contradiction that the principle of Christianity comes to be regarded as unrealisable, just at the time when the first steps are taken to realise it. It is when the Church has begun to establish itself as one of the political powers of the world, that the expectation of a kingdom of God on earth all but disappears, and Christianity becomes decisively an other-world faith—the hope of a victory to be won, and a fruition to be enjoyed, only beyond the grave. In like manner, it is when the Christian idea has ceased to be a simple consciousness of relation to Christ, when it has put itself in relation to the philosophy of the ancient world and begun to develop into a system of doctrine, that the distinction of faith and knowledge begins to be emphasised, and divine things to be regarded as altogether beyond the sphere of the understanding of man. In the New Testament, and especially in the Epistles of St. Paul, the minor note of sadness—which could never be entirely absent from the expression of the Christian consciousness—is sometimes all but lost in the hope of a joy to be revealed in the near future; and sorrow takes the aspect of a passing shadow, which is soon to disappear from the new heavens and the new earth. But with the apostolic age this confident spirit passes away, and life begins to be regarded as a pilgrimage in a foreign land, in which the Christian has continually to contend with enemies without and within, and no fruition corresponding to his hopes is to be expected. Existence is thus, as it were, projected into a future beyond the grave, and even the Church is conceived, not as the kingdom of God realised on earth, but as an ark of refuge, in which man is to be carried through the storms of life to his true fatherland. It was by the aid of this conception, which practically deferred

the realisation of its ideal in another world, that the Church was enabled to retain that ideal and yet partly to reconcile itself to the conditions of its existence in a society still only half civilised, and organised on principles alien to Christianity. For the division which was thus made between the secular and the sacred, if in one point of view it tended to exalt the Church at the expense of the State, yet supplied an excuse to the former for tolerating in the latter a kind of life that was not in harmony with its own principles. In this way the revolutionary tendencies of Christianity, the demands of its idealistic morality, and its purely spiritual criteria of judgment were retained, and yet made reconcilable with acquiescence in the *status quo*, and even with a Conservative alliance with the existing political powers. The kingdoms of this world were allowed to subsist, nay, their authority was consecrated, by a church which repudiated all their principles of life and government; and the doctrine that this life is merely a preparation for another enabled Christianity to be used as an anodyne to reconcile men to sufferings and wrongs which were regarded as inevitable, rather than as a call to change the institutions which caused such evils. On the other hand, the Church, at least in its dedicated orders, in its priestly monks, and nuns, sought to realise within itself that higher life which it refrained from demanding from the world. But even here the same antagonism betrayed itself; and the three vows of the "religious" life turned Christianity into an ascetic struggle against Nature. Yet such asceticism could not be based on the idea (which underlay earlier ascetic systems) that the natural passions or feelings are in themselves evil. Such a Manichaean division, discordant as it was felt to be with the doctrine of a divine humanity, was once for all rejected and refuted by the first great speculative genius of the Western Church, St. Augustine. It remained that asceticism should be conceived as a stage of transition, and that the object of it should be taken to be, not to root out nature, but only to purify it. Nature must die to itself that it might live to God, but it could so die without perishing; it could rise again to a new spiritual life without ceasing to be Nature. Nay, if the mediæval saint could believe that Nature had so "died to live," he could even accept its voice as divine. On this point, however, he was very difficult to reassure; he was, indeed, scarcely willing to admit that the spiritual death of Nature, which is the beginning of a higher life, could come before the natural death of the body. Hence the highest morality, the morality of the cloister, remained for him negative and ascetic, and, if he ever regarded it as a preparation for a positive morality in which impulse and duty should be made one, it was in a future life only that he expected such an ideal to be realised. The tender feminine voice of mediæval piety, its self-repression and submission to an evil present, its ardent longing for a glory to be revealed,

its self-mortification and renunciation of the world, and its exultant consciousness that everything it lost would one day be regained, its combination of all-levelling love with the resigned acceptance of a social state in which men were held down and held asunder by the most fixed class-divisions, were the natural results of this curious compromise. Christianity had brought together so many apparently inconsistent elements of thought and feeling, that in the first instance it was possible for them to be combined only by distributing them between two worlds. But, after all, it was one mind that lived in both: it was one spirit which was thus divorced from itself, and which was at the same time engaged in a continual effort to overcome the division.

Dante comes at the end of the Middle Ages, and, as has already been indicated, it was his work to bring the mediæval spirit to a consciousness of itself and so to carry it beyond itself. He does so, however, not by the rejection of any of its characteristic modes of thought. He does not, like some of his immediate successors, recoil from the one-sided spiritualism of the Middle Ages, and set against it a naturalistic delight in the beauty of the world of sense. Nor does he rise to that higher perception of the spiritual in the natural which has inspired the best modern poetry. He was no Boccaccio or Heine, raising the standard of revolt in the name of mere nature against all that hindered her free development. Nor was he a Shakspeare or Goethe who could spiritualise the natural by force of insight into its deeper meaning. But, accepting without a shadow of a doubt or hesitation all the constitutive ideas of mediæval thought and life, he grasped them so firmly and gave them such luminous expression that the spirit in them broke away from the form. The force of imaginative realisation with which he saw and represented the supernaturalism, the other-worldliness, the combined rationalism and mysticism of the Middle Age, already carried in it a new idea of life. In this view we might say that Dante was the last of mediæval and the first of modern writers. To show that this is the case will be the object of the remainder of this paper.

We may best realise this aspect of Dante's poem if we regard it in three different points of view, and if we consider how he deals with three contrasts or antagonisms which run through all mediæval thought and life—though, indeed, they may rather be regarded as different aspects of one great antagonism: *first*, with the antagonism between this and the other world; *secondly*, with the antagonism between the Empire and the Church, with which in Dante's mind is closely connected the opposition between faith and reason, or between theology and philosophy; and, *finally*, with the antagonism between the natural and the spiritual, or between the morality of self-denial and the morality of self-realisation.

1. It has already been pointed out that mediæval religion tended to regard the world as a sphere in which man is prepared for a better life, but which has no substantial worth in itself. "This is not our home," "the native land, the *patria* of the soul, is in heaven," "we are pilgrims and sojourners, who seek for a city that hath foundations." In such sayings we find the distinctive note of mediæval piety, the source at once of its weakness and its strength, of its almost fatalistic resignation to suffering, and of its consoling power. The other world is the inheritance of those who have failed in this; and the sense of failure, the sense that man is utterly powerless in himself, had in this period altogether expelled the joyous self-confidence of ancient virtue. This change may be traced to many causes. The sufferings of an age of war and oppression, the insecurity of a time when the tribal bonds of barbarous society were being dissolved, and when the unity of modern nations was not yet established, may furnish a partial explanation; but still more is due to the agonies of fear and remorse, which took the place of the self-confident animalism and rude freedom of the Teutonic races when brought into the presence of the new spiritual light of Christianity, and to the ascetic recoil from all secular interests, which, as we have seen, was the necessary result of the first conflict of Christian ideas with a world they could not yet transform. These causes tended to develop a kind of religion which withdrew man from the interests of the present and, as it were, transferred the centre of gravity of his life beyond the grave. Such a religion essentially contrasted with the religions of classical antiquity, which were in the main worships of a divine principle revealed in the family and the State. And it contrasted equally with the religion of the Jews, which, if it took men beyond the present, yet did not lift them out of this world, but only carried them forward to a better future for their race. It has often been felt as a difficulty by modern students of the history of religion, that ancient religions dwelt so little on the concerns of another world; but it is a difficulty only because the mediæval stamp has been so strongly impressed on our minds that, like Kant, we are ready to say that "without a belief in a future state no religion can be conceived." But the inspiring power of religion for most of the peoples of antiquity lay, mainly at least, in the view which it led them to take of this rather than of another world. Mediæval Christianity, on the other hand, turned the Jewish aspiration after a better future on earth into a belief that man's good can be realised, and his happiness attained, only in heaven. And, for what was thus lost in the inspiring power of the consciousness of a divine purpose realising itself in the present life of man, it tried to make up by the idea of the present life as a preparatory discipline for another. Now, it is easy to see that such a belief is susceptible of many shades of meaning. It is capable

of sinking into the coarsest superstition which barter a joy here for a joy of no higher character in the life to come. Yet, even in that case it may be said, that the joys that are not seen, the desires that cannot be gratified here and now, are by that very fact changed and elevated in character, if for no other reason at least because a joy not possessed is always idealised by imagination. And it may be further said that even mediæval Christianity, if it caught men at first by sensuous fears and hopes, contained in itself a provision for their gradual idealisation, as the nature of the Christian life became better known. It admitted of a sort of sliding scale of interpretation from the mere superstitious fear of the vengeance of God to the most saintly desire for inward purity. Still, so long as it laid such exclusive emphasis on the idea of another life—which was broken off from this life by a chasm that could not be filled up—so long as its supernatural was not the natural seen in its ideal truth, but, so to speak, another natural world somewhat differently constituted, so long mediæval religion wanted something which, *e.g.*, even Greek religion possessed. The division of the religious from the secular vocation of man was necessarily a source of disharmony in all his existence. It led naturally and almost inevitably to a separation between divine service and that service of God which is only another aspect of the service of man—a separation which turns religion into superstition, and deprives morality of its ideal character. Now in Dante's great poem the mediæval form of representation is strictly preserved. Human life is viewed as essentially a preparation for another world, whose awful reality throughout overshadows it, and reduces its interests almost into an object of contempt, except when they are viewed in relation to that world. "O, wretched man, do ye not see that we are worms produced only to contain the angelic butterfly, which flies to justice without a covering," is one of many similar utterances; and in a remarkable passage in the "Paradiso" Dante represents himself as looking down upon the earth from the highest heaven, and makes the minuteness of its apparent size a symbol of the littleness of earthly things as seen from the heavenly point of view. Yet, after all, the eternal world which he exhibits to us is just this world seen *sub specie eternitatis*, this world as it is to one who views it in its moral aspect. And, as we see from the letter to Can Grande della Scala already quoted, Dante means it to be so understood. Thus taken, the "Inferno" and the "Paradiso" are simply Evil and Good in the full development of their abstract opposition, and the "Purgatorio" is simply this world, regarded as a scene of moral struggle and purification. Thus, both in the "Inferno" and in the "Paradiso," Dante's attempt is to make the woe and the joy as closely as possible the visible expression of character, which finds its doom in being fixed for ever in its characteristic act or attitude; and in the "Purgatorio".

the same sufferings—which in the “Inferno” had been the penal return of the crime upon the criminal—become the purifying pains through which he frees himself from his sin. Or, looking at it in a slightly different point of view, the descent of Dante through the circles of the “Inferno” is a kind of treatise on the process of moral degradation, and his ascent through the Purgatorial mount, together with his upward flight through the heavens, a description of the process of moral renovation. Thus in the upper circles of the “Inferno” we begin with the sins of passion, of inordinate indulgence in some finite good, with lust, gluttony, avarice, and prodigality, the punishment being in each case a kind of symbol of the crime, or as has just been said, the return of the crime upon the criminal. Those who have yielded to lawless desire are blown about in the dark whirlwind. The avaricious and the prodigal are doomed to the endless task of rolling heavy weights backward and forward, each undoing the other’s work. Lowest among the sins of passion Dante puts the discontent which wastes its energy in fretting against the limits of earthly satisfaction, and will not look kindly upon the light of day.* Those who have been thus morose and sullen in their lives are plunged in the deep mire, where they continually keep up a monotonous complaint. “Sad were we above in the sweet air, which is brightened by the sun, bearing in our hearts a lazy smoke that hid its light from our eyes; now are we sad in the black mire.” In the next circle is punished the sin of heresy, which is for Dante the acceptance of the evil in place of the good principle, or, in other words, the denial of that higher idea of life which raises man above the animals. Those who have thus shut their minds to *il ben del intelletto* are prisoned in fiery tombs. Out of this root of evil principle, according to Dante’s way of thinking, spring all the sins of malevolence, of hate of God and man, beginning in violence and ending in deceit and treachery in all its kinds, which, as involving the utmost corruption of man’s peculiar gift of reason, are punished in the lowest circles of the “Inferno.”

In the “Purgatorio” the principle of good is supposed to have been restored, and therefore suffering has ceased to be penal, and has changed into the purifying pains by which men free themselves from evil. Hence, though there is nothing here exactly corresponding to the lower circles of the “Inferno,” the lowest terraces of the Purgatorial mountain have still to purge away some remaining stains of the baser forms of sin, stains of pride, envy, and anger, which make a man seek his own good in opposition to the good of his neighbours. In the fourth circle, man’s purification from *accidia*—that torpid and relaxed temper of mind which refuses to be stimulated to action either by divine love or by the desire of finite good—prepares the

* Cf. Mr. Harris’ essay on “The Spiritual Sense of the Divina Commedia,” in the *American Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, for October 1887, which has suggested some of the above remarks.

way for his purgation, in the three highest terraces, from the sins of passion, the sin of giving to finite good the love that should be reserved for the infinite. Finally, the heavenly journey of Dante carries us up through all the finer shades of spiritual excellence, beginning with the devotion that is not yet unswerving in purpose, the love that still clings to the charm of sense, and the practical virtue which is still haunted with the "last infirmity of noble minds," and ending with the passionate faithfulness of crusaders like Dante's ancestor, Cacciaguida, the pure zeal for justice of kings, like Godfrey of Jerusalem, and the perfect devotion of monastic sainthood, whether seraphic in love with St. Francis, or cherubic in wisdom with St. Dominic. In all this Dante holds to the mediæval point of view, in so far as he makes this world altogether secondary and subordinate to the other; yet he escapes the mediæval dualism by exhibiting the other world as simply the clear revelation of ideal forces which are hidden from us amid the confused phenomena of our earthly existence. In effect, though not in so many words, the postponement of this world to the other comes simply to mean the postponement of appearance to reality, of the outward show and semblance of life to the spiritual powers that are working in and through it. It is, therefore, no mere afterthought when, in his letter to Can Grande, Dante bids us regard the description of the other world as symbolic of the truth about man's life here. We might even, from this point of view, be tempted to regard Dante's representation of the other world as a mere artistic form under which the universal meaning of our present life is conveyed. For, even if Dante did not mean to say this, his work says it to us. His poetical handling of the idea of another life tends to remove from it all that is conventional and arbitrary, and to turn it into the appropriate expression of an ever present moral reality. And, though some elements of the horror and brutality of the mediæval conception of retribution are still retained in harsh discords of the "Inferno," and some of the childishness, which mingled with the childlike purity of mediæval piety, in the dances and songs of the "Paradiso," we may, perhaps, compare these things to the unfinished parts of the statues of Michael Angelo, which exhibit the material the artist had to use, and heighten our consciousness of his power by a glimpse of the difficulty with which he was struggling.

2. In mediæval thought the opposition between this and the other world was closely connected with the second opposition to which reference has been made, the opposition between the Empire and the Church, between politics and religion, and also, as Dante holds, between philosophy and theology. In Dante's prose treatise, the "*De Monarchia*," we have an elaborate argument in regular scholastic form, in which he tries to defend his own reading of the politico-ecclesiastical ideal of the Middle Age, which was expressed in the maxim: "One God, one Pope,

one Emperor." The following quotation gives the substance of Dante's view :

"If man is a mean between the corruptible and the incorruptible, like every other mean, he must have something in him of both extremes. Further, as every nature is constituted in view of some ultimate end, man, who partakes of two natures, must be constituted in view of a twofold end. Two ends, therefore, the ineffable wisdom of Providence has set, before his efforts ; to wit, the beatitude of this life, which consists in the exercise of his proper virtue, and which is figured to us by the Terrestrial Paradise ; and the beatitude of eternal life, which consists in the fruition of the divine vision, and which is represented by the Celestial Paradise. To these different beatitudes, as to different conclusions, we can attain only through different means. To the former we attain by the teaching of philosophy, which we follow in the exercise of the moral and intellectual virtues. To the latter we attain by means of those spiritual teachings which transcend human reason, and which guide us in the exercise of the theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity. These ends and the means to them are exhibited to us, on the one hand, by human reason expressing itself in its fulness in the philosophers, and, on the other hand, by the Holy Spirit, which, through the prophets and sacred writers, through the Eternal Son of God Jesus Christ and his disciples, has revealed to us a truth which is beyond nature. But, in spite of all these evidences, human passion would inevitably disregard both the earthly and the heavenly end, unless men, like horses, had their brutal lusts restrained with bit and bridle. Hence there was needed, in order to bring man securely to his double end, a double directing power : to wit, the Holy Pontiff, to guide him in accordance with Revelation, to eternal life ; and the Emperor, to direct him to temporal felicity, in accordance with the precepts of philosophy. And since none or few, and these only with the utmost difficulty, could attain to this haven, unless the waves of deceitful lust were quelled, and the human race enabled to enjoy the freedom and tranquillity of peace, *this*, above all, is the aim to which the Curator of the world, who is called the Roman Prince, should direct all his efforts : to wit, that in this mortal sphere life may be freely passed in peace. . . . It is clear, then, that the authority of the temporal monarch descends to him without any medium from the fountain of all authority—that fountain which, one and simple in its lofty source, flows out into many channels in the abundance of the divine goodness. . . . This, however, is not to be taken as meaning that the Roman Emperor is in *nothing* subject to the Roman Pontiff ; for that mortal happiness, of which we have been speaking, itself has a farther end in the happiness which is immortal. Let then Cæsar pay such reverence to Peter as a first-born son owes to his father, that, illumined by his paternal grace, he may, with greater virtue, irradiate the whole circle of the world, over which he is placed by Him alone, who is the ruler of all things temporal and spiritual."

The ideas which Dante thus expresses in prose govern the whole movement of the "Commedia." They explain the contrast between the two guides of Dante, Virgil and Beatrice, the former of whom is immediately taken as the representative of philosophy, and of the teachings of reason, and indirectly also of the Roman imperial power which Dante regarded as the source of that secular moral discipline by which man is taught the cardinal virtues of the secular life ; while the latter speaks for a theology based on revelation, and maintains the necessity of that discipline in the three theological virtues, which it is the function of the

Church to supply. The great evil of his time, according to Dante, was that these two different functions had been confused, that the Empire and the Church had become rivals instead of complements of each other, and that by this dislocation of the governing power, the whole life of man had been thrown into disorder: "Ye may well see that it is ill guidance that has made the world stray from good, and not any corruption of the nature of man. Rome, that once gave peace to the earth, was wont to have two suns. Now that one has quenched the other, and the sword is joined with the pastoral staff, they must both wander from the path. For, so united, the one fears not the other."

As is manifest from this passage, the main responsibility for the perversion of the divine order of life, lay, in Dante's opinion, with the Church, and especially with the Papacy, which, as he held, had abandoned its proper functions, and had grasped at the imperial authority. For, by this policy, the Papacy alienated its natural ally, and gave opportunity for the undisciplined licence of the communes and the sanguinary ambition of France, to which the Papacy itself ere long became a victim. And the main cure for this state of things which Dante requires and prophesies is, that some great emperor or servant of the empire, some Henry VII. or Can Grande, should appear to drive back to hell the wolf, *cupidigia*—i.e., to repress the greedy ambition which had thrown the world into disorder, and to restore the Church to its original purity, the purity it had before the fatal gift of Constantine had begun to draw it into the arena of worldly politics. Dante, therefore, seeks for the reversal of the whole course of policy by which the Church, especially after the time of Gregory the Great, had sought to establish its secular authority. He would strip the Church of her wealth in order to make her trust only in spiritual weapons. In the "Inferno," Dante breaks out into taunts and rejoicings over the just fate of the simoniacal popes. "Tell me how much gold our Lord required of St. Peter, when he put the keys into his charge? Verily he demanded of him nought, but, 'Follow me.'" On the other hand, his intensest sympathy is reserved for the new orders of mendicant friars, who sought to bring back the simplicity of the Gospel, and his severest denunciations are for those who have corrupted the original purity of these orders, and of the Church in general.

This enables us to understand an often-discussed passage in which Dante puts among those contemptible beings—who "were neither faithful nor rebellious, but were for themselves," and who are therefore "hateful to God and to his enemies"—one who is characterised only as "the man who, through meanness, made the grand renunciation." This we are told by all the older commentators of Dante refers to Pope Celestine, who resigned the papacy, and was succeeded by Boniface VIII. The contempt of Dante for this simple monk, who shrank from a burden which he could not bear, is to be understood only if

we regard it as an expression of the disappointment of those who, in Celestine, saw a representative of the pure unworldly view of the functions of the Church lifted to the throne of Christendom, and who then saw him confess himself unequal to the mission thus committed to him. Dante sympathised with the resentment of the so-called "spiritual Franciscans,"—those who sought to maintain, in all its strictness, the original law of St. Francis as to poverty—when, after a short interval, they saw worldly policy restored to the papal throne in the person of Boniface. Jacopone di Todi, the poet of the "Spiritual Brethren," attacked Boniface with accusations of sacrilege, heresy and avarice, and in the "Paradiso" St. Peter is made to pronounce him a usurper. But for Celestine, whose selfish saintliness was not capable of sustaining contact with the world, and whose pusillanimity lost, as it seemed, the greatest of all opportunities, Dante reserves his bitterest word of contempt.

Now it is easy enough to see that Dante's ideal of a universal Church, standing side by side with a universal empire, protected by the empire, and by its unworldliness saved from all collision therewith, was impracticable, was indeed incapable of realisation in *both* its aspects. The universality of the empire was, even at the best, *magni nominis umbra*, and the assertion of its claims invariably brought it into collision with the privileges of the Church, and the Church, on the other hand, not seldom found itself driven to maintain those privileges by excommunicating the emperor and calling on his subjects to rebel. The emperors could not uphold law and order in their dominions without interfering with the spiritual courts and curtailing the rights of the clergy, and the popes saw no way of securing the independence of the Church except by asserting its claim to rule over the world. Thus the essential contradiction of the attempt to divide human life into two halves, and to determine definitely what was Cæsar's, and what was God's, showed itself in the logic of facts. Yet undoubtedly the idea of such a separation, which should leave each in possession of all its legitimate prerogatives, and should completely secure it from coming into collision with the other, was the political ideal of the Middle Age, an ideal which was the necessary outcome of the way in which the Christian Church had for centuries been existing or endeavouring to exist, as a community in the world yet not of it. Hence Dante was only following out that ideal in its most logical form, when he demanded that the Church should return to its original purity, and should withdraw from all interference with the interests of the world, and that the empire should again become all-powerful over man's secular life, as it seemed to have been before the Church became its rival. We might perhaps say that in this view of Dante's we find a culminating instance of the mediæval method of escaping all difficulties by a "Distinguo"—*i.e.*, of using a distinction

to make a kind of truce between elements which it could not bring together in a true reconciliation. By absolutely separating the empire and the Church, Dante conceived it to be possible to restore harmony between them. And, indeed, it is true that such abstract opposites, if they could exist, would cease to come into collision, because they would cease to come into contact. Unfortunately, at the same time in which they thus cease to affect each other, they lose all meaning, as abstractions which have no longer any reference to the whole from which they were abstracted. Thus in Dante's treatise, "De Monarchia," from which the above quotation is taken, the empire is represented as an omnipotent justice, which, because omnipotent, has no special interest of its own, and therefore is freed from all temptation to injustice; while the Church is conceived as reaching the same ideal purity by the opposite way—*i.e.*, by detaching itself from all finite interests whatever. The real lesson to be learnt from such an abstract opposition is just the reverse of that to which it apparently points. It is that the opposing forces can never cease to be rivals, and are therefore never safe from impure compromises, until they are brought to a unity as complementary manifestations of one principle of life, which at once reveals itself in their difference, and overcomes it. The problem is not to divide the world between God and Caesar, or, as we should now say, between God and Humanity, but to give all to God in giving all to Humanity, Humanity being conceived, not as a collection of individuals, but as an organism in which the Divine Spirit reveals himself. Of this solution there is no direct statement in Dante, nor could any unbiassed interpreter suppose that beneath the form of adhesion to the mediæval duality of Church and empire, he conceals the idea of their essential unity. What gives a colour of reason to such an idea is merely that the new wine of Dante's poetry *does* burst the old bottles of mediæval philosophy, or, in other words, that he so states the mediæval ideal that he makes us see it to be in hopeless antagonism with reality and with itself, and at the same time to carry in it the germ of a new form of social life.

3. A clearer anticipation of this new order of ideas is seen in Dante's treatment of the last of the three contrasts to which reference has been made. For Dante, as he repeats after St. Augustine and St. Thomas the conception of a twofold truth, a truth of reason which is determined by reason alone, and a truth of faith which is primarily due to revelation, so he necessarily accepts the idea of a twofold morality, a morality of the four *cardinal* virtues, which are acquired by habit and teaching on the basis of nature, and a morality of the three *theological* virtues, which are entirely the effect of supernatural inspiration. Hence the continually increasing danger and darkness of his descent through the circles of the Inferno, and the hopeful but slow and laborious nature of his ascent over the terraces

of the Purgatorial hill, are put in contrast with his swift upward flight through the planetary heavens, in which he is conscious of no effort, but only of the vision of Beatrice and of her growing brightness. But the theological barrier between the human and the divine which Dante thus acknowledges, and which we may even say, he builds into the structure of his poem, is removed or reduced to a merely relative difference, when we consider its inner meaning. In the exaltation of Beatrice two very different ideals of life are united, and two different streams of poetry, which had run separate up to the time of Dante, are concentrated in a common channel. The chivalrous worship of woman, which grew up in connection with the institutions of feudalism, is combined with that adoration of divine love, as embodied in the Virgin Mother, which gave tenderness to the piety of the saints. The hymn of worship, in which the passionate devotion of St. Francis and Jacopone di Todi found utterance, absorbs into itself the love-ballad of the Troubadour, and the imaginative expression of natural feeling is purified and elevated by union with the religious aspirations of the cloister. Thus poetry brings ideas which had been separated by the widest "space in nature" to "join like likes, and kiss like native things." Dante's poetic idealism—with that levelling power which is characteristic of all idealism, and above all of the idealism of Christianity—sets aside all the hindrances that had prevented human and divine love from coalescing. Or, perhaps, we should rather say that he approximates *as nearly* to this result as the mediæval dualism will let him, retaining the mark of his time only in the fact that the natural passion which he idealises is one which was fed with hardly any earthly food, but only with a few words and looks, and which was soon consecrated by death. Thus the ascetic ideal of purity, which shuns like poison the immediate touch of sense, claims its tribute; but when this tribute has been paid, Dante has no further scruple in following the impulse of natural emotion which bids him identify his earthly love with the highest object of his reverence, with the divine wisdom itself. Thus in the adoration of Beatrice the Platonic idealisation of *ἔρως* is interwoven with the Christian worship of a divine Humanity; and a step is made towards that renewed recognition of the sacredness of natural feelings and relations, by which modern is distinguished from mediæval ethics.

Again, Dante accepts the mediæval idea of the superiority of the contemplative to the active life. This idea was the natural result of the ascetic and mystic view of religion which separates the love of God from the love of man, and regards the service of the latter as partly withdrawing our eyes from the direct vision of the former. "To love God *secundum se*," says St. Thomas, "is more meritorious than to love one's neighbour. Now the contemplative life directly and immediately pertains to the love of

God, while the active life directly points to the love of our neighbour." Such a doctrine, if logically carried out, would involve an opposition of the universal principle of morality to all the particulars that ought to come under it; or, to express the same thing theologically, it would involve a conception of God as a mere Absolute Being, who is not revealed in his creatures—a conception irreconcilable with the Christian idea of the unity of the divine and the human. The natural inference from such a conception would be that we must turn away from the finite in order to bring ourselves into relation with the infinite. But, in Dante, the identification of Beatrice with the divine wisdom, or, what is the same thing, the representation of the divine wisdom as individualised and embodied—and that not merely in Christ or in the saints, but in the human form that was nearest to the poet's affection—practically counteracts this tendency, and involves a reassertion of the positive side of Christianity as against the over-emphasis which the Middle Age laid on its negative side. It may, indeed, be said that, for Dante, the contemplative life remains still the highest. But this is not altogether true, at least in the sense in which the above objection holds good. For there is a sense in which contemplation may be said to include and go beyond action—the sense, viz., in which religion includes and goes beyond morality. Religion does not lift man *out of* the practical struggle for good, but in a sense, it lifts him *above* it. It turns morality from the effort after a distant and unattainable ideal into a consciousness of a divine power within and without us, of which all things are the manifestation; and so it enables us to regard all things as working together for good, even those that seem most to oppose it. Religion is thus primarily contemplative, not as looking away from the world to God, nor as excluding the active life of relation to the world, but because it is a rest in the consciousness that the ultimate reality of things, the world as seen *sub specie æternitatis*, is at once rational and moral. And such a consciousness, though it gives the highest inspiration to moral activity, does so by removing much of the pain of effort, and especially much of the feeling of hopelessness, which is apt to arise whenever moral effort is long continued against powerful obstacles. So far, then, the addition of religion to morality tends to assimilate moral activity to Dante's swift and effortless ascent into heaven, in which, as we have seen, he is drawn upward simply by the vision of Beatrice. "Not I work, but God worketh in me," is the genuine expression of religious feeling, and the source of its inspiring power. Dante puts the same idea in another way, when he tells us that, if freed from the burden of sinful inclination, man cannot but follow the divine attraction of his nature, and inevitably rises to Paradise as to his natural place. "Thou shouldest not wonder at thy ascent," says Beatrice, "any more than that a stream descends from the top of the

hill to the bottom. It would rather be a marvel if, freed from all impediment, thou didst remain below, *like living fire lying quietly on the ground.*" Thus in Dante's hands the one-sided exaltation of the contemplative life, which he accepts as part of the theological tradition of his time, becomes susceptible of an interpretation which removes all its one-sidedness. It is open for us to take it as expressing the truth that religion bases the "ought to be" of morality upon a deeper "is," and that the moral ideal is not merely a subjective hope or aspiration of the individual, but our best key to the nature of things. In a similar way the absolute distinction—which Dante, like the scholastic theologians whom he followed, is obliged to make—between the truths of faith and the truths of reason, finally resolves itself into this, that there are some truths which cannot be attained except by those "whose intelligence is ripened in the flame of love"; or, in other words, some truths that must be felt and experienced before they can be known. Considering all these points, we may fairly say that, orthodox as Dante is, his poem is the euthanasia of the dualistic theology and ethics of the Middle Ages. In spite of the horrors of his "Inferno," which are the poetic reflection of the superstitious terrors of a half-barbarous age, and in spite of the monastic austerity and purity of his Paradise of light and music, which is like a glorified edition of the services of the church, Dante interprets the religion of the cloister in such a way as to carry us beyond it. His "Divina Commedia" may be compared to the portal of a great cathedral, through which we emerge from the dim religious light of the Middle Ages into the open day of the modern world, but emerge with the imperishable memory of those harmonies of form and colour on which we have been gazing, and with the organ notes that lifted our soul to heaven still sounding in our ears.

EDWARD CAIRD.

TRUSTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

NO future treatise on political economy will be complete without an exposition of modern Trusts, which have attained such alarming proportions in the United States of America. The growth of these combinations is one of the most remarkable economic developments of the time. The great staples of the country are fast falling into their clutches; and some of the necessities of life are already under their control. Trusts are illegal corporations, born of rapacity, and maintained by the exercise of tyranny. Their organisation is secret; their workings dark, silent, and subtle. They stretch out their tentacles—quietly and stealthily—until whole industries are in their grasp. They are contrivances to create a monopoly by throttling all competitors. They squeeze the people at both extremes of the commercial scale—grinding down those who furnish the raw material and supply the labour to the lowest limit, and exacting the highest possible price from the consumer. Once established, Trusts soon become strong—almost impregnable—citadels of capital. The highest business capacity is employed in organising and maintaining them. They laugh at public opinion, ride rough-shod over legislative enactments, and baffle the law courts. They bridle newspapers with subsidies, and send members to Congress. They have their agents in every Legislature, and Bills are passed in their interest. They tamper with judges; they ally themselves with political leaders, and hire professors of political economy to defend them. But the people are at last awakening to the dangers of Trusts, and see in them not only an interference with trade, but a menace to political liberty. Trusts stand in the forefront of the Protectionist breastworks. They are the crux of the tariff question. It is round them that the battle rages most fiercely, and tariff reformers are bent

before all things on clearing them away. In this article I will endeavour to sketch the rise of these Trusts, to explain their organisation, to indicate their extent, to point out their effect, to seek the cause of their existence, and suggest the remedy.

I.

What is a Trust? In answering this question, the apologists of Trusts go away back to the time of Charles the First and Queen Elizabeth, and bring forth a mass of legal evidence intended to show that the Trust is a very ancient and respectable institution. I am not concerned with these excursions into ancient history, and do not intend to disinter the petrified prototypes of the Trust. Old Trusts and monopolies have no bearing on the case. The modern Trust is the creation of the present commercial age. It bears no relation to its ancient namesake, and the word Trust in the legal sense in no way describes it. A Trust in the legal sense of the term is an arrangement whereby one person holds the title to property for the benefit of another. The American Trust is a very different thing.

It is a combination of manufacturers, engaged in the same industry, to kill competition and establish a monopoly. All monopolies are not Trusts; but all Trusts are monopolies, or attempts to be monopolies. A Trust unites the various manufacturers or traders in the same article on a new principle. It is an outgrowth of the "pool" system. A "pool" was a temporary arrangement to raise prices artificially. The Trust is a permanent "pool," but organised on a solid, and not on a loose basis. It is not a corporation made up of individuals; but a combination of corporations governed by a directorate of trustees. The Federal system of the United States is particularly favourable to the creation of Trusts. They make a show of complying with the law, while in reality they trample it under foot.

There are various ways of forming a Trust; but the avowed purposes of Trusts are the same:—to destroy all competition, to diminish supplies, and to raise prices. The system most generally adopted to achieve these ends is as follows:—Each of the parties entering into the Trust incorporates his own establishment, if it is not an incorporated company already. The stock of the several corporations forming the Trust is then handed over to certain persons called trustees. In payment for the stock the trustees issue to each party "trust" certificates—similar to shares of stock in corporations—and also "trust" certificates for the goodwill of the business. These certificates generally represent four times the real value of the property. The trustees—who have been the prime movers in the concern and the leading manufacturers of the product "trusted"—retain the major part of the stock in each corporation. They elect directors—themselves if

they like—appoint agents, and systematise the working. The management is centralised, and the directors placed in supreme authority. They have absolute power. They regulate production, and control the market. They can raise prices in one direction, lower them in another, and “shut down”^{*} establishments when they think fit. The fact that a factory is standing idle does not reduce the profits of the owners or stockholders in this particular branch of the business. The profits—whether one factory, or ten factories are working—are distributed equally among all the holders of trust certificates. It is understood that the directors know their business best, and are working in the interest of all. Complete confidence is placed in them. As Trusts are outside the pale of the law, confidence in the managing directors and ties of self-interest are what unite them. There are other ways of forming Trusts, but the same object is attained. What were formerly conflicting interests are united and placed under one control, and the organisation is ingeniously devised so as to evade the law.

II.

Some of the existing Trusts were evolved out of “pools,” “corners,” or “combines,” which were only temporary and uncertain arrangements; but supposing a new Trust is to be formed without having such foundation, this is how it is done:—Several of the leading manufacturers in any industry—sugar, salt, steel, whisky, oil, paper, or anything else—will take the initiative. They are men who have hitherto held strongly to the belief that “competition is the life of trade;” but are beginning to lose confidence in it. Competition has grown too fierce, the struggle for existence too hard. Some have profited, but others have failed. The mass of the people have, no doubt, benefited from competition, but that does not interest the manufacturers; so the leaders call a meeting to extinguish this “competition, which is the life of trade.” The majority of the manufacturers meet. “Now,” they say, “let us talk over our affairs in a business-like spirit. This fierce competition is ruining our trade; we spend the greater part of our profits in trying to keep abreast of each other, we are always having trouble with our workmen, and somebody else gets ahead. Come, let us put an end to this unprofitable rivalry. Let us stop cutting each other’s throats. Our interests are identical. Our one object is to make money. Now, if we could work in harmony we should save an enormous amount in salaries, in buying new machinery, in finding a market for our goods, in advertising, and in other directions; we could adjust prices and wages to suit ourselves. Above all, we should make money.” This sound economic doctrine naturally commends itself to a set of intelligent manufacturers. They

^{*} An Americanism for “shut up” or close.

see that if they were all united they could just pay as little as possible for their raw material and labour, and they could adjust the selling price to suit their consciences, which are pretty sure to be elastic. Being intelligent manufacturers and sharp business men, the logic of these facts prove irresistible. They resolve to form a Trust.

Having formed their Trust, they begin by making a discovery which heretofore escaped their attention. There has been "over-production" in their business. This must be put a stop to at once. To bring production down to the proper level, factories are closed, and the Trusts have been known to destroy goods rather than put them on the market. The workmen who used to kick against their wages are now thrown out of employment, or have their wages reduced. The directors then turn to certain rivals who have obstinately held out against the blandishments of the Trust-makers, and present to them the pleasing alternative, to join or be crushed. If the competitors still cling to a belief in the virtue of competition, down go the Trust's prices, its factories are all set agoing, and it floods the market with cheap goods. The Trust continues this—aided in its designs by railway companies and other corporations in league with it—until the recalcitrant ones are brought to a sense of their duty. This method of warfare has never in the long run been known to fail, and the outsiders end by joining the Trust or by going into bankruptcy. Minor competitors, who do not interfere seriously with the Trust's business, may be left alone, and in a country so vast as the United States distance often makes manufacturers in the same line as the Trust quite harmless. Some Trusts are purely local concerns, such as the Milk Trust in New York, and the Gas Trust in Chicago. Others are confined to particular States and are safe from competitors in other States. The cost of transportation alone prevents competitors 3000 miles away from seriously injuring the interests of a Trust. But there are Trusts which are not confined to States or territorial regions, but stretch over the whole continent of North America. Having crushed competitors that come in its way, and obtained control of the market, a Trust soon recuperates itself from the effects of temporary lowering its prices. The reader will now understand what a Trust is, and will have some idea how it works.

III.

Trusts organised on the lines described are quite modern concerns. The Standard Oil Trust, which was the pioneer in this line of business, and has served as a model for future Trusts, was organised in 1882. The Cotton Oil Trust and the Sugar Trust followed; but it was not until 1887 that there was any alarming progress made in the formation of Trusts. During that year there was the first "boom" in Trusts. Public attention was then directed to them. The press began to expose

them. The *New York Times* was the first newspaper to declare war against Trusts, and, ever since, this ably conducted journal has given the fullest details of their working and the best exposure of their evils. Other metropolitan journals entered the campaign against Trusts, and in the West the *Chicago Tribune* led the attack. As the Presidential election approached, the attack on Trusts became general. All the Democrats denounced them, and many Republicans opposed them. Mr. Blaine declared that "Trusts were private affairs," but the Republican Convention thought it advisable to include in its platform a denunciation of Trusts. This was by way of answer to the Democratic cry that the high protective tariff was responsible for Trusts.

In the winter session of 1887-1888 inquiries were instituted into the working of Trusts by the Congress of the United States, by the Canadian Parliament, and by the New York Legislature. As the evidence taken by these committees of inquiry was published during the spring and summer of 1888, the people began to know something more about Trusts, and hoped that something would be done to destroy them. There was a lull in the creation of Trusts while the presidential election was in progress, but as soon as it was found that the Protectionist party had triumphed, the Trust fever broke out again. Measures were introduced into different State Legislatures last year to prohibit and suppress Trusts, but they still continue to flourish, and there are now more Trusts in the country than ever there were. There are Trusts in kerosene oil, sugar, cotton-seed oil, steel, rubber, steel beams, cartridges, lead, iron, nails, straw paper, linseed oil, coal, slates, gas, cattle, tramways, steel rails, iron nuts, wrought-iron pipes, stones, copper, paving pitch, felt roofing, ploughs, threshing, reaping and binding machines, glass, oatmeal, white corn meal, starch, pearled barley, waterworks, lard, castor oil, barbed wire, school slates, school books, lead-pencils, paper bags, envelopes, meat, milk, matches, canvas-back duck, ultramarine, borax, sand-paper, screws, cordage, marble, coffins, toothpicks, peanuts, lumber, lime, overshoes, hides, railway springs, carriage bolts, patent leather, thread, white-lead, and whisky. Some few Trusts have failed through internal disputes and other causes, but the list is not by any means complete. One Trust breeds another Trust, and new combinations are being formed every week.

IV.

The greatest of all these combinations is the Standard Oil Trust. It is the greatest, the most powerful, and the most hated. Throughout the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the very name Standard suggests tyranny and smacks of rapacity. But the epithets applied to it do not hurt it. The attacks made on it are as harmless as birdshot to a turret ship. It pursues its way unimpeded and over-

comes all enemies. It seems to be impregnable. Of all the Trusts it makes out the most plausible case on its own behalf—plausible, I say, because the credit which it claims for not raising prices like other Trusts, is of a negative order. In preparing this article I applied to this Trust for its case, and received a collection of pamphlets kept in stock to satisfy all inquirers. If one were to read these treatises, and accept all the statements they contain as facts, one would get the impression that the Standard Oil Trust is a great blessing in disguise, and conducted on the lines of an eleemosynary institution. It doth protest too much. We are told that a combination is “simply a common ownership of stock in various corporations,” and a Trust is defined as “a combination conducting business on a large scale.” Trusts do not destroy competition; they merely “carry competition to a higher plane.” Competition doesn’t always adjust itself to suit producers. The Standard Oil Company of Ohio was organised in 1870, but two years later it drew the four great oil concerns in the country round it to regulate competition. This combination managed to keep competition under control until 1882, when after receiving many accessions the Standard Oil Trust was evolved, and competition finally planted on “the higher plane,” where it has since remained. “It was simply an agreement placing all the stocks in the hands of trustees, declaring the trust on which they were held, and providing for the issuing of a certificate showing the amount of interest of each owner in the stocks so held in trust.” The trustees held the majority of all the stocks, and had thus absolute control.

The result of this new combination, to quote the Trust’s own statement and give it all the credit which it claims, has been greatly to reduce prices to the consumer.

“Since the Standard Oil combination was formed, in 1872, crude oil has decreased in price from 9·42 cents per gallon to 1·59 cents per gallon in 1887. Refined declined in the same time from 23·59 cents per gallon to 6·72 cents per gallon. The decline in the crude product is attributed to the enormous supply. Had refined declined only at the same rate the minimum price would have been 15·75 cents per gallon. But the fall in refined is 9·03 per gallon greater than the fall in crude. As over 1,000,000,000 of gallons were consumed in 1887, the saving of 9·03 cents per gallon to the public amounted to nearly \$100,000,000 for that single year. Be it remembered too that the price of 1872 was a competitive price; competition was so fierce that refiners were forced to combine to prevent ruin.”

This result has been obtained by “enlarging the out-put and making large gains out of small profits,” by cheapening methods of transportation, by obtaining the best skill, and “the best and cheapest methods of manufacture as well as the use of all patents,” by the cheapening which has taken place in the manufacture of barrels, tin cans, boxes, paint and other articles used in connection with the business. “At the close of 1887, six years after the creation of the

Trust, we find the supply to the markets increased to over twenty-six and a-half millions of barrels of 42 gallons each per year. And notwithstanding the almost nominal price of oil, the value of exported products reached for that year the enormous sum of \$46,824,933. These figures speak for the Standard Oil Company as nothing else can do."

Let us see. The saving which arises from conducting an industry like the oil trade on a large scale is enormous, and shows what a terrible waste results from fierce competition. The Standard Oil Trust has economised greatly in storage, in transportation, in distribution, and in its purchases; but even its own figures, "which speak as nothing else can do," show that the fall in the price of oil—in order to be commensurate with the fall in other things—ought to have been greater. We find that in fourteen years the actual cost of manufacturing refined oil has been reduced 66 per cent. The rate of transportation has been reduced about two-thirds, making a saving of \$20,000,000 a year. In 1872 it cost fifty cents to transport a barrel of oil by pipe ten miles. Now it costs only ten cents to pump a barrel of oil from the oil-fields to the Atlantic sea-board. The Trust uses 3,500,000 barrels a year, and the annual saving on these has been \$1,000,000. The saving on the purchase of cans amounts to \$5,400,000, and on wooden cases it has been \$1,250,000. "The public," says the Trust, "has had the benefit of all these savings in a cheaper product;" but the product has not been by any means reduced so much as it ought to have been, considering these savings and the greatly increased out-put. Between 1861 and 1872, when consumption was small, and when "competition was so fierce that refiners were forced to combine to prevent ruin," the annual decrease in price was about 10 per cent. From 1872 to 1881 under the combination system the reduction was 7 per cent., but since then the annual reduction has fallen to 2 per cent. In 1889, although the out-put increased from 50,000 barrels to 65,000 barrels a day, the price rose one cent per gallon. As a matter of fact all the efforts of the Trust have been directed to keeping the price from falling. It has always wanted to raise the price, but the phenomenal richness of the oil-fields of Pennsylvania interfered with its plans. Referring to this fact the report of the committee of the New York State Senate, which inquired into the working of Trusts, says:

"It is a well-known fact that since the discovery of coal and kerosene oil there has been a constant diminution in price to the consumer and producer; but such diminution in price to the consumer is not due to the influence of the Standard Oil Trust or Company, but is attributable to causes wholly independent of it; to wit, the constantly widening field of oil production and the ever-increasing volume of crude oil put on the market."

The Trust's case was presented before this committee in the most

favourable light possible. It refused to produce its records, and the trustees were at first reluctant to give evidence; but although no witnesses were called against it nothing came out calculated to gain it public favour. It is not known to what extent the Trust controls the supply of crude oil, but evidence was given before the Congress Committee on Trusts, which showed that 5,000,000 barrels of refined oil were set aside by the Trust for the benefit of an association of producers on condition that they curtailed the production by at least 17,500 barrels a day.

The Standard Oil Trust has used every means to maintain its supremacy, and to crush its competitors. It is affiliated with other corporations which help to maintain its monopoly—notably with railway companies and traffic agencies. One of its favourite plans for squeezing rivals out of the market has been to get preferential rates for its own oil, while its rivals were compelled to pay high rates for the transport of their product. At one time the Trust received rebates from railway companies averaging half a million dollars a month. The independent refiners were gradually becoming absorbed by the Trust, but the existence of a few competitors in Ohio and elsewhere, and the fear of competitors from the Baku oil-fields, has helped to keep down the price of petroleum.

Another powerful combination is the great Sugar Trust. Sugar presented an excellent opportunity for the Trust-makers. It is protected by a duty which averages about 80 per cent., and a bounty is paid by the Government on all sugar exported. Sugar is one of the necessities of life, and is used in every household. The sugar refiners discovered in 1887 that too much sugar was being manufactured, so they consolidated to reduce the supply and raise the price. The real value of the property "trusted" was \$15,000,000, but "trust" certificates were issued which "watered" it up to \$60,000,000. The Trust first depressed the price of raw sugar, and then raised the price of cut loaf and crushed sugar by $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb., and of granulated sugar by 1 cent per lb. A rise of 1 cent per lb. on the sugar consumed in the United States would mean an increased profit of \$30,000,000. Strong opposition has been made to this Trust, but it still holds its own. A millionaire sugar refiner is at present building an immense factory at Philadelphia to crush the Trust, and has obtained a great amount of gratuitous advertising from the newspapers for his enterprise, but so long as the present protective and bounty system lasts, the Americans are not likely to get cheap sugar. English people have nothing to complain of in this matter. They ought to appreciate the friendly attitude of the United States Government, as it helps to pay for their sugar. After allowing for the cost of transportation from America to England, including charges for

handling, insurance, &c., the American refiner can still—with the aid of the “drawback”—sell sugar at 9s. less per 100 lbs. in England than in America. Up to 1875, the United States Government used to retain 10 per cent. of the “drawback,” but it was very properly thought that this was not quite fair to the refiners and their English customers, so that an Act was passed requiring the retention of only 1 per cent. Some protectionists still thought that this was not generous enough, and it was proposed in the Senate Bill of last year to give the refiners the full benefit of the “drawback.” All this, of course, makes excellent business for the Trust, but it has incurred great expense in crushing competitors and maintaining the illegal constitution in the teeth of the law courts.

One Trust breeds another Trust. When the sugar refiners obtained control of the market, the manufacturers of glucose and cheap grape-sugar—used for the purposes of adulteration—followed their example and went into a Trust. When the steel combination pressed on the western plough manufacturers they in turn organised a Trust, and squeezed the farmers, who are now contemplating a similar course to resist the pressure.

A steel rail combination has been in existence since 1877. It is not formed on Trust lines, but serves the same purpose. The “iron lords” and “steel lords” are bound together by the closest ties of self-interest in the American Iron and Steel Association. This Association keeps the prices as high as the tariff will allow, and does all it can by the circulation of pamphlets, by employing “lobbyists,” and by resorting to other well-known methods, to maintain a feeling in favour of the continuance of a protective tariff on iron and steel.

There is a very respectable Trust in linseed oil. It was formed in January 1877, in consequence, as usual, of there being too much linseed oil in the country; during that year the price of the oil rose from 38 cents to 52 cents per gallon, and it is now 61 cents. The price of linseed oil in England is about 34 cents per gallon. The Trust is protected by a duty of 54 per cent. The increased price since the formation of the Trust is clear profit; add to this, economy in manufacture, and the reduction in the price paid to the farmer for seed, and it will be seen how this Trust must have enriched its members. It had an opposite effect on the workmen, many of whom lost employment through the stoppage of mills, and as the higher price of the oil must have lessened the consumption, workers have suffered in another way. The Cotton-seed Oil Trust has increased its profits both in buying and in selling in a similar way. The evidence given in the suit brought against this monopolist Trust by the State of Louisiana showed that it had reduced the price paid to the planters for seed from 7 to 4 dollars per ton. As the Trust buys about 700,000 tons a year, this is a clear gain of over two million dollars at one sweep.

The principal manufacturers of American whisky got up "pools" now and then between 1878 and 1887 to arrange prices. The "pools" were not quite so successful as the distillers desired, and in 1887 they discovered that the hitch arose because there was too much whisky. This discovery was worthy of temperance reformers, but the object of the distillers was not to help forward the prohibition movement, or the temperance cause. Nor was their ultimate aim the limitation of whisky-drinking. They only wanted to temporarily limit the supply. They organised the Western Distillers and Cattle Feeders Trust—a compound sort of Trust. On its formation, seventy distillers joined it, and the price of whisky was at once raised from 30 to 40 per cent. Fifty-seven distilleries were closed, and the remaining thirteen left to make profits for the time being for all the shareholders. The owners of the distilleries which were lying idle therefore did not lose anything. The wages of the men still left at work were cut down from 10 to 20 per cent. But the Trust had been too grasping, and competition began to reappear. New distilleries were opened, and as these had to be crushed or absorbed, down went the price of whisky—lower than it had ever been before—until they succumbed. The Trust now controls more than half the distilleries in the country. It also fixes the price for "mash" used for feeding cattle—hence its double-barrelled name. The duty on alcohol is 171.85 per cent., and the duty on spirits distilled from grain—such as the Trust makes—rises to 396.43 per cent.

The stove-makers met early in 1888 and having considered that a great saving in patterns, catalogues, advertising, and in other things might be effected by combination, concluded that "the trust plan is founded on the fundamental laws of commerce and the dictates of reason," and they proceeded to comply with both. The nail-makers in the Atlantic States found that there were too many nails being made, and as the protective duty ranges from 40 per cent. to 80 per cent., they combined to check production and receive the full benefits of protection. When the combination in lead raised the cost of lead to the cartridge and ammunition manufacturers, they also consolidated. Over-production was going on in railway car springs in March 1888, and the makers united to regulate the market. As the duty on iron carriage bolts is 60 per cent., and is practically prohibitory, this was too good an opportunity for a trust experiment to be lost. The White Lead Trust is a formidable concern; but the duty—which is 3 cents in the pound—is not quite high enough to ward off foreign competitors, as over 700,000 lbs. are imported every year. English white lead in oil is now selling at 4½ cents a pound in England, and at 8 cents in America. There are Trusts in light and heavy rubber-clothing, which have advanced prices between 25 and 50 per cent. The Trust remedy was applied to the sand-paper and emery-

cloth business as there was a superabundance of these articles. There was a great overstock of paving pitch and felt roofing in the country, so that the makers when they got up their Trust made a bonfire of 30,000 barrels of pitch in Philadelphia. A duty of 100 per cent. was not sufficient to protect the screw-makers. They paid Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's firm in Birmingham an annual subsidy not to send screws to America. They have now created a Trust. There is a particularly audacious Trust in envelopes. It recently sent out circulars asking customers to boycott the Government-stamped envelopes. It complained that to buy these envelopes was to encourage a Government monopoly. There is a Natural Gas Trust—an offshoot from the Standard Oil Trust. It has just paid its usual quarterly dividend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with an extra stock dividend of 25 per cent. As its capital is greatly inflated, the real dividend is much higher. One of the newest Trusts is in school books. All the great publishing firms, except one, are in it. The promoters say that "ruinous competition" necessitated the Trust.

The American must deal with Trusts all through life. If he is a native of New York State a Trust will nurture him with milk, which it buys from the farmers at three cents a quart, and sells to the people at from seven to ten cents a quart. When he goes to school his slate is furnished by another Trust, which has raised the price of school slates 30 per cent., and, thanks to Protection, sends its best slates to England and Germany. If the American boy wants a lead-pencil he must apply to a Trust, which charges Americans one-and-a-third more for pencils than it asks from foreigners. The American boy's candy is indirectly affected by the Sugar Trust, and his peanuts are doled out to him through the medium of the peanut combination. If the American has a taste for canvas-back duck, the Baltimore Trust, which has control of that delicacy, will supply him. When he has finished the duck, another Trust is ready with a toothpick for him—for even such an insignificant industry as toothpick-making has not escaped the Trust schemers. The American may continue his progress through life, using "trusted" envelopes, wearing "trusted" overshoes, drinking "trusted" whisky, warming himself at "trusted" stoves, and patronising other Trusts which control indispensable commodities. Should illness overtake him a Castor-oil Trust will do its best for him, and as the duty of 200 per cent. on castor oil insures it an absolute monopoly, it will charge very highly for its medicine. Even death does not free the American from Trusts. They pursue him to the grave. There is a coffin-makers' ring in New York, which has raised prices to the Trust standard. There is also a Trust in marble, which has increased the price of tombstones. Thus, the American citizen, who is surrounded on all sides with accommodating Trusts through life, may be buried in a "trusted" coffin, and commemorated by a "trusted" tombstone.

This list of Trusts is not by any means complete. New Trusts are continually being organised. Hardly a day passes in which the newspapers do not contain the announcement of the creation of some new combination. The *New York Tribune*—a leading Protectionist organ, which befriends Trusts—of the day on which I write contains these headings close to each other—"The Window-glass makers combine," "A Rubber Trust formed in Trenton," and "Physicians form a Trust." The last named is a curiosity, and refers to the physicians of a city who agreed to raise their professional charges during the recent influenza epidemic. The other two are of the usual stamp, and will have the usual effect, for we are told that, "hereafter buyers of window glass must pay higher prices than at any time within the last five years."

There are many monopolies in the United States which do not come under the head of Trusts. Nearly the whole mineral wealth of the country is owned by monopolists. Zinc is in the hands of a combination. The copper mines are controlled by a few men. The great railway corporations possess immense mineral tracts. The rich anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania cover 300,000 acres, and two-thirds of this area is owned by seven railway companies, which work together in making the price low in districts where they have competition, and arbitrary where they have a monopoly.* The companies extracted 34,643,127 tons of coal from their mines in 1887, for which they obtained 90,261,805 dols. Owning the mines and possessing the means of transportation, the companies can defy competitors. The mines in the State of Missouri and in the Indian territory are controlled by the Missouri Pacific Railway, which also shares with other railway companies in the ownership of the Colorado mines. The Wyoming fields are distributed among other companies. One company works the mines in the northern part of Illinois, and another controls the output in the southern part. The Oregon Railway manages the coal trade on the Pacific slope. In fact the whole coal business of the United States is at the mercy of railway corporations. The prices are raised to just a little below where it would be profitable to import coal from Nova Scotia, England or Australia.

There are other monopolies, such as the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the Bell Telephone Company. The Western Union has now absorbed most of its rivals. The unification of the telegraph service resulted in a great saving, in plant, in offices, in employés and in canvassing for business. The rates are high, but cannot be made exorbitant, as the telegraph is a convenience rather than a necessity, and exorbitant charges would reduce the profits. The same may be said of the telephone.

Trusts have spread over Canada as well as the United States. The

* The anthracite coal miners are at present poverty stricken, and are living on public charity, because the coal owners find it convenient just now to limit the supply.

committee of the Dominion Parliament which inquired into the subject, reported that it had "received sufficient evidence of their injurious tendencies and effects to justify legislative action in suppressing the evils arising from this and similar combinations." The principal Trust in Canada is one which regulates the supply of sugar, and which includes both refiners and wholesale dealers. Members of the Trust receive rebates, and outsiders are charged exorbitant prices. There is also a well-organised coal ring in the Dominion which employs detectives to see that its members comply with its regulations.

As much has been heard recently about the organisation of English syndicates in America, it may be briefly explained that more than half the stories which obtain currency concerning the purchase of breweries, grain-elevators and flour-mills by English capitalists are purely fictitious. It is true, however, that during last year a very large sum of English capital—said to amount to £20,000,000—has been invested in America, but the industries capitalised bear no relation to Trusts, or are not likely to develop into monopolies. London company promoters have discovered a new field for their operations, but the "boom" now seems to have subsided. America does not possess similar facilities for the capitalisation of industrial enterprises on a stock basis with proper safeguards, so that small investors can put their money in them. When several flour-mills or breweries are turned over to a company and floated in London, the usual plan is for the owners to become the managers and retain a third of the stock. It seems, however, that an English company is sometimes preferred to a Trust. The promoters of a brick works company recently floated in London give it out that, "One reason, and the principal one, for bringing this out as an English company is to prevent the State legislature from interfering as it does in Trusts formed in the States."

Attempts to form an international Trust have as yet been unsuccessful. The French copper ring tried to "corner" the world's supply of copper, but collapsed, and the attempts made in England and America to do away with competition in salt have fallen through. The North American Salt Company and the English Salt Union were engineered by shrewd business men, and at first threatened to be successful, but fortunately they did not succeed as an international combination.

V.

Having explained the organisation of Trusts, and indicated their extent in the United States, I will now deal with their legal aspect, and the attempts made to suppress them. The historic side of the case is of importance to lawyers. Although the modern Trust differs greatly from its ancient prototype, the existence of combinations which restrict production, or prevent competition, or regulate prices,

is considered to be contrary to the common law of England and the United States. Lord Coke, in the famous "case of the monopolies," laid down a true rule, and created a precedent, when he said that the inevitable results of monopoly were three: (1) "That the price of the same commodity will be raised; (2) that the commodity is not so good as before; (3) that it tends to the impoverishment of divers artisans, artificers, and others." These results are deemed to be against the interests of trade, and contrary to public policy, and several States in America have statutes directed against combinations and monopolies. It is a conspiracy under the law of New York State for two or more persons to combine to do anything "injurious to trade and commerce," or to "attempt to destroy competition," and when such partnership or combinations have come before the courts the judges refuse to interfere. And when the stockholders or directors in the modern Trust appeal to law they are told that their disputes cannot be settled by the courts, or their agreements enforced by law. It is clear that Trusts are illegal combinations. The courts do not uphold them; can the courts suppress them?

That question is now being put to the test. Trusts were too subtle and too far reaching in their organisation to be dealt with effectively by the law as it stood, and many bills were introduced into State Legislatures last year specially directed against Trusts. Some of these anti-Trust bills have become law, and others are still pending. These laws are sweeping enough to embrace all possible Trusts, "pools," and combinations calculated to restrict competition and interfere with the freedom of trade, or which are designed to have such a tendency. Several suits have been brought against Trusts, but they generally manage to adroitly manipulate their affairs so that they wriggle out of the clutches of the law. They appeal from court to court, migrate from State to State, or resort to some other means to baffle the courts.

The first case of importance to test the legality of Trusts was that instituted by the Attorney-General of the State of New York against the North River Refining Company, one of the corporations forming the Sugar Trust. It was brought under the law as it then existed, on the ground that by entering into an illegal combination it had forfeited its charter from that State. The case first came before the lower courts, and was decided against the company. When it came up before the Supreme Court, in January 1889, Judge Barrett again condemned it, and in giving his decision said that "if Trusts were allowed to thrive, and to become general, they must inevitably lead to the oppression of the people, and ultimately to the subversion of their political rights." Judge Barrett's order annulling the company's charter was affirmed by the Supreme Court. The judges held that by entering into an unlawful combination, the company had "renounced and abandoned its own duties, and subverted its own fran-

chises." Of course the Trust has again appealed, and the case is now before the New York Court of Appeals, but, anticipating another adverse verdict, it has arranged to migrate.

The counsel of the Sugar Trust succeeded in getting a charter from the Connecticut Legislature last year for the "Commonwealth Refining Company," and the charter is so wide that the whole sugar industry of the world might be transacted under it. The company is authorised "to acquire, purchase, receive in trust, or otherwise hold, grant, sell, mortgage, lease, and otherwise dispose of all kinds of property—real, personal and mixed—whether in the State of Connecticut or elsewhere." There is nothing niggardly about this charter. The Trust is perfectly safe. Technically it will transfer itself to Connecticut, but the headquarters will remain in New York, and everything will go on as before. While the State of Connecticut is rescinding its charter and taking proceedings against it, the Trust will have plenty of time to make another move. The net result of this prosecution seems, therefore, to be that the State and the political organisation that instigated the suit will have spent a large sum for nothing, and that the expenses to which the Trust has been put will be wrung from the people in higher prices for sugar.

The State of Missouri has passed the severest anti-Trust law. This law requires that every corporation chartered by the State must make affidavit that it is not connected with any Trust, "pool" or other combination which tends to suppress or restrict competition, or to fix prices, and the corporation that refuses to make this declaration will be declared illegal and have its charter cancelled. The law applies to corporations organised in other States and doing business in Missouri. As 1000 corporations failed to disavow association with combinations the Secretary of State revoked their charters, and decided to proceed against 200 foreign corporations which did not comply with the law. Proceedings have now been instituted against the offending companies, but they are going to hedge themselves in the Federal courts, on the ground that they lawfully existed before the new law passed, and that the State is going against the Constitution in trying to regulate commerce between States. One State has very little chance against a thousand corporations, and Trusts are generally in a position to spend more money in defending themselves than the State treasuries can afford for prosecuting them.

The people of Chicago are fighting a Gas Trust which has planted itself in that city, and their case is more hopeful than any which has yet come up. There used to be several gas companies in the city, but they amalgamated and went through the usual process of inflating their stock. When the monopoly was established the stock of the gas companies on which the people were supposed to pay dividends was increased from \$15,000,000 to \$40,000,000, and the bonds which the people are expected to pay, both principal and interest, were swollen

from \$10,000,000 to \$18,000,000. It is stated that the whole property is not worth more than \$10,000,000, and that the Trust attempted to make the people pay dividends and interest on four times as much by exorbitant charges for gas. The Trust pretended to issue the stock in place of the stock of the several companies which formerly existed. The Attorney-General proceeded against the Trust because it had abused the powers granted to it by the State, and had established a monopoly. As far as the case has gone the decisions have been adverse to the Trust. A Louisiana corporation controlled by the Cotton Oil Trust was sued by that State, but escaped by transferring all its property to another corporation, also in the trust, but doing business in Rhode Island. A San Francisco company joined the Sugar Trust, and the State of California proceeded against it, but it sought refuge in a pretended transfer of its business to three trustees as individuals or as members of a firm. The law courts, it is thus seen, are not able to cope with Trusts.

VI.

It is easy to bring a strong indictment against Trusts; but it will be a difficult thing to sweep them away. The American people have a great struggle before them. Trusts cannot be allowed to continue as they are. They have demonstrated clearly the advantage of production on a large scale, and the evils of cut-throat competition. They have also proved that industries can be organised on a national basis. But the result of cheaper production has not benefited the public in any way, but has had just the opposite effect. It has simply led to the enrichment of a few individuals. Immense fortunes have been made out of Trusts in a few years, and we hear of one of the Standard Oil Trust directors who alone possesses twenty millions sterling. The vast aggregations of capital in the hands of a few illegal corporations, if allowed to continue, will lead to the subversion of all liberties, and the country will be governed by a band of plutocrats. How is the country to escape this fate? How are Trusts to be abolished? One remedy suggested for Trusts is the encouragement of new competitors to storm the monopolist's stronghold. This might for a short time benefit the people, but ultimately the new competitor would be strangled, or would kill the Trust, or the two would amalgamate. It is evident that little can be expected from anti-Trust laws. Free Trade would be more useful. But for the protective tariff few of the Trusts could exist. It looks at present as if duties were expressly put on to foster Trusts. The new Tariff Bill now being discussed by Congress seems to have been framed in the interest of certain powerful Trusts, such as the Sugar, Lead, Linseed Oil, and Diamond Match Trusts. There is also an Anti-Trust Bill before the Senate,* but

* Some of the petitions which come from farmers in favour of this Bill are expressed in remarkably strong language. The National Farmers' Alliance ask for relief against

even if passed this measure will be unable to cope with combinations which have not been affected by the adverse decisions of the State Courts, and which now receive fresh encouragement from the Protectionist party in office. Free Trade, therefore, is the remedy most generally advocated. But Free Trade is more of a palliative than a remedy. It would not abolish all Trusts, it would not affect the Standard Oil Trust, or the Cotton Seed Oil Trust. And international Trusts might exist under Free Trade. The real remedy for Trusts is not abolition, but Government control. The Standard Oil Trust itself thinks this is the only solution. In the history and defence of the Trust written by its solicitor, we are told that "the facts show" that the Trust, or "some similar combination," was "essential to the building up and maintenance of the American oil trade," and that its destruction "would be the destruction of that trade." Therefore, "let the State and National Legislature provide a better mode for carrying on this business if they can, but let them not despoil the structure until a better is provided to take its place." Socialism, and the very antithesis of Socialism—the greatest combination of capital in the world—are thus of the same opinion. Why should we flee from the Scylla of monopoly to be wrecked again on the Charybdis of wasteful competition?

Edward Bellamy, in his "Looking Backward," which has had an enormous sale in the United States, and has led to the formation of many associations and clubs for the propagation of "nationalism," thinks that Trusts are a part of the industrial evolution which is not yet complete. "Was there," he writes, "no way of commanding the services of the mighty wealth-producing principle of consolidated capital without bowing down to a plutocracy like that of Carthage? As soon as men began to ask themselves these questions, they found the answer ready for them. The movement toward the conduct of business by larger and larger aggregations of capital, the tendency toward monopolies, which had been so desperately and vainly resisted, was recognised at last, in its true significance, as a process which only needed to complete its logical evolution to open a golden future to humanity." Mr. Bellamy does not tell us how the transfer was effected. Public opinion, he says, had become fully ripe for it. Public opinion must have undergone a great change, and human nature must have altered. Before we reach "the golden future of humanity," men must become less selfish, and work, not for their private ends, but for the common weal.

ROBERT DONALD.

the robbery and oppression of Trusts and monopolies, and a petition from Missouri farmers, after stating that there is great danger that "we will soon be a nation of millionaires and paupers," says, "we ask Congress to pay particular attention to — and his meat Trust. the most damnable robbers' den on this continent, by which the producers as well as the consumers of the country are robbed of millions every year."

BROUGHT BACK FROM ELYSIUM.

SCENE.—*The Library of a Piccadilly club for high thinking and bad dinners; Time, midnight. Four eminent novelists of the day regarding each other self-consciously. They are (1) a Realist, (2) a Romancist, (3) an Elsmesian, (4) a Stylist. The clock strikes thirteen, and they all start.*

REALIST (*staring at the door and drawing back from it*).—I thought I heard—something?

STYLIST.—I—the——(*pauses to reflect on the best way of saying it was only the clock*).

(*A step is heard on the stair.*)

ELSMERIAN.—Hark! It must be him and them. (*Stylist shudders*). I knew he would not fail us.

ROMANCIST (*nervously*).—It may only be some member of the club.

ELSMERIAN.—The hall-porter said we would be safe from intrusion in the library.

REALIST.—I hear nothing now. (*His hand comes in contact with a bookcase*). How cold and clammy to the touch these books are. A strange place, gentlemen, for an eerie interview. (*To Elsmesian*). You really think they will come? You have no religious doubts about the existence of Elysian Fields?

ELSMERIAN.—I do not believe in Elysium, but I believe in him.

REALIST.—Still if——

(*The door is shaken and the handle falls off*.)

ROMANCIST.—Ah! Even I have never imagined anything so weird as this. See, the door opens!

(*Enter an American novelist.*)

OMNES.—Only you!

AMERICAN (*looking around him self-consciously*).—I had always suspected that there was a library, though I have only been a member for a few months. Why do you look at me so strangely?

ELSMERIAN (*after whispering with the others*).—We are agreed that since you have found your way here you should be permitted to stay; on the understanding, of course, that we still disapprove of your methods as profoundly as we despise each other.

AMERICAN.—But what are you doing here, when you might be asleep downstairs?

ELSMERIAN (*impressively*).—Have you never wished to hold converse with the mighty dead?

AMERICAN.—I don't know them.

ELSMERIAN.—I admit that the adjective was ill-chosen, but listen: the ghosts of Scott and some other novelists will join us presently. We are to talk with them about their work.

REALIST.—And ours.

ELSMERIAN.—And ours. They are being brought from the Grove of Bay-trees in the Elysian Fields.

AMERICAN.—But they are antiquated, played out; and, besides, they will not come.

ROMANCIST.—You don't understand. Stanley has gone for them.

AMERICAN.—Stanley!

ELSMERIAN.—It was a chance not to be missed. (*Looks at his watch*). They should have been here by this time; but on these occasions he is sometimes a little late.

(*Their mouths open as a voice rings through the club crying, "I cannot stop to argue with you; I'll find the way myself."*)

REALIST.—It is he, but he may be alone. Perhaps they declined to accompany him?

ELSMERIAN (*with conviction*).—He would bring them whether they wanted to come or not.

(*Enter Mr. Stanley with five Ghosts.*)

MR. STANLEY.—Here they are. I hope the row below did not alarm you. The hall-porter wanted to know if I was a member, so I shot him. Waken me when you are ready to send them back.

(*Sits down and sleeps immediately.*)

FIRST GHOST.—I am Walter Scott.

SECOND GHOST.—I am Henry Fielding.

THIRD GHOST.—My name is Smollett.

FOURTH GHOST.—Mine is Dickens.

FIFTH GHOST.—They used to call me Thack.

ALL THE GHOSTS (*looking at the sleeper*).—And we are a little out of breath.

AMERICAN (*to himself*).—There is too much plot in this for me.

ELSMERIAN (*to the visitors*).—Quite so. Now will you be so good

as to stand in a row against that bookcase. (*They do so.*) Perhaps you have been wondering why we troubled to send for you?

Sir WALTER.—We——

ELSMERIAN.—You need not answer me, for it really doesn't matter. Since your days a great change has come over fiction—a kind of literature at which you all tried your hands—and it struck us that you might care to know how we moderns regard you.

REALIST.—And ourselves.

ELSMERIAN.—And ourselves. We had better begin with ourselves, as the night is already far advanced. You will be surprised to hear that fiction has become an art.

FIELDING.—I am glad we came, though the gentleman (*looking at the sleeper*) was perhaps a little peremptory. You are all novelists?

ROMANCIIST.—No, I am a Romancist, this gentleman is a Realist, that one is a Stylist, and——

ELSMERIAN.—We had better explain to you that the word novelist has gone out of fashion in our circles. We have left it behind us——

Sir WALTER.—I was always content with story-teller myself.

AMERICAN.—Story-teller! All the stories have been told.

Sir WALTER (*wistfully*).—How busy you must have been since my day.

ROMANCIIST.—We have, indeed, and not merely in writing stories—to use the language of the nursery. Now that fiction is an art, the work of its followers consists less in writing mere stories (to repeat a word that you will understand more readily than we) than in classifying ourselves and (when we have time for it) classifying you.

THACKERAY.—But the term novelist satisfied us.

ELSMERIAN.—There is a difference, I hope, between then and now. I cannot avoid speaking plainly, though I allow that you are the seed from which the tree has grown. May I ask what was your first step toward becoming novelists.

SMOLLETT (*with foolish promptitude*).—We wrote a novel..

THACKERAY (*humbly*).—I am afraid I began by wanting to write a good story, and then wrote it to the best of my ability. Is there any other way?

STYLIST.—But how did you laboriously acquire your style?

THACKERAY.—I thought little about style. I suppose, such as it was, it came naturally.

STYLIST.—Pooh! Then there is no art in it.

ELSMERIAN.—And what was your aim?

THACKERAY.—Well, I had reason to believe that I would get something for it.

ELSMERIAN.—Alas! to you the world was not a sea of drowning souls, nor the novel a stone to fling to them, that they might float

on it to a quiet haven. You had no aims, no methods, no religious doubts, and you neither analysed your characters nor classified yourselves.

AMERICAN.—And you reflected so little about your art that you wrote story after story without realising that all the stories had been told.

Sir WALTER.—But if all the stories are told, how can you write novels?

AMERICAN.—The story in a novel is of as little importance as the stone in a cherry. I have written three volumes about a lady and a gentleman who met on a car.

Sir WALTER.—Yes, what happened to them?

AMERICAN.—Nothing happened. That is the point of the story.

STYLIST.—Style is everything. The true novelist does nothing but think, think, think about his style, and then write, write, write about it. I daresay I am one of the most perfect stylists living. Oh, but the hours, the days, the years of introspection I have spent in acquiring my style!

THACKERAY (*sadly*).—If I had only thought more of style! May I ask how many books you have written?

STYLIST.—Only one—and that I have withdrawn from circulation. Ah, sir, I am such a stylist that I dare not write anything. Yet I meditate a work.

Sir WALTER.—A story?

STYLIST.—No, an essay on style. I shall devote four years to it.

Sir WALTER.—And I wrote two novels in four months!

STYLIST.—Yes, that is still remembered against you. Well, you paid the penalty, for your books are still popular.

DICKENS.—But is not popularity nowadays a sign of merit?

STYLIST.—To be popular is to be damned.

Sir WALTER.—I can see from what you tell me that I was only a child. I thought little about how novels should be written. I only tried to write them, and as for style, I am afraid I merely used the words that came most readily. (*Stylist groans.*) I had such an interest in my characters (*American groans*), such a love for them (*Realist groans*), that they were like living beings to me. Action seemed to come naturally to them, and all I had to do was to run after them with my pen.

ROMANCIIST.—In the dark days you had not a cheap press, nor scores of magazines and reviews. Ah, we have many opportunities that were denied to you.

FIELDING.—We printed our stories in books.

ROMANCIIST.—I was not thinking of the mere stories. It is not our stories that we spend much time over, but the essays, and discussions and interviews about our art. Why, there is not a living

man in this room, except the sleeper, who has not written as many articles and essays about how novels should be written as would stock a library.

SMOLLETT.—But we thought that the best way of showing how they should be written was to write them.

REALIST (*bitingly*).—And as a result, you cannot say at this moment whether you are a Realist, a Romancist, an American Analyst, a Stylist, or an Elsmertian! Your labours have been fruitless.

SMOLLETT.—What am I?

ROMANCIST.—I refuse to include you among novelists at all, for your artistic views (which we have discovered for you) are different from mine. You are a Realist. Therefore I blot you out.

Sir WALTER (*anxiously*).—I suppose I am a Romancist?

REALIST.—Yes, and therefore I cannot acknowledge you. Your work has to go.

AMERICAN.—It has gone. I never read it. Indeed, I can't stand any of you. In short, I am an American Analyst.

DICKENS (*dreamily*).—One of the most remarkable men in that country.

AMERICAN.—Yes, sir, I am one of its leading writers of fiction without a story—along with Silas K. Weekes, Thomas John Hillocks, William P. Crinkle, and many others whose fame must have reached the Grove of Bay-trees. We write even more essays about ourselves than they do in this old country.

ELSMERTIAN.—Nevertheless, Romanticism, Realism, and Analysis are mere words, as empty as a drum. Religious doubt is the only subject for the novelist nowadays; and if he is such a poor creature as to have no religious doubts, he should leave fiction alone.

STYLIST.—Style is everything. I can scarcely sleep at nights for thinking of my style.

FIELDING.—This, of course, is very interesting to us who know so little, yet, except that it enables you to label yourselves, it does not seem to tell you much. After all, does it make a man a better novelist to know that other novelists pursue the wrong methods? You seem to despise each other cordially, while Smollett and I, for instance, can enjoy Sir Walter. We are content to judge him by results, and to consider him a great novelist because he wrote great novels.

ELSMERTIAN.—You will never be able to reach our standpoint if you cannot put the mere novels themselves out of the question. The novelist should be considered quite apart from his stories.

REALIST.—It is nothing to me that I am a novelist, but I am proud of being a Realist. That is the great thing.

ROMANCIST.—Consider, Mr. Smollett, if you had thought and written about yourself as much as I have done about myself you might never have produced one of the works by which you are now known. That

would be something to be proud of. You might have written romances, like mine and Sir Walter's.

ELSMERIAN.—Or have had religious doubts.

STYLIST.—Or have become a Stylist, and written nothing at all.

REALIST.—And you, Sir Walter, might have become one of us.

THACKERAY.—But why should we not have written simply in the manner that suited us best? If the result is good, who cares for the label?

ROMANCIST (*eyeing Sir Walter severely*).—No one has any right to be a Romancist unconsciously. Romance should be written with an effort—as I write it. I question, sir, if you ever defined romance?

Sir WALTER (*weakly*).—I had a general idea of it, and I thought that perhaps my books might be allowed to speak for me.

ROMANCIST.—We have got beyond that stage. Romance (that is to say, fiction) has been defined by one of its followers as “not nature, it is not character, it is not imagined history; it is fallacy, poetic fallacy; a lie, if you like, a beautiful lie, a lie that is at once false and true—false to fact, true to faith.”

(*The Ghosts look at each other apprehensively*).

Sir WALTER.—Would you mind repeating that? (*Romancist repeats it*). And are my novels all that? To think of their being that, and I never knew! I give you my word, sir, that when I wrote “*Ivanhoe*,” for example, I merely wanted to—to tell a story.

REALIST.—Still, in your treatment of the Templar, you boldly cast off the chains of Romanticism and rise to Realism.

ELSMERIAN.—To do you justice, the Templar seems to have religious doubts.

STYLIST.—I once wrote a little paper on your probable reasons for using the word “wand” in circumstances that would perhaps have justified the use of “reed.” I have not published it.

Sir WALTER.—This would be more gratifying to me if I thought that I deserved it.

AMERICAN.—I remember reading “*Ivanhoe*” before I knew any better; but even then I thought it poor stuff. There is no analysis in it worthy of the name. Why did Rowena drop her handkerchief? Instead of telling us that, you prance off after a band of archers. Do you really believe that intellectual men and women are interested in tournaments?

Sir WALTER.—You have grown so old since my day. Besides, I have admitted that the Waverley novels were written simply to entertain the public.

ELSMERIAN.—No one, I hope, reads my stories for entertainment. We have become serious now.

AMERICAN.—I have thought at times that I could have made something of “*Ivanhoe*.” Yes, sir, if the theme had been left to me I

would have worked it out in a manner quite different from yours. In my mind's eye I can see myself developing the character of the hero. I would have made him more like ourselves. The Rebecca, too, I would have reduced in size. Of course the plot would have had to go overboard, with Robin Hood and Richard, and we would have had no fighting. Yes, it might be done. I would call it, let me see, I would call it, "Wilfrid: a Study."

THACKERAY (*timidly*).—Have you found out what I am?

AMERICAN.—You are intolerably prosy.

STYLIST.—Some people called Philistines maintain that you are a Stylist; but evidently you forgot yourself too frequently for that.

ROMANCIST.—You were a cynic, which kills romanticism.

REALIST.—And men allow their wives to read you, so you don't belong to us.

AMERICAN (*testily*).—No, sir, you need not turn to me. You and I have nothing in common.

DICKENS.—I am a——?

REALIST.—It is true that you wrote about the poor; but how did you treat them? Are they all women of the street and brawling ruffians? Instead of dwelling for ever on their sodden misery, and gloating over their immorality, you positively regard them from a genial standpoint. I regret to have to say it, but you are a Romancist.

ROMANCIST.—No, no, Mr. Dickens, do not cross to me. You wrote with a purpose, sir. Remember Dotheboys Hall.

ELSMERIAN.—A novel without a purpose is as a helmless ship.

DICKENS (*aghast*).—Then I am an Elsmesian?

ELSMERIAN.—Alas! you had no other purpose than to add to the material comforts of the people. Not one of your characters was troubled with religious doubts. Where does Mr. Pickwick pause to ask himself why he should not be an atheist? You cannot answer. In these days of earnest self-communion we find Mr. Pickwick painfully wanting. How can readers rise from his pages in distress of mind? You never give them a chance.

THACKERAY.—No, there is nothing sickly about Pickwick.

ELSMERIAN.—Absolutely nothing. He is of a different world (I am forced to say this) from that in which my heroes move. Not, indeed, that they do move much. Give me a chair and a man with doubts, and I will give you a novel. He has only to sit on that chair——

STYLIST.—As I sit on mine, thinking, thinking, thinking about my style.

DICKENS.—Young people in love are out of fashion in novels nowadays, I suppose?

ELSMERIAN.—Two souls in doubt may meet and pule as one.

THACKERAY.—As a novelist I had no loftier belief than this—that

high art is high morality, and that the better the literature the more ennobling it must be.

REALIST.—And this man claimed to be one of us !

DICKENS.—I wrote for a wide public (*Stylist sighs*), whom I loved (*Realist sighs*). I loved my characters, too (*American sighs*), they seemed so real to me (*Romancist sighs*), and so I liked to leave them happy. I believe I wanted to see the whole world happy (*Elsmerian sighs*).

Sir WALTER.—I also had that ambition.

THACKERAY.—Do you even find Mr. Pickwick's humour offensive nowadays ?

ROMANCIST.—To treat a character with humour is to lift him from his pedestal to the earth.

ELSMERIAN.—We have no patience with humour. In these days of anxious thought humour seems a trivial thing. The world has grown sadder since your time, and we novelists of to-day begin where you left off. Were I to write a continuation of "The Pickwick Papers," I could not treat the subject as Mr. Dickens did ; I really could not.

STYLIST.—Humour is vulgar.

AMERICAN.—Humour, sir, has been refined and chastened since the infancy of fiction, and I am certain that were my humorous characters to meet yours mine would be made quite uncomfortable. Mr. Pickwick could not possibly be received in the drawing-room of Sara H. Finney, and Sam Weller would be turned out of her kitchen. I believe I am not overstating the case when I say that one can positively laugh at your humour.

DICKENS.—They used to laugh.

AMERICAN.—Ah, they never laugh at mine.

DICKENS.—But if I am not a Realist, nor a Romancist, nor an Elsmerian, nor a St——

AMERICAN.—Oh, we have placed you. In Boston we could not live without placing everybody, and you are ticketed a caricaturist.

DICKENS (*sighing*).—I liked the old way best, of being simply a novelist.

AMERICAN.—That was too barbarous for Boston. We have analysed your methods, and found them puerile. You have no subtle insight into character. You could not have written a novel about a lady's reasons for passing the cruet. Nay, more, we find that you never drew either a lady or a gentleman. Your subsidiary characters alone would rule you out of court. To us it is hard work to put all we have to say about a lady and gentleman who agree not to become engaged into three volumes. But you never send your hero twelve miles in a coach without adding another half-dozen characters to your list. There is no such lack of artistic barrenness in our school.

SMOLLETT (*enthusiastically*).—What novels you who think so much

about the art must write nowadays! You will let us take away a few samples? (*The live novelists cough.*)

REALIST (*huskily*).—You—you have heard of our work in the Grove of Bay-trees?

Sir WALTER (*apologetically*).—You see we are not in the way of hearing—(*politely*). But we look forward to meeting you there some day.

THACKERAY.—And resuming this conversation. None of you happens to be the gentleman who is rewriting Shakespeare and Homer, I suppose? It is of no consequence; I—I only thought that if he had been here I would have liked to look at him. That is all.

FIELDING (*looking at the sleeper*).—He said he would take us back.

(*The novelists shake Mr. Stanley timidly, but he sleeps on.*)

STYLIST (*with a happy inspiration*).—Emin——

Mr. STANLEY (*starting to his feet*).—You are ready? Fall in behind me. Quick march——

Sir WALTER.—You won't mind carrying these books for us? (*Gives Stanley samples of Realism, Elsmatism, &c.*)

Mr. STANLEY.—Right. I shall give them to the first man we meet in Piccadilly to carry.

ROMANCIIST (*foolishly*).—He may refuse.

Mr. STANLEY (*grimly*).—I think not. Now then——

ELSMERIAN (*good-naturedly*).—A moment, sir. We have shown these gentlemen how the art of fiction has developed since their day, and now if they care to offer us a last word of advice——

Sir WALTER.—We could not presume.

THACKERAY.—As old-fashioned novelists of some repute at one time, we might say this: that perhaps if you thought and wrote less about your styles and methods and the aim of fiction, and, in short, forgot yourselves now and again in your stories, you might get on better with your work. Think it over.

Mr. STANLEY.—Quick march.

(*The novelists are left looking at each other self-consciously.*)

J. M. BARRIE.

THE PERILS OF TRUSTEES.

FEW persons who are not trained lawyers fully appreciate the risks and responsibilities consequent upon becoming a trustee or executor. Both these offices, like marriage, are too often undertaken in haste and repented of at leisure. It is said of a late brilliant member of the Bar, afterwards a Vice-Chancellor, that he used politely to evade the importunities of his friends by declining to act for them as trustee except upon two conditions—first, that no one else was associated with him in the trust; secondly, that he nominated his own solicitor. To the uninitiated, these terms might suggest some dark design on the trust funds. Needless to state there was nothing of the kind. They were simply the terms of an “old equity hand, who knew the pitfalls that lay in his road, and desired to minimise their power of mischief. If he were sole trustee, he could not, at all events, be made answerable for the acts or shortcomings of his colleagues. If he appointed his own solicitor, he could give him strict orders to invoke the protection of the Court whenever any doubt or difficulty might arise in the course of the administration. The ripe experience of so eminent a practitioner as Sir John Wickens cannot, of course, be imparted to the lay public. But every educated member of the public is capable of understanding in what the perils of trustees consist, as soon as his or her attention has been specially directed to the subject. This I propose to do in the few pages that follow, using the plainest words at my command. Before concluding, I shall rapidly review some of the measures now before Parliament for the improvement of the present unsatisfactory state of things.

Every one who accepts a trust promises and vows three things.

1. That he will acquaint himself with the contents of the trust instrument, be it settlement, will, or what not.

2. That he will act in conformity with the express provisions contained therein.

3. That when these are defective, he will look for light and leading to the general law.

So far, the duties undertaken may not seem onerous. Nor are they in a simple case. But trust instruments are occasionally obscure, and are open to two or more inconsistent constructions. Alas for the trustee who adopts the wrong one! He may live to rue his mistake, even although it has been professionally backed up. The language of the trust instrument, however equivocal, has only one meaning when that meaning has been once judicially ascertained. Laymen may err, counsel and solicitor may err, but the Court of interpretation, with power to enforce its own decrees, is, like Napoleon with his big battalions, "always in the right." Instead of acting on his own view, or that of his legal advisers, the puzzled trustee should have sought the opinion of the Court at the expense of the trust estate. The annoyance and vexation he now feels at having neglected this precaution, would in that case have been shifted from himself on to the beneficiaries. They, in their natural anxiety to save costs, will probably insist that there is no obscurity at all. Let him pay no heed to them. Whichever way he turns, he is in a dilemma. He must be prepared either to incur personal risk, or to bear with perfect equanimity the thought of being dubbed a faddist or an obstructive.

Nor is the trustee any better off if, for lack of express direction in the trust instrument, he has to put himself under the guidance of the general law. The general law is a sealed book to most men, although by a singular fiction of jurisprudence all are supposed to be familiar with it. The law of trusts, in particular, is practically inaccessible to the layman. It is not to be found in any written code. It is buried in a vast storehouse of authorities where the chaff is largely intermixed with the wheat. The separation between the two is often made for the first time on the threshing-floor of the courts by the exertions of contending counsel in the presence of Her Majesty's judges. Indeed, the judges seem to be the only persons for whom this fiction of imputed knowledge does not hold good; and in this respect they enjoy advantages denied to the rest of mankind. They have the best assistance the country can afford them to prevent their going wrong, and, but that there are Courts of Appeal (which do not, by the way, always agree among themselves), they might, one and all, be thought to be infallible. Private persons are in a very different plight. They are easily led astray, being thrown entirely on their own resources, and when they err they must take the consequences. "I have no doubt," said Lord Redesdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and a master of his craft, "that

these executors meant to act fairly and honestly, but they were misadvised, and the Court must proceed, not on the improper advice under which an executor may have acted, but upon the acts he has done. If under the best advice he could procure he acts wrong, it is his misfortune; but public policy requires that he should be the person to suffer." In these days of Hyde Park demonstrations a procession might be formed of the victims of this species of judicial ruling, and of their impoverished families, interspersed with banners bearing the old tragic motto, *μᾶθος πάθει*—wisdom by suffering. Perhaps Mr. Monro might be induced, for this occasion only, to allow it to pass along the Strand, and to halt in front of the Royal Courts.

I now proceed to examine some incidents taken from actual life in which trustees, although morally innocent, have been held to be legally liable. Let me first take cases of liability arising from the holding of shares in joint stock companies. It is common knowledge that any one who allows himself to be registered as a shareholder in such a company, is liable to pay all sums of money that may be lawfully called up on his shares. What is not generally known is that an executor or trustee who is registered as such, becomes liable for these calls, as between himself and the company, out of his own private means, and that his liability is not measured by the amount of his testator's assets, or the value of the trust estate. When the company is unlimited, as, for example, many banking companies are, the risk which an executor or trustee runs is simply incalculable. Some fearful examples of this were furnished a few years ago by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank. This bank was a joint stock partnership, created in 1839, and was registered as an unlimited company in 1862. The bank did a considerable business for many years, but suspended payment in 1878, and went into liquidation shortly afterwards. The stock of the bank was at this time held by a large number of persons in Scotland, and there was nothing beyond the fact that the bank was registered as an unlimited company to indicate to the holders that they were under any liability. Among the holders were many trustees and executors who had been registered as such, and also in their individual names, pursuant to deeds of transfer duly executed by them. The liabilities of the bank turned out to be enormous, and calls were made in the winding up on the persons so registered for an amount far beyond the amount of their trust funds. The Court of Session in Scotland, and the House of Lords, held this to be a lawful proceeding. The fact that the qualification of trustee or executor was appended to the individual names did not in their opinion place the trustees in a better position as regards personal liability than any of the other partners.

The consternation and ruin produced by this judgment it is even now painful to contemplate. In one case, a poor sempstress having

received a legacy of £100, had consulted a benevolent patron as to what she should do with it. He suggested an investment in stock of this Glasgow Bank; and in order to save her trouble, volunteered that the investment should be made in his own name, and that he should receive the dividends on her behalf and transmit them as they fell due. When the bank was wound up, this self-constituted trustee, who occupied a first-class position in Scotland, found himself a ruined man. He had undertaken a trust, and the measure of his liability was not the pocket of the poor sempstress, which was usually empty, but his own private means, which were ample for himself and his family, but inadequate to the demands of the bank's creditors. This instance is only one out of hundreds. So terrible and widespread was the havoc that it called forth the following remarkable expression of feeling from Earl Cairns, who moved the judgment of the House of Lords: "It is difficult," he said, "to use words which will adequately express the sympathy I feel for all those who have been overwhelmed in the disaster of the Glasgow bank, and that sympathy is peculiarly due to those who, without possibility of benefit to themselves, and probably without any trust estate behind sufficient to indemnify them, have become subject to loss or ruin by entering, for the advantage of others, into a partnership attended with risks of which they probably were forgetful, or which they did not fully realise. The duty of your lordships is, however, to declare the law, and of the law applicable to this case your lordships can, I think, entertain no doubt." It may be added that it is not easy to see how the trusts of the stock of this particular banking company, or of any other company similarly constituted, could have been accepted without involving the risk of the distressing consequences that actually ensued.

The law might, no doubt, be altered by enacting that wherever the trust property involves, irrespectively of the terms of the trust, the payment of any call or other like liability, the trustee is to be liable only to the extent of the trust property. But such a sweeping provision would in the case of unpaid shares do quite as much injustice as it aims at curing, by adding to the pecuniary burdens of the remaining members of the company.

It may be objected that trusts of unpaid shares, and especially of shares in unlimited companies, are not of frequent occurrence. Be it so. Then let us take such a common case as the trust of a policy of life assurance. A struggling professional man is minded to marry. He has not yet been able to save enough to enable him to secure for his future wife and children as comfortable a home after his death as that which he can well afford them so long as his health continues. He, therefore, prudently takes out a life policy, and settles it in the ordinary way. He asks two friends to be his trustees, and with their consent he assigns to them his interest in the policy upon trust for his

wife for life, and afterwards for his children. In order that the policy may be kept up, he engages with his trustees to pay the premiums as they accrue due. He does pay them for some years. Then his business begins to flag, perhaps from no fault of his own. The premiums which were easily paid at first, now become a serious drag on his diminished means. He allows them, at last, to fall into arrear, and the policy lapses to the office. After his death, his widow brings an action against the trustees for not seeing that the policy was duly renewed. What answer can the trustees give? None, except that they knew nothing of their friend's default, and that they could not be expected to see to the punctual fulfilment of his yearly engagement to pay. This, however, is no answer in law. They have made themselves responsible for the man who promised to pay, and they can only discharge themselves by showing that under no circumstances could he have paid if he had been pressed to do so. In other words, it lies on them to establish the insolvency of the husband, which, of course, they may not be able to do. If they cannot, they become equally liable with the original defaulter.

The same thing happens when the trust instrument contains a contract to pay a sum of money at a future time—a very common form of provision by a father for his daughter when he does not find it convenient to hand over her fortune at once. When the time for payment arrives, it is the duty of the trustees to call in the money, and if they postpone doing so, out of consideration for the circumstances of the settlor, they incur personal risk, even though they act with the consent of every adult member of the family interested in the trust fund. Infant beneficiaries are not bound by the consent of their brothers and sisters, and any one coming forward on their behalf may bring the trustee to an unpleasant reckoning. It is true that, in relief of these burdens, every well drawn trust instrument contains a provision that trustees shall not be bound to enforce any of the covenants to pay premiums, or other sums of money; but such a clause would not exonerate them from the consequences of what the law might hold to be wilful neglect, or breach of duty, and only protects them against accidents, and in the exercise of a reasonable discretion.

In the cases already mentioned, the liability of the trustee arises from the precariousness of the trust property. But, though innocent, he may also suffer by reason of some act or default of administration. It is not enough that the trust property is forthcoming in the form in which it was originally settled. It must also be found in the condition in which the law requires it to be. Suppose, for example, that it is of a terminable nature, such as a leasehold house, or a business, or that there is some prior life or other interest outstanding which gives to it a future or reversionary character yielding no present income. In all these cases, the trustee may be able to show that the trust

property is unaffected except by lapse of time. Yet this very circumstance may be sufficient to get him into trouble.

Trust property of the above description ought to be sold and placed on some permanent income-yielding security, whether the trust instrument under which it is derived so prescribes in terms, or not; for, unless it be so dealt with, justice cannot be done as between the different beneficiaries who are to enjoy it in succession. If the beneficiary who takes the first life interest is allowed to receive the rents of the leasehold house, or to enjoy the profits of the business *in specie*, he does so, to a certain extent, at the expense of capital, the ownership of which wholly belongs to the persons who come after. Leaseholds, it should be remembered, are a wasting property, and businesses cannot be expected to go on for ever. It is, therefore, the duty of the trustees in such cases without being so directed, *and unless they are so directed to the contrary*, to realise all such properties within a reasonable period, and they may be made personally liable at the suit of those interested in remainder if they fail in their duty in this respect.

Even supposing this to be done, they have still another duty to perform. They must select an investment within the scope of the trust, as interpreted by the rules of the Court. Suppose they are authorised to invest on a freehold mortgage, and nothing is said as to value; it is not every freehold mortgage, though stated by competent persons to be sufficient to cover the sum lent, that is within the trustees' authority. If the security consists of land or buildings, there must be a margin of one-third value over and above the advance made. There are also limitations imposed by the law as to the kind of property purchaseable by a trustee who is authorised to buy land, and these are as binding on him as if they had been expressed in the trust instrument. A few years ago, an accountant and a schoolmaster accepted the Trusts of the will of a testator which directed the investment of £5000 on mortgage, the income to be paid to the testator's widow for life, and the capital to be divided after her death amongst the children. The trustees invested £3000, part of the £5000, together with £500 from another source, making £3500 in all, upon a mortgage of a freehold brickfield in Yorkshire, containing about ten acres, with the buildings, machinery, brick and pipe kilns attached to the soil. Before lending the money, they employed local valuers of experience to survey the property on their behalf. The valuers reported that they were aware that there should be a large margin in brick works, as the material was being constantly worked out, but that, having carefully considered the matter, they thought the land, premises, and fixtures formed a good security for the £3500. The borrowers, who carried on the business of sanitary tube and fireclay manufacturers near the brick works,

paid the interest on their mortgage for six years and then went into liquidation. The property was put up for sale by auction, but was not sold. The widow and the children then brought their action against the trustees for making an improper and unauthorised investment, and succeeded in all the three Courts in which the case was tried, the trustees having carried it as far as the House of Lords. "No one," said the present Lord Chancellor, "has doubted that the trustees intended to do what was right, and no imputation can certainly be made against them that they were actuated by any other motive than that of procuring the highest amount of interest that they could for their *cestuis que trust*, but the goodness of the motive cannot justify the propriety of the investment." In point of fact, the trustees had accepted and acted on the valuers' bare assurance that the security was sufficient, in the absence of detailed information which would enable them to form, and without forming, an opinion for themselves. As the law then stood, and probably also as it now stands, a trustee, though he is not expected to possess professional skill or knowledge, and is entitled to call in the aid of skilled persons in matters in which he has no experience, may not wholly surrender his own judgment to experts even in so special a matter as the valuation of house or other property.

Up to this point, we have been considering cases which involve no serious moral delinquency. The most common cases of all, however, are those in which one trustee has to suffer for the gross negligence or criminality of a trustee associated with him. Where there are two or more trustees, all cannot be equally active, and it is very usual for one of them to assume the position of acting trustee, the others signing documents that are put before them by him in implicit reliance on his statement that they are in order. The law, however, recognises no such thing as a dummy trustee. All who accept a trust are liable for the joint act, though only one be the real actor, unless it be a necessary act of conformity, such as the receipt of a sum of money, where the signature of all the trustees is required, and all cannot conveniently receive. True it is that each trustee is said to be liable for his own acts and defaults only—but this really means that A. is not liable for the acts of B., his co-trustee, in which he took no part, and to which he gave no sanction. The law-books abound with cases of vicarious suffering for the sins and follies of co-trustees. Here a country squire, or clergyman, has, at the instance of his colleague, an experienced man of business, been induced to sign documents of transfer, which have put it in the power of the latter to speculate with the trust funds for his own purposes, and the mistake has only been found out after the man at whose instance they acted has suddenly fled the country. There, a too confiding widow of a testator has joined in a transfer of stock, standing in the name of

herself and co-executors, on the false representation that it was required for payment of her husband's debts, and, the stock having been misapplied by her co-executors, she has been held liable to replace it. These examples might be multiplied to any extent. The modern practice of issuing securities to bearer has supplied a large crop of them, and the crop has yielded a plentiful harvest of costs in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice.

Are there any means by which this unsatisfactory state of things can be improved? For it seems obvious that something must be done. We must not forget that the office of a trustee is essentially voluntary, and that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is undertaken without fee or reward. The hundredth case is that of a solicitor trustee, who may be entitled to charge for the transaction of the business of the trust, if the trust instrument so provides in express terms. It must also be remembered that a trustee who has once acted cannot retire merely to suit his own convenience. He must show some good reason for withdrawing, and if the beneficiaries object, he can only do so with the sanction of the Court, unless he leaves at least two trustees behind him. The difficulty of finding a new trustee is often very great. Some judges object to appoint relatives as trustees; others object to appoint beneficiaries. In a case of domestic difference between husband and wife it often happens that no one can be found to rush into the breach and accept the office. It is a thankless business to intermeddle in such circumstances, and it is proverbially dangerous to attempt to do so.

Two forms of remedy have been proposed. One, the formation of Trust Companies, which shall undertake trusteeship and executorship as part of their ordinary business. Of course, they will only do so for gain, as companies are not formed, or conducted, on philanthropic principles. The gain will usually be measured by a percentage of the income or capital of the funds administered. Projects of this kind were first started in this country in 1854, when two Bills were introduced into Parliament empowering two companies named in them to undertake trusts. This system has not yet taken root amongst us. It is, however, in operation in our Australian colonies. A Company called "The Victoria Trustees and Executors Agency, Limited," the name of which explains itself, was formed in Victoria in 1879; and a second company having the same object, and known as "The Union Trustees Executors and Administrators Company, Limited," was started in the same colony in 1885. Similar companies exist in the United States. In 1887, Lord Hobhouse introduced a Bill into the House of Lords entitled, "A Bill to enable Incorporated Companies to act as Executors, Administrators, and Trustees, and in other Fiduciary Capacities." It empowers any company, if authorised by its Memorandum of Association to accept such trusts, to obtain probates of

wills and letters of administration, and also to become a trustee of any real or personal property, either alone or jointly with any other trustee, provided it has a subscribed capital of, at least, £100,000, of which at least £50,000 shall be paid up or deposited by the Company in the High Court. This deposit is liable to be increased by direction of the Board of Trade, on the application of any persons interested in the trust. No statutory limit is imposed on the charges to be made by the Company for the work done, but a statement of the scale of charges is required to be inserted in the Articles of Association; and this scale is, in each case, to be approved by the Board of Trade.

Lord Hobhouse's Bill, which, in his absence, was backed this year by Lord Herschell, has passed the House of Lords more than once, but it has not yet been read a second time in the House of Commons. The serious objection to it is that, in all these Trust Companies, there must inevitably be a direct conflict of duties. The Company ought, in the interest of its shareholders, to make as much profit as possible, while, in the interest of those for whom it acts as trustee, it ought to keep the expenses of administration, which are the sources of those profits, within the narrowest limits. One of the Australian Trust Companies is said to be making as much as 40 per cent. by charging the trust estate $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Again, as the Company will know nothing about the beneficiaries, it will require everything to be strictly proved, and applications to the Court for directions will be much more frequent than in the case of private trustees. The smaller estates, which are often the most troublesome, will thus be in danger of being swallowed up in costs. The public danger will be still further increased if Lord Herschell should, by his friends in the House of Commons, carry the point he made both in the Lord's Committee and on the third reading, namely, that the business of Trust Companies should not be confined by law to trusts, but should comprise other business of a remunerative character. The effect of this extension would be to embark trust funds in speculations over which the beneficiaries would have no control, and unless the doctrine of average were introduced, and the trust investments were (as the phrase goes) "pooled," it might lead to grave disasters.

The other remedy, which has also found favour in the Colonies, particularly in New Zealand, is the creation of an officer of State, called the "Public Trustee," with a department over which he presides called "The Public Trust Office." The New Zealand Act, which was passed in 1872, empowers every private person, corporation, or Friendly Society, and also (as amended in 1875) every executor or trustee, to place any property belonging to him, or within his control, under the care of this public department, by vesting such property in the Public Trustee, to be held by him upon the trusts specified in the trust instrument. The Public Trustee, however, is not bound to

accept any trust until its acceptance has been sanctioned by a Board of Advice specially constituted for that purpose by the Act, and also, in certain cases, further approved of by a judge's order. Another provision is, that no trust instrument is to be accepted by the Public Trustee in which any other person is appointed to act with him. The administration, therefore, is, in every case, wholly of an official character. Based on the lines of this Act, Public Trustee Bills were introduced into our own House of Commons in 1887, and again in 1889, by Mr. Howard Vincent and others. But in each case the order for the second reading was discharged, it being obvious that a measure of such importance could only make its way under the direct auspices of the Government.

The present Administration has not been slow to take up the glove thus thrown down to it. Last year the Lord Chancellor introduced a Public Trustee Bill of his own, and piloted it through the House of Lords. This year he has introduced it again; it has again passed the Upper House, and is very shortly to be considered in detail by a Committee of the House of Commons. Unlike any of its predecessors, this Bill allows the Public Trustee, who is, of course, a corporation with perpetual succession, or, to use the legal phrase, a corporation sole, to act as trustee jointly, with a private trustee, or private trustees. It thus delivers us from the web of officialism which Mr. Vincent and his friends would weave around us. The Trust estate is to be indemnified out of the Consolidated Fund against any loss arising out of any fraud or negligence of the Public Trustee, or his officers, and his salary and expenses are to be recouped to the Public Treasury by a percentage levied on the income, or capital, of the Trust property. The bill will, no doubt, meet with the condemnation of Lord Wemyss and the "Liberty and Property Defence League" as socialistic legislation; but it is no more socialistic in the State to appoint a Public Trustee than to appoint a Postmaster-General. Lord Salisbury may fairly refer to it at the next Academy banquet as one more instance of the tutelary care of "our grandmother the State," and yet defend the consistency of his Cabinet by showing that the instance is not wholly new. Official trustees of charity lands and funds have been long established, and have been known by that name as far back as the year 1855. They have conferred a double benefit, for, first, they have made the charity property secure, and, secondly, since the official trustee never dies or resigns, they have saved the expense of appointing new trustees from time to time. There seems to be no reason why this office should not be extended from the public, or charitable, to the private trust.

The debatable point is this. Can the management of the trust be conveniently left to the Public Trustee, whether he has, or has not, a private person associated along with him? If the Public Trustee

has to manage, or concur in managing, the estate, there is the same objection on the score of expense as has been already urged against Trust Companies. If his co-trustee is to manage without him, and he himself is to take no part, his presence in the trust is delusive, and is likely to mislead the beneficiaries. The opinion of the present writer is, that, upon the balance of convenience and inconvenience, it would be better not to interfere with the private management of trusts, but simply to lighten the responsibilities of management by easing the burden of the law wherever it bears with undue weight upon innocent shoulders. The management of the trust and the legal control of the trust property are entirely distinct things, and do not necessarily unite in the same persons. This fact is acknowledged by Lord Halsbury's Bill, which provides that if the trust instrument directs that any specified power shall not be exercised by the Public Trustee, such direction shall have effect given to it, but that he shall notwithstanding, at his co-trustees' request, concur with them in all acts necessary to ensure its exercise on their part, unless, indeed, such request should amount to an invitation to assist in a breach of trust.

In divers ways much has been done of late years to relieve those who gratuitously undertake the thankless task of looking after the affairs of others. This is due partly to the action of the Courts and partly to the Legislature. The Courts have now laid down the sensible rule that a trustee sufficiently discharges his duty if, in managing the trust affairs, he takes all those precautions which an ordinary prudent man of business would take in managing similar affairs of his own. From this it follows that wherever a usual course of business exists, a trustee is justified in pursuing it although it involves the trust property in risk by reason of the dishonesty or insolvency of an agent. Let me illustrate this by an example. Some few years ago, a trustee of a will who was authorised to invest the trust money on stock of municipal corporations, employed, at the request of the testator's family, a broker to purchase corporation debenture stock for £15,000. The broker in due course of business forwarded to the trustee the usual bought note which purported to be subject to the rules of the London Stock Exchange, and obtained from the trustee a cheque for the purchase-money upon the representation that it was payable the next day, which was the next account day on the Exchange. The broker turned out to be a rogue. He appropriated the £15,000 to his own use, and then absconded and was no more heard of. Vice-Chancellor Bacon held the trustee liable, on the ground that he ought not to have trusted the broker with the cheque, on the faith of the bought note. But this decision was reversed by the Court of Appeal, and the reversal was affirmed by the House of Lords.

As regards the recent legislative changes to which I have above adverted, they are too numerous and too miscellaneous to be here

stated in detail. They will be found embodied in the Trustee Act of 1888, and the Trustee Investment Act of 1889, and have more than a professional interest. Nothing more seems to be now compassable beyond an extension of these statutes so as to meet new cases of hardship where they arise, as they are sure to do. Unfortunately, the Legislature cannot always intervene in time. But for this there is no help. Every law, which is afterwards amended, presses hardly while it remains in force. It is too much to expect that the law affecting trustees should furnish the solitary exception to the rule.

For the rest, we may be content, as I venture to think—and I believe that this is also the view of the majority of both branches of the legal profession—with a much more modest instalment of officialism than is provided by the Lord Chancellor's Bill. It will suffice for the present to institute a Public Trustee in whom, as in the case of the lands and funds of charities, the Trust property may be solely vested, leaving its management, as heretofore, to private individuals selected for that purpose by the author of the Trust, or those that fill the chair which time has called upon him to vacate.

MONTAGUE CRACKANTHORPE.

MUTE WITNESSES OF THE REVOLUTION.

A WALK THROUGH THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE Society for promoting Historical Research into the Revolution and its Causes, have sought in their Exhibition to correct, by a series of visible objects, the written accounts of that event. Truth, and nothing but the truth, was their aim. To get at the whole truth was impossible. Their belief in the salutary nature of that great event, or series of events, moved them to receive every kind of evidence which bore upon the Revolution. The imagery expressing the enthusiasm which the sweeping movement called out, the caricatures which were meant to sting and injure those who held the handle of the besom, the touching relics of the Temple prison, the picture of the Dauphin in the ill condition in which the cobbler Simon kept him, are all impartially displayed. Louis XVI., the Girondins and Jacobins, the Mountain and Plain, Danton and Robespierre, Charlotte Corday and Marat, are equally in view. This exhibition, arranged with chronological sequence, shows first the precursors, and then the actors, in the period embraced between the opening of the States-General in 1789 and the creation in 1804 of the Empire, which arose in tawdry showiness and ended in depletion and national disaster.

Everything is full of suggestion in the material evidence thus collected and classified. One sees what the Monarchy was before the storm burst which brought it down, the rapidity of its fall, and the spontaneously evolved agencies which forced France into a Republic. That the Revolution was to be, and could not but be, is the conclusion forced upon the thoughtful visitor who has been prepared by previous study to seize the points furnished by the mute witnesses of which I speak. Human design had but a small part in directing the general current of events, which imparted to commonplace men and women

who took part in them an astonishing grandeur. Others of the actors, who had evil passions, became prodigiously terrible. Most were as if under the influence of possession. Some were possessed by noble, some by ferocious spirits, and all, consciously or unconsciously, aided in transforming the oldest and most powerful Monarchy of Europe into a Republic. It is shown in the hall devoted to the precursors of the Revolution that the tempest had its birthplace in North America, and that Washington, not less than Voltaire and Rousseau, helped to furnish the momentum.

Montgolfier the balloonist, and Galvani, are classed as precursors, though the scientists had but a small place among those who prepared the way for the Revolution. Galvani in reanimating dead frogs and Franklin in flying his kite had an intuition that much was to come of what they were doing. But they could not have known that they were beginning to give a nervous system to the planet.

Irony was the great intellectual power of the eighteenth century. Its reign began in England, having its origin as far back as the reign of Charles II. ; and that reign was extended through Voltaire to Paris and Berlin, where Frederick sought in it an intellectual pastime. The wits were masters of the age. Ribaldry and railery filled its literature, and held the first place in letters and in the conversation of the great. Voltaire towered above them all, because he had a burning hatred of injustice and of those legal iniquities which were giants in his time. What wit before him ever elected to be an exile for the best part of his life rather than cease attacking inhuman laws and customs? There was no such reforming purpose in Bolingbroke, Steine, or Fielding, whatever there may have been by fits and starts in Swift.

It is therefore due to Voltaire to place his bust by Houdon at the entrance to the hall of the precursors. Rousseau's faces it. The one came to destroy through intellectual action, the other to set right the world, which he found out of joint, through the action of the heart and sensibilities. Rousseau was the father of Socialism, and found his gospel in the New Testament. It was brought home to him by a life of misery too great for words to utter. Louis Blanc was his descendant in the spiritual order, and Lassalle, Karl Marx and the German Socialists borrowed largely of Louis Blanc. Rousseau was the teacher of the blessings of inwardness. His effigy is indicative of painful chronic disease, from the misery of which he could only escape by retiring to a dreamland within himself. There he found the eloquence which enabled him to give old truths the freshness of a spring bloom. His eyes, as if drawn in from behind, have the look which we find in a cholera patient who is past recovery. There is also a querulous expression which, if it robs the head of dignity, testifies to the sculptor's veracity.

On a panel facing the door kept by these two illustrious janitors, we find proof that tradespeople made use of the events of the Revolution to make business hits. A piece of printed Jouy cotton is stretched on the panel; the prints are in red, brown, and grey, on a white ground, and illustrate the rejoicings at the fall of the Bastille. That prison fortress is all but demolished, and the rubbish is being cleared away. No cotton printer of our time would pack such a variety of designs into a space of a few yards square. Parties of pleasure visit the ruins, cross a drawbridge, unfurl flags, dance, embrace, drink coffee, and read gazettes at little tables. Elegantly dressed ladies wheel rubbish away in barrows. A fever of demolition has taken hold of men who tear down walls. Costumes mark the date 1790. The Marie Antoinette style is not yet out, but it is going, going, and soon will be gone.

This Jouy cotton was intended as a substitute for tapestry. A treaty of commerce was concluded between France and England a few years before the Revolution. The competition of English cottons and pottery had already put the French upon their mettle. It was complained that, while France bought largely these wares of England, England bought but little Sèvres, Bourg la Reine, Nevers, or Rouen porcelain and faïence, because they were too dear. A means of taking the wind out of the English sails was hit upon by French potters in the Revolution. It was to give the interest of actuality to vessels in coarse clays, which would be within the reach of persons of small means. They carried out their idea, and a great number of pictorial plates, dishes, salad-bowls and barber's dishes frame the square of Jouy cotton, and help to illustrate episodes of the Revolution. They belong to the famous Champfleury collection.

Voltaire and Rousseau occupy the largest space in the Precursors' Hall. Both great men are in many subject-pictures. Fancy has no part in those of Voltaire, who often gave hospitality to artists. One of them did for him from life a picture of the Colas family, which is here. But imagination runs riot in most of the subject-pictures about Rousseau. There are cursory sketches of Voltaire in pen and ink worth close study. Obviously they were also done from life, and perhaps he was not aware when the artists' pencil was busy setting down his traits that he was being sketched. His visage is worn away, his mouth sunken from want of teeth, and the body attenuated and bent. A few lines mark the contour of jaw, strong cheek-bones, nose, forehead, and goggle eyes, which are still watchful, bright, and eager, and, it may surprise many to hear, strangely and beautifully soft. Indeed, all the harshness lies around the mouth. In another sketch he is writing, and looks as though he knew that vitriol flowed from his pen. A portrait of him in pastels of singular charm was done when he was a young

man. The limner caught and fixed a bright fugitive expression. Another in the same style, done by La Tour as a study for a portrait in oils, brings Voltaire at the age of forty-two vividly before us. He must have been then a man of rare fascination, and had the beauty of an interesting and highly intellectual physiognomy. The smile has not yet become the harsh rictus with which we are familiar, and shows amiability. Joseph Vernet's pencil enables us to form a lively idea of Voltaire's reception at the Academy a few days before his death, and that of Moreau the Younger, of the ovation given him at the Théâtre Français (now the Odéon) on March 16, 1778.

"Irène" has just been played, and the drop-curtain lifted. All the company are on the stage, the actors dressed as Kemble used to be in "Coriolanus," and the actresses in long-waisted stomachers and wide hooped skirts, highly ornate in their trimmings. They advance with interminable garlands, to twine them round the pedestal on which Voltaire's bust stands, and by their pretty gestures, and their glances, try in vain to divert some attention to themselves from the lion of the evening. The whole house (and what a brilliant house it is!) gaze in a state of rapture on the stage-box in the second tier. An old man, in a furred dressing-gown and wig, leans over, and salutes with hand and head. Madame Denis, his niece (*la bonne et la belle*), and the Villettes, whom he adopted, are behind him. The mortal illness which brought the message that his soul was required of him, came on the following day.

Of Madame Denis there is a delightful oil portrait. She was châtelaine of her uncle's house at Ferney, and dispensed hospitality with affable composure. Certain lines and dimples near her mouth are Voltairean: otherwise, she is unlike her uncle. She has not much of a nose, but what there is, is straight, and must have been pretty in youth. Her attentive and reading brown eyes do not peer; the neatly-turned back hair is powdered, and a point-lace cap, not high or elaborate, is placed on it. A pearl necklace, applied on a ribbon, encircles a short, plump neck, and a posey is stuck in a semi-low corsage. Madame Denis was a *maitresse femme*, and ruled her uncle—for his good.

One realises well at this exhibition how the eighteenth century felt Rousseau, and how he opened French eyes to a perception of nature. Woods and forests, infested with wolves and robbers, were objects of horror to our remote forefathers. The dislike became hereditary. Then, the country was not a place to wear elegant clothes in, or high-heeled shoes. It was very well at a distance, seen through the eyes of Watteau and Boucher, who were by no means realists, for outside Holland and Hogarth's studio there were then no realistic artists. People were astonished to find from Rousseau that nature was so lovely. He called forth a different sort of admiration from that

commanded by Voltaire, and it extended over a far wider sphere. Cheap woodcuts of him—the art lispings of an epoch that was coming in—were issued in a constant flow. From the continuity and artlessness, we may infer the demand in the lower strata of the bourgeois class. Connoisseurs would have scorned such pictorial effusions. Nevertheless, this cult was an answering of deep to deep. Rousseau appealed to the heart and sensibilities of his time, and exalted natural duties. An affectionate response came back to him from all who could read his works. Women pitied and loved him, and to fall in with his ideas began (when they were *ladies*) to nurse their children. Good portraits of Rousseau are few, and there are many bad ones. But the subject-pictures establish that, as he got older and poorer, his reputation rose, and he was held in greater and more general affection. It may be said of him that he was the first national idol who did not occupy the throne of France. Modern criticism has shown that he never had children to send to the Foundling Hospital.

Of Rousseau's industry as a copyist of music, the specimens exhibited are as easy to read as print. Here is a part of the manuscript score of his "*Devin du Village*." The autographs of Voltaire and Rousseau comprise specimens of their penmanship from their prime to old age. Voltaire's in early life was plain and well formed, with decided down strokes, and singularly bold terminal tails and turned-in d's. A change came over it from the day of Madame de Chatillon's death, when it got scratchy, and so remained. Rousseau's hand is fairly strong, flowing, refined, and that of a man who writes a great deal. His MSS. have few erasures or even interlineations. Obviously, the pen ran on at a good pace. Yet he complained of the extreme trouble it gave him to shape his thoughts, when engaged in authorship. Perhaps this was because he was more emotional than thoughtful, and so preferred copying music to literary work, when it became a labour.

There are two authentic busts and three portraits of Diderot at this Exhibition. The most life-like is in pastels. It gives him a strong aquiline nose and a coarse, heavy under-face. In the oil-painting he has the visage of a well-fed and epicurean canon. To study these portraits aids one to understand Diderot's writings. He blazed up high and freely, but, like bituminous coal, gave out as much smoke as flame. The "go" which the other encyclopædists wanted, Diderot supplied; in trying to reform the world he took it as he found it, and died a pensioner of the Empress Catherine. Her munificent patronage was granted with a delicacy of feeling that bound him to her, even after he had refused, though poor, to be her pensioner. She heard he wanted to sell his library—bought it, and begged of him to be her librarian, for a salary which she named. How refuse? Diderot accepted. His books are now at the Hermitage Palace. He must have

had devoted lady-friends, to judge from the knick-knacks they gave him. Among these objects we find a portfolio with vellum leaves within, and green silk without. A miniature of himself of rare beauty, too, is painted on one of the leaves. Sauvage *pinxit*. A garland of flowers serves to frame the head: they are in the trim style of the day, by Madame Vallayer Coster, the donor. The Precursors of the Revolution owed much to the sympathy of women.

Cagliostro ranks as a Precursor. He was certainly a dissolving ferment in French society just before the Revolution, and strikes one as a powerfully blatant impostor. Cagliostro was the Mirabeau of charlatanism. His portrait is like Mirabeau's.

Lafayette is handed down to us in an engraving by Paon, "war painter to his Highness the Prince of Condé," as he may have wished himself to be shown to posterity, and as the *bourgeoisie* of Paris expected to see him when he was "camp marshal to the king, and commander of the national guard." Lafayette, a finical, natty person, stands before a neighing war-horse (which is held by a negro man-servant) in an American Volunteer uniform and the feathered hat of a French nobleman. His wide brim is thatched all round with ostrich feathers, the ends of which droop over the brim. The general points towards an army which marches in the direction of a bay filled with transport-vessels, but his eyes look in an opposite direction. The letterpress tells us that—

"L'Amérique était asservie
Ce héros vint briser ses fers
Son succès au delà des mers
Presageait ceux de la Patrie."

Near to Lafayette is a picture of the last *lit* (i.e., lecture or reading) of justice. (Carlyle, by-the-by, translates *lit de justice* "bed of justice," as he translated *serviettes*—i.e., portfolios of the judges and councillors of the Parliament of Paris—"towels.") Louis is perched up on a throne in a corner, on a lofty, and, to modern eyes, grotesque scaffolding covered with *fleur-de-lys* cloth. There is no access, save from behind, to his perch. One of his brothers sits on a step at the edge of the scaffolding. The position is an uneasy one, there being no baluster, and the top of the last step being, perhaps, seven feet from the ground. The Duc d'Orléans protests, with the judges, against the king's order to register what has been read in his name. They are drawing down thunderbolts upon themselves and on the monarchy with light hearts, not knowing what they do.

And so we come to Washington as a young colonel of the United States Militia, and also as a soldier under Braddock in the service of King George, whose weakness he learned when serving him against the French in Ohio. I deem it a piece of good luck to have had my former impressions of Washington corrected by this portrait. By the

time he was raised to the dignity of Father of his Country, his countenance was spoiled by an ill-fitting set of false teeth (American dentistry not yet existing). We have him among the mute witnesses in a large oval water-colour miniature, done on rough paper, and in the French style of the time. Washington, under Braddock, took a good many French prisoners. It is possible that there was one among them who knew how to paint a good portrait. The American patriot in this miniature is a young man, and ought to be a man of strong impulses and passions, held well in hand. There is no constrained set expression in the under-part of the face, and there is manly beauty and dignity in the whole head. You get at once into sympathetic feeling with the Colonel, who must be as courageous as he is thoughtful and judicious. The hazel eyes, accustomed to watch for ambushes of French and Indians in a wild country, have an eagle glance that scours the horizon. Washington was an eager as well as a judicious man. He shrunk from no responsibility when once he saw his way to do a daring thing which it was well to venture upon. The hair is less carefully brushed than in most of Washington's portraits, and grows from the scalp, though young men wore wigs when he was sent to Fort Ohio. There is a slight dust of powder on it. George, the founder of the United States, followed the gentlemanly modes of his time at a distance. Possibly he might have evolved into George the First of the Kingdom of America, if about the time he sat for this sketchy likeness he had not been jilted. We may assume that his lady-love was insensible to those qualities which make him to our eyes the greatest political man of his century and the idol of the Americans. Mrs. Martha Custis, when he married her, had gone through a sobering experience of life, and learned wisdom in that school. Her head was as solid as her husband's, and she was appreciative of the quiet happiness of her lot as the wife of a Virginian planter of mental and moral worth, and in the enjoyment of a fair opulence. We do not hear enough of Mrs. Washington. No vestige of her is to be found among the relics with which I deal.

Franklin, according to Greuze, is also widely different from the prosaic patriarch of the United States postage-stamps and from most of his other portraits. In him and Washington there is a characteristic expression that I do not find in a single great Frenchman of their time. They were both weighted by a sense of their responsibilities, purposeful, patient, and self-reliant, and Washington was high hearted. All this told in their physiognomies. Madame Roland truly said that the tyranny of the Monarchy for eleven centuries left no place for steadfastness in the French character. Wit and quick apprehension were the paramount qualities, and wit too often was degraded to ribaldry. She attributed the crimes of the Revolution to want of moral courage. The upper classes lacked backbone. Franklin, as he looked to Greuze, had an interesting and strong countenance. A thoughtful habit is

shown in deep-set, brown eyes. His face explains better than his writings why he was so successful a negotiator, and made his way so far in a society which, if corrupt and light-headed, was quick to perceive and penetrate.

"Scenes from the War of Independence," in another square piece of Jouy cotton, are placed near a grisaille representing a marble bust of Washington as Father of his Country. The bust is supported by a spread eagle, and belonged to Lafayette. The scenes are fanciful, but give insight into French consciousness on the subject of America. It was then pictured as a tropical paradise, inhabited by planters, elegant ladies, and joyous negro slaves, all of whom Lafayette and his troops released from British tyranny.

How far away in the past seems a letter of the Marquis de Dreux Brézé, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, who drew down with flippant levity the first thunderbolt which fell upon the monarchy. This document relates to the ceremonial to be observed at the Assembly of Notables, held in the Palace of Versailles in 1787 and in 1788. Discontent was fast rising in the provinces in those years. Side by side with Dreux Brézé's letter, a seditious placard hangs on the wall. It was stuck on a pillar of the wheat-market at Pamiers, on December 5, 1787, to stir up that burg to revolt against capitalists and high officials accused of being engaged in forestalling operations in cereals (*a pacte de famine*). Paris was in a similar mood, and a mob burned the guard-house of the Place Dauphine. Ladies' fans in that year were turned into arms against the Court, and hinted at the revelations of Madame de la Motte which had come out in London. There is a fan decorated with a too-transparent allegory, making the Queen out to be the associate of a gang of knaves engaged in the diamond-necklace swindle. Truth absolves Cardinal de Rohan of complicity in robbing the jewellers Boemer and Bossange. How tongues must have dealt in *scan. mag.* when that fan was flirted! Pictorial squibs, more or less ribald, are to be found in the hall of the Precursors of the Revolution. Some are clever, some far-fetched, some stupid, and all done on coarse paper. Voltaire and Rousseau are exalted, and the episcopacy, whose members are wealthy and corrupt, are lampooned, but with constraint, for fear of consequences. There is a wide difference between the turgid allusions of the lampoons of 1787 and the straight hits of Marat's *l'Ami du Peuple* of three years later, or the direct hammering of *le Père Duchêne*, whose editor had studied the vices of the aristocracy as a valet. In one of the "precursor" squibs, "La sottise humaine est citée au tribunal de Démocrite par l'ennemi du sang et l'ami du bon sens." Another is, "Une Allégorie de la Raison représentant la grande guerre contre les aréopotites [the clergy] ou les marchands de l'air qui sacrifient le Dieu de la Nature au Dieu de l'École. Voltaire et Rousseau, grands Évangélistes de la Religion éternelle, qui, suivant

Jésus lui-même, consiste dans l'amour de Dieu et des hommes, voyant l'Eglise bati sur la pointe d'une aiguille la poussent de leurs plumes et la font chanceler." Later on there is a consultation between a bishop and a notary; the bishop, in return for some millions that he wants to enjoy, offers a mortgage on an estate in another world. "C'est une garantie insuffisante," says the notary; "I must advise my clients not to lend the money."

Mrs. Partington keeping out the tide with a mop was hardly more unreasonable than the Lady Artists of Paris, who, in the hope of covering the public deficit, carried their trinkets and silver spoons to the Altar of the Country, or, in plain language, to the Bureau of the National Assembly. Les Dames Artistes are in elegant apparel. Some of them mount the bureau with their offerings. Deputies on the floor hasten to set armchairs on which the ladies may sit while the President harangues them: the galleries are packed with spectators, who applaud. The gifts are childish in their slenderness, and perhaps merely an occasion for the givers to win a little prominence. All seem to play a part in an elegant comedy. The Furies had not yet banished Thalia from the scene.

We mount the stairs, and find at the top Mirabeau on an "Altar of the Country." Altars of the country sprang up in the public places between 1789 and 1794, when the Revolutionary tide began to ebb. Mirabeau appears as he was, a blusterer of genius and an arrant posturer. He was only ballasted by love of money. His clumsily-shaped body was the incarnation of the tempest. When he was popular, his roughly blocked-out head was made to serve for decorating pottery statuettes, and busts of him were made in Sèvres biscuit, plaster, bronze, marble, Rouen delf and terra-cotta. These objects are displayed on the Altar of the Country. The cast (there also) of his seamed face, taken after death, was regarded as a sacred object, but, on the discovery of his "grand treason," was flung aside as recalling one whose memory deserved to rot. I know of nothing in pictorial art so bombastic as "The Death of Mirabeau," which is too elaborately engraved not to have been intended for rich *bourgeois*. I assume it was for them, because the aristocracy did not like bombast. There is a perfect Olympus of Allegorical figures which are not trusted to explain themselves. This is what is said for them:—

"La France" (who wears a royal crown and a mantle studded with fleurs de lys) "en pleurs témoigne ses regrets, et semble faire des efforts pour arracher au tripos l'homme célèbre qu'on voit représenté sur le lit de mort" (a flag on the top of steps), "mais l'heure fatale est sonnée et la Parque obéit au Destin. Mirabeau indique en mourant les coupables auteurs des troubles qui agitent le royaume, et la vérité, soulevant un coin du voile laissé apercevoir une horde de factieux se disputant les débris du Trône qu'ils s'efforcent de renverser; mais la

foudre éclate et vient frapper les perfides ennemis des lois et de la félicité publique." Death is behind weeping France: Fame wipes away a tear and prepares to blow her trumpet. Time crowned with stars points to a tablet which is as-if about to fall from Mirabeau's hands. Thereon is written his declaration, made when he had taken a bribe from the Court:—"Je combattrai les factieux de quelque parti qu'ils soient, de quelque côté qu'ils se trouvent." Amoretti weep as this resonant phrase falls from the orator's mouth.

Mirabeau's was the first of a series of political funerals carried on through a period of a hundred years. This kind of apotheosis was unknown in France before his death. David, then struggling up, was the initiator of the grand theatrical funeral for which the streets of Paris have so often served as a stage.

A triumphant Liberty, belonging to the Rheims museum, overshadows the Altar of the Country. The room next to the lobby is devoted to the royal victims offered thereupon—namely, Louis XVI. and his family. Of these royal personages there is a variety of portraits, autographs, and other relics. Nearly every one has seen busts of Marie Antoinette. A particular one at this Exhibition betrays just a touch of silliness which I have not noticed in any other. Yet, what nobility in her mien! Her husband's bust is idealised; but one feels as if really in his presence when one stands before a portrait of him by Greuze, who makes him obese, homely, kindly, with pale-blue eyes (in the corner of which there is the ghost of a sly twinkle), and gives him a vast expanse of sun-burned fleshy face. A brown print, in which he wears a red cap of liberty and a cockade, excites pity—he is so resigned and good-natured. "Monsieur," his brother, wearing the Order of the Holy Ghost, is of a cynical countenance. His sister, Madame Elizabeth, whose stiffly-erect and slender neck is to pass under the axe of the guillotine, has the duck-bill retroussé nose of her grandmother, Marie Leczenska, and generally resembles her, but on a small pattern. She is upright in carriage, and of an ordinary intellect, but is about the most heroic character of the Revolution, and certainly the most simple in her submission to duty, and to the dictates of sisterly affection. The hair of this princess is dressed high. Madame Royale, a girl of nine, and the image of her mother (who treated her with severity), is in the family group. Later in life, her contour took an expression of masculine harshness, and her voice became a rough and deep bass. A toy-house, built in dark-grey cardboard, and having windows of wire net-work, stands nearer, and suggests prison gloom. The King and Dauphin made it for the amusement of the latter when they were virtual prisoners at the Tuileries. The ladies beguiled the tedium of their captivity with needlework. Elizabeth was expert with her needle, and taught her niece, of whose handiwork there is a specimen

in a bit of feather-stitch embroidery. Yon miniature of the guillotine, which stands beside a model of the Bastille, cut out of a stone of that State-prison, is no toy, but a model, by Schmidt, submitted by Doctor Guillotin, "physician in ordinary to the King," to Louis, who improved its mechanism by changing the shape of the blade.

Guillotin himself, as well as his machine, was a good deal pictured on cheap delf. A miniature of him has come down with the other flotsam and jetsam of the Revolution. It gives us the idea of a correct, judicious practitioner with the half-closed eye of one who is mentally thinking out some problem. He was always improving his surgical instruments in order to abridge pain by rapidity in operating, and thought to minimize it at capital executions. The principle of equality was to be demonstrated by the guillotine, since king, nobles, and *sans culottes* were to lose their heads by Dr. Guillotin's process. His small model of his head-lobbing machine is near his miniature, and "is quite equal to cutting off a man's finger"—a policeman says who works it to oblige visitors. Samson, the public executioner, we find, took snuff. His snuff-box, of plain brass, is on view also. Further on are gruesome relics, such, for instance, as a handkerchief steeped in Marie Antoinette's blood. Instruments of torture, which fell into disuse for ever at the Revolution, are grouped round the guillotine, which perhaps was used as much as it was by the Revolutionists because it was a novelty. It killed in the twinkling of an eye. Finishing off the King and Queen gave it prestige, and made it the rage as a gratis spectacle. An old evil is most dangerous in a new form.

Of poor little Louis XVII. there is a heartrending portrait taken when he was under Simon's care; a blight has come over him, making his features pinched and peaky, and sinking his eyes, which have grown furtive, in their sockets. The lids are scorbutic. A frill, in too much need of the laundress, falls over his black jacket, on which his trowsers are buttoned. But a short time ago he was painted sitting on a mossy bank beneath a wild-rose thicket in the Trianon Park, and Madame de Polignac, his governess, cutting roses to throw them into his uplifted hands. An artless fellow-painting shows the queen, elegantly dressed, with her children and her Italian greyhound, in her Trianon farm-yard, watching a maid milk a cow, and surrounded by a cock, hens, geese, goslings, and milk-pails. In no memoirs have we read that the ill-starred queen was fond of dogs, but in these pictorial relics we see many testimonies that she was. A spaniel enters charmingly into a family group, also in the Trianon Park, and is the only being in it that is really free from a simpering affectation of simplicity. Her Majesty, sitting on a knoll at the foot of a gnarled oak, holds with one hand her boy on her knee, and passes the other round the neck of the king, who reclines beside her. An infant—the child who was doomed to perish in the Temple—casts bread-crumbs to a flock of goslings,

which may have been purposely separated from the parent goose and gander, which are not to be seen; and an elegant lady, with head on shoulder, looks on in ecstasies. The juvenile princess royal dances a measure, with toe far pointed out, for the amusement of the spaniel, which frisks about her. Rousseau, badly assimilated, underlies the composition. Artists, to be in fashion, Rousseau-ized the pictures ordered of them by august and illustrious patrons. Madame Vigée Le Brun was one of the few persons in relations with the Court, who was not bitten by the mania, and preferred *la science du chiffon* to sham rusticities. An engraving, fine as a vignette, of the fiction-founded-upon-fact character, and dedicated by permission to the queen, gives her seated on a rock facing the Trianon gate. She rests her arm languidly on the stump of a tree. A gentleman behind her—not the king—leans forward in a sentimental attitude. Courtiers are grouped round; a few of the ladies sit on the grass: gentlemen, fanning them, talk into their ears. The queen is *attendré* either by what is said to her, or by the performance of the strolling company of Savoyards and their dogs and monkeys on the gravel sweep at the gate. The realism of the strollers jars with the sentimentality of the Court. Beneath the varnish of Rousseau-ism one truth is perceptible—namely, that flirtation was the grand pastime at the Trianon, where the king only came by special invitation.

The Princess de Lamballe, *née* Princess de Savoy Carignan, and great-aunt of Victor Emmanuel, in a degree belongs to “the Royal Family,” and is the most poetized martyr of the Revolution. Maria Theresa objected to her intimate companionship with the queen, because of her hyper-sensibility, which made her faint when, one day boating at Choisy with Marie Antoinette, a man fell out of their boat into the Seine and was drowned. The German Empress (who be it remembered urged Marie Antoinette to be friendly to Madame du Barri when the latter was the Sultana of Louis XV.) thought it disgraceful to faint when a drowning man was to be rescued. Presence of mind would have been noble, whereas the over-mastery of head by nerves was contemptible. We must get rid of the idea of the Princess de Lamballe’s beauty, fostered by the photographs of her sold in Paris printshops. A mute witness in the form of a large oval portrait, coloured in chalks, establishes that she was plain, and had a complexion to match with sandy hair, and was of the Savoy Carignan, or House of Italy, type. Though her features are ordinary, she has not a vulgar face. In this portrait there is bitterness beneath her smile, and a spice of primness in her bearing. A stiffly-garlanded hat is set on the side of her high-dressed, powdered hair. When she found herself supplanted by the Duchess de Polignac in the queen’s favour, she wept till she thought the source of her tears dried up. Her grievance might have been fresh when those flowers were being woven

into the wreath for her hat. The wierd she had to dree was one of heart-bitterness, ending in gruesome tragedy. Married to the heir of the richest nobleman in France, she was a widow at the age of eighteen. Her husband, who was not much her senior, died of debauchery. All her affections were then vested in the queen, of whom she became, during several years, the confidante and daily companion. The poor princess, when the royal family were prisoners, came back from a place of safety abroad, to see how she could serve them. Her head was for the last time seen by her royal mistress, held up on a pike before a window in the Temple.

As a set-off against the Temple relics, comprising a model of that prison-like castle made in dark cardboard by the Dauphin, there are other objects which at one time set blood boiling in France. They are the tools made by Latude, and the ladder, manufactured out of his bedclothes, by means of which he escaped from the Bastille. A deep window-niche is given up to documents relating to the taking of that fortress prison, to padlocks of cells made by clumsy smiths who thought ponderousness a guarantee for security. Turgot's great-grandson lent the portrait of that economist and administrator, who foresaw that a grinding *fisc* would be as ruinous to the French Monarchy as it was to the Roman Empire. What is so remarkable in Turgot as here portrayed is that he looks not the business man whom we conceive him, but a man of imagination. Is it possible, without the imagination which enables one to put oneself in the place of others, to be an earnest and eager reformer?

Events came and went so fast between the opening of the States-General and the seizure of the king and queen in their palace, as to keep on the alert all who wanted to chronicle them with pen or pencil. They had to hit their birds on the wing. Camille Desmoulins wrote a legible and even hand before the Revolution. But in the hot haste in which he had later to jot down his impressions it appears to have got disjointed, snagged, and scratchy. We are enabled to see what manner of countenance he had. Well, he was a *beau laid*, sallow, lantern-jawed, and wide-mouthed, but with a glorious pair of black eyes, though one of them slightly squinted. Camille was one of the three or four who, in 1789, thought of and hoped for a Republic. His classical books which he used at school are scored with pen and ink, in passages relating to the grandeur of Republican Rome. A deputy's order for the sitting of the Assembly on October 5, 1789, at Versailles, is signed by Dr. Guillotin. We see in other wreckage thrown up by the sea of oblivion how the Revolution struck those who watched its course. At the start, there was much aiming at effect and staginess. Trifles connected with points of etiquette were thought of prime importance by the Court, which snubbed and teased the deputies of the people rather than oppressed them. A pattern

mantle, which the Grand Chamberlain insisted on their adopting for their official costume, is in coarse, black serge, and resembles a pinafore worn behind instead of before. Quite a gallery of likenesses in black and white bring down to us the faces of the men who were emerging from obscurity into public life. "The Tennis Court Oath," depicted at the time, does not impress one with a high idea of the sincerity of those who took it. They attitudinise too much to be really in earnest. Did they mean it to divert from the palace the anger of the crowd that raged in the streets outside? Probably.

We obtain a glimpse of the social condition of France, as the Monarchy was toppling, by scanning the sumptuary relics. Gentlemen dressed in richer stuffs and in as bright colours as ladies. The lay figures clad in the coats and waistcoats of men of rank have to our eye a fancy-ball character. One effect of the Revolution was to plunge the manhood of the civilised world into black. Muscadins and Incroyables reacted against this in a spirit of levity, and Napoleon, as Emperor, in the spirit of a snob. His Imperial trappings are now absurd, and in his own time must have excited the derision of men like Talleyrand.

Louis XVI., so long as he was thought favourable to constitutional and fiscal reform, was simply adored by his subjects. Here he is on a medallion of biscuit porcelain—"the father of his people, the restorer of French liberties" (when did they ever exist?); "the protector of trades and handicrafts, the Whitesmith King, and the godfather of the American Republic." He is lauded for having set an example of respect for labour in having the Dauphin taught the use of carpenter's tools and of a turning lathe. The poor boy's little plane and bench are among the wreckage collected in this Exhibition. I note, as I read the time-stained laudations of Louis XVI., that his wife's name does not appear in them. But "Madame Veto" is always coupled with him from the moment loyalty to the king cools and the suspicion arises of his playing a double game. The railing and ribald spirit of the eighteenth century is then especially directed against the queen. A Carruthers Gould, of 1791, illustrates a popular song, having for its burden their alleged plan to escape abroad. The king's head is on a cock's body, the queen's on a hen's. The royal pair are Monsieur et Madame Coko. She thus advises him:

Air—"Oui, Oui."

"Coco prends ta lunette,
Ne vois tu pas, dis moi,
L'orage qui s'apprête,
Et qui grande sur toi.
Abandonnons Paris,
Et gagnons du Pays
Mettons notre ménage
A l'abri de l'orage
Dans un petit village
Ou dans quelque hameau.
Coco! Coco!

"Sauvons nous plutôt,
 Je vous serre les nippes ;
 Toi, gère le magot.
 Des charges municipales
 Laissons le tripot.
 Quittons notre Palais,
 Et tous nos grands laquais
 Abandonnons encore,
 L'écharpe tricolore,
 Que si bien te décore,
 Et ton petit manteau
 'Coco' 'Coco' !"

Enthusiasm for the States-General is felt chiefly by the bourgeoisie in Paris. Pictorial artists are quick to take advantage of this feeling. They work in the spirit which inspired the pedantic engraving of the death of Mirabeau. Two of their coloured engravings depict two cars four tiers in height. Representatives of the nobility of Paris and of the Ile de France are seated on one of the vehicles, and the deputies of the commons on the other. The nobles, in their gala dresses, which they wore for the last time in 1789, are drawn by a team of lions. D'Orleans acts as a coachman. He and his fellow-aristocrats have feathered hats and gorgeous clothing. Here the lions are supposed to symbolise the warlike character of the aristocracy, who were so soon to run away from France, and to be called "emigrés" instead of poltroons. Bulls and lambs draw the deputies of the people. Hope stands on the footboard behind. Fame flies before the car, blowing her trumpet. Minerva, looking like a Parisian grisette at a fancy-ball, is seated at a cloud, smiling at the deputies. The association of the bulls and lambs has now a funny effect, which it was far from producing a hundred years ago.

It is pretty certain that if the deputies and the allegory-and-rhetoric-loving bourgeoisie had not had behind them a volcanic populace, the Court would have got the better of the National Assembly. There is much in this collection which speaks of the promptness of the plebs to act at critical turning-points. Their intervention saved the Revolution from failure. A rude art sprang up during the events of which Paris was the theatre between 1789 and 1795. Its object was to do what is now accomplished by the halfpenny newspaper. Few plebeians then knew how to read. The favourite pictures of the events of the day were typical in their character. Each contained a group of human beings, working with furious ardour at some revolutionary or patriotic task. The figures were outlined, next embossed, and then coloured. I never saw more speaking pictures. They are all inspired, by the events they seek to represent, very impressionist, and though rude and crude have the spirit of an epic poem. Every figure has a distinct physiognomy. Gaiety is mingled with the popular *furia*. In no case is there a seeking after effect; but effect is never missed, because there is such a strong desire to picture

things as the artist saw them. The actors in this historical imagery are nearly all sans culottes (or trousers-wearers as distinguished from wearers of shorts), or fishwomen and other lower-stratum females. An etching touched up with colours, which I should think is a very truthful representation, gives the famous charge of Prince de Lambesc's cavalry at the gate of the Tuileries gardens. There is nothing heroic on either side. German (their faces show their nationality) dragoons slash scared and rather cowardly bourgeois, who have come for a Sunday outing. There are paterfamilias, his stout and somewhat vulgar-looking wife, their grown-up daughter, whom they have taken to the Promenade, and many prosaic individuals in Sunday clothes. The elderly persons have the fat, loose-built figures given by good eating and sedentary habits. Most of them are panic-stricken. But an old lady furiously faces round towards a dragoon to give him a piece of her mind. He does not seem to understand her invective. We are shown in other artless embossed prints how nuns took the decree releasing them from their vows and secularising their convents; how Paris wrought for national defence committees, and how its plebeian women behaved in their march on Versailles. One John Wells followed them, noting their acts and deeds with a quick and graphic pencil. Who can he have been? The few sketches he made are so good that one is surprised at his having been swallowed up in oblivion. He and his fellow-limners give on the whole a favourable impression of the women who went out against Versailles to fetch the Royal family as hostages back to Paris. As Madame Campan remarked, they are neatly dressed, but mannish and haggard from want. One word describes their mental and moral state—desperation. We know that they were driven forward to risk the gallows by the cries of their children for bread.

Wells and many other artists quite unknown to fame, though worthy of renown, give the triumphant return of the women and the Paris crowd and National Guards which followed them to Versailles. The episodes of the march back are very funny and very awful. Not a sign of respect is shown for the Crown. Indeed, the whole thing looks like a mirthful saturnalia, though the forest of pikes, scythes, and reaping-hooks is enough to make the flesh creep. Those rural implements suggest an influx of country folks into Paris, the immediate suburbs of which were quite in the country.

Beaumarchais should be among the precursors, but is classed with the actors in events which took place after the Assembly came to Paris. He comes down to us, according to Lepécie, as a wide-awake boy, and as an adult according to Greuze. "The child," in his case, is plainly "the father of the man." In an autograph letter to Bailly he protests against the slanders of which he is the butt. There is a Talleyrand at the age of twenty, in an abbé's robe and bands—baby-faced, fair, refined, intriguing, and saucy.

Skipping much precious matter, we glance at a letter of Louis XVI., dated August 10, 1792, and penned in the logographs' (read "reporters'") gallery at the Assembly. This is his last act of authority. The letter is addressed to a Captain Durier, whom the king orders to cease to defend the Tuileries. As to the handwriting, it is that of a placid, painstaking schoolboy. Though pictorial "interviewers," as we find from sketches taken of the Royal prisoners, followed them into the box, and a decisive step on the road towards the guillotine was being taken, one may examine this State paper with a magnifying glass and find no trace of nervous tremor. Temple relics come after the letters. A night-shirt which was made for the king's prisoners has the Government stamp of "Louis Rex." Louis Capet slept in this garment the night before his execution. The Dauphin, when he went to the Temple, had on a pretty little silken suit of a quaint cut: the coat is green and white, the waistcoat pink and white, and the knee-breeches are lavender-grey with steel figured buttons. His stockings and shoes are elegant, though not particularly expensive. The stitching of the clothes betrays an inexperienced seamstress. The Queen and her sister-in-law, it is stated in a letter of Clery, the King's faithful valet, made this suit, which was not greatly worn before the young Prince had to change it for a plainer one given for winter use by the Commune of Paris. When he was under Simon the cobbler bonds were issued in the name of Louis XVII. by "the Catholic Army, payable when monarchy is restored." They circulated in the west of France, where the assignats of the Republic did not run. These debentures for the first time are exhumed. Historians who plead extenuating circumstances for the harsh usage the ill-starred Dauphin met with should not forget the bonds of the Catholic Army.

The activity of the guillotine in the Reign of Terror and in the Thermidor reaction comes home to one in looking over quite a gallery of black and white portraits of men of the Revolution. The word *decapité* is written under the greater number. Savants are among the few exceptions. Defeated generals have no choice between flight and decapitation. The will of the beheaded king was taken from the Temple to the national archives, whence the organisers of the Exhibition obtained a loan of it. There are tear stains on the yellow letter paper on which it is drawn up, and the handwriting is shaky where the discrowned testator asks pardon of his wife for any offence he may have given her, as he forgives her what pain she ever caused him. The speech of his counsel Desèze lies with the will. It was published by order of the Convention—a plucky act. Belonging to this set of papers is a decree of the Convention in the names of Liberty, Equality, and Justice (no Fraternity), decreeing the execution of Louis Capet. One is horror-struck in glancing over the surrounding objects, "Louis mounts the scaffold," "Louis is shown to the people," "Food

for reflection, dedicated to the crowned heads of the world. 'This food' is the holding up by a coarse masculine hand, which grasps a pigtail, of the freshly decapitated head. An awful picture truly! How describe it without being a naturalist? The ex-sanguine face is the colour of a calf's-head at the butcher's. Infinite suffering and resignation are still expressed, though life has fled, in the region of the eyes. In all that deals with civic, or republican, or revolutionary sentiment there is force. Whatever was done in Paris, so far as we can ascertain from the relics in this Exhibition, shows that Royalist art was feeble. The artists at the service of the Monarchy ran into poor conceits. Puzzle pictures of an elegiac nature of king, queen, and royal children met the taste of their partisans. But, contrasting with these affectations, is an intercepted letter of Marie Antoinette to the Comte de Provence, enclosing him the signet-ring of her husband. Grief was never expressed in more pathetically lovely and simple terms.

Robespierre and Marat are enigmatical characters. Their deeds were horrible; but the casts of their heads taken after death are of ineffable sweetness. In both the cerebral development is poor, particularly in the coronal region. The skulls, each of which goes up into a point, may have pressed there on the brains. Phrenological developments, or lack of development, taken with facial traits, betoken ill-balanced minds. Marat's face, in David's portrait of him, is in all but complexion that of a Red Indian. Robespierre's sister, on the other hand, is sweet, serene, pensive, and of a lovely purity of expression.

Charlotte Corday, according to Danloux, one of her portraitists, was a rather good-looking young woman, more the peasant than the lady. She had a hard, quick, wilful glance. Tallien was another ill-balanced creature. He had the profile of an Egyptian dog-god. Carnot, the one noble character of the Directory, looks sweet and shrewd. His watch, a plain "turnip," and bunch of seals, have little intrinsic value. Two gold medals granted him by the Academy of Dijon belong to the relics, lent by his son's widow. His spectacles have heavy steel rims, his inkstand is in plain bronze, and his snuff-box of the same metal has on the lid a gouache portrait of himself. Carnot's Director's sword bears on one side a motto which he proposed as the rule of conduct of the Directory: "Unity to restore peace."

But his love of peace and his contentment with a slender income did not suit the men and women who rose to the top in Thermidor. To escape banishment to Cayenne, he had at the Coup d'Etat of Fructidor to fly to Switzerland, and was obliged to remain a long time in exile. The principle of corruption which was at work originated greatly in the temptations to plunder

which were held out to common people by the sweeping confiscations and the guillotining of rich aristocrats, and especially by the army of Italy being invited to plunder by Bonaparte. Mechanics who were dishonest presidents of sections, were as if fixed in amber by the artists who did the embossed pictures for the vulgar. Those who got rich on plunder began to fear the return of the Bourbons, and went with a rush to Napoleon. Pleasure and financial speculation absorbed the newly enriched class. The streets were as a fancy-ball. Prints of the period show women chanting, as amazons, war songs in the streets. "Bals masqués at Paphos," are now subjects on ladies' fans. Civilians wearing corkscrew curls, and having a mincing air, plot for monarchy. Theatrical costumes are invented for old men, who look like Druids. Churches are transformed into temples of sentiment. Josephine Beauharnais becomes a society queen, and intrigues with Barras for Louis XVIII. She writes good English, an accomplishment that later served her in wheedling English agents, when Bonaparte was hemmed in at Acre. She was a luxurious being. Her scent-bottles and pocket-handkerchiefs retained her first husband's coronet until she became Empress of the French. The gay world of the Directory flocked to her house in the Rue Chantierine. Lucien Bonaparte engaged the pictorial journals to puff his brother. He came out in their cartoons as "Bonaparte the Clemente," "Bonaparte pointing on a map of Germany at Rastadt," "Bonaparte, Pacifier of Europe," "Bonaparte contemplating the Pyramids," "Bonaparte braving the plague at Jaffa." Nobody thought of the other generals. Bonaparte is made to "question the Sphinx on his destiny." She says "Make haste to touch again native soil." Though crushed on the Nile, he came back as if a victor. The Revolutionary Museum ends in a show of Imperial frippery worthy of Tussaud's, and in savage caricatures of Napoleon and Josephine by Gilray.

The caricaturist had no conception of the physical grace and refinement of Josephine. He heard of her as a middle-aged woman, the mother of two nearly grown-up children, and as being twice married, and assumed her to be a staringly dressed blowzy materfamilias who though good-natured, is puffed up. In Marie Antoinette's dressing-room she is quite the handmaid who is heir to her mistress. In one of his caricatures, Gilray saw farther than most men of his day. Nelson, with a following of Nile crocodiles, Prussia, Russia, and Napoleon are busy carving at a plum-pudding which represents the globe. The other Powers scarcely count. John Bull is willing to let the three Continental Powers have a free hand if he be allowed right of passage in the Mediterranean, and Egypt as a road to India and to undiscovered lands in Africa.

EMILY CRAWFORD.

A PALESTINIAN UTOPIA.

ARIDE through Palestine, though one may go only over the most beaten tracks, and though it occupy only the six weeks which are all that is generally allotted to this part of the journey, can hardly fail to set the traveller thinking. Thinking, too, not only about the Hebrew, the Roman, the Crusading memories of the Fateful Land, but also about its present—its miserable present—and its dark and almost desperate future.

There is something in the very mode of travel which makes reflections of this kind natural and almost necessary. When one is being whirled across Europe in an express train, passing an endless series of exactly similar railway stations, and occasionally bestowing a languid glance at the scenery, one's mind is generally more occupied with the book that one is reading, or at best with the conversation of an intelligent fellow-traveller, than with the phenomena, physical or social, of the country through which one is passing. But when one spends eight or nine hours in the saddle, when reading is out of the question, and when conversation with the comrade in front or behind is almost equally impossible, one finds oneself shut up to the companionship of the country, and the book which one reads is that the pages of which are the distant mountain, the waterless wady, the ruined khan, or the fellah's mud cottage.

Thus pondering, the traveller is compelled to ask himself the question, "What must life in Palestine, which I know only as one long and delightful picnic, be for those who have to live it always?" His inquiries will naturally relate to the peasant, whether fellah or pastoral Bedouin, for indeed he sees no other inhabitant. He is not probably—at least I was not—furnished with letters of introduction to aghas and pashas; and a middle class, if it ever existed, has been subjected

to such extensive denudation—to use a geological term—that it has almost disappeared from the social stratification. In the course of our little journey I met with one effendi, accompanied by his servant, riding from Nablous to Jerusalem, and I believe he was the only person above the rank of a peasant whom we saw in the whole country outside the walls of the cities.

If the traveller forgets for a little while his archaeological interest in the land with which he is, as I have said, silently communing, and asks himself, “What is the chief characteristic of Palestine as compared with the European lands which I have hitherto known, I will not say with France or Germany, but even with the more backward districts of Italy?” I think the answer will be, “Chiefly its great *withoutness*.” Here is a country *without roads*. The one or two good roads practicable for carriages, made by the forced labour of the peasantry, between Jaffa and Jerusalem, or Jerusalem and Hebron, and the fine road made by French engineers between Damascus and Beyrout, are entirely exceptional. The “Sultaniyeh,” the royal road between the two capitals of Jerusalem and Damascus, is generally a mere track across a moor, sometimes only the bed of a torrent, always hopelessly untraversable by wheeled carriages, and rendering needful the possession of a very sure-footed horse if the rider is to reach his journey’s end in safety. Distinction between highway and byeway I can see none, except that sometimes the byeway, as being more grassy, is pleasanter for the traveller, and enables him to get over his journey more quickly. In short, let a person who has not yet visited Palestine think of the worst bridle-path he remembers in Cumberland or Switzerland, and he will form a pretty just conception of the Sultaniyeh, the royal high-road of Palestine, at its best.

It is a country *without shops*. If the commonest requisite of daily life in civilized countries breaks, or is lost, one must wait till one gets to Beyrout or Damascus before one can replace it.

It is a country *without regular posts*. The receiving of a letter at Nazareth, or its despatch from Tiberias, is a matter with which the Government does not concern itself, and which the individual must accomplish by private assistance as best he can.

It is a country *without newspapers*—a most tolerable deficiency to a European traveller gorged with too much newspaper reading at home, but one which must be felt as an inconvenience, at least, by a permanent dweller in the land. It would be easy to lengthen the list of “withouts,” as, for instance, to say that the country is *without schools*, except such as foreign missionaries provide; *without doctors and hospitals* (again with the same exception); *without justice*, for universal testimony is borne to the venality of the Turkish cadi. But I will only mention one more which impresses a superficial observer like

myself as vividly as anything—it is a country the cottages of which are *without glazed windows*.

Formerly, when I looked at a picture of a town or village in Palestine, I used to wonder what it was which made it so unlike a modern European village. There might be no ruins visible, no dome or graceful minaret to break the skyline, and yet one felt that the sketch or the photograph brought before one something utterly different from a nineteenth-century village, even in picturesque Italy, and one half suspected that the artist had idealised his picture. At the first village that I came to—Ya-sûr, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem—my question was answered. I saw that among all the fifty or sixty houses before me there was not one that had the common glazed window which adds so much to the comfort and detracts so much from the picturesqueness of an ordinary English village. And so it is, as a rule, throughout Palestine. There is an arched doorway below, sometimes, but not always, provided with a door, and one or two slits in the wall above to admit a little light and air, but no true window. Of course in that climate the comfort of a dwelling-house is less important than in ours. During the greater part of the year, men, women, and children, if not at their work, sit or squat out of doors in the daytime, or, at the utmost, seek the shelter of the house only during the burning noonday hours for the sake of its shade. The nights are shorter, and fierce driving rainstorms are unknown during a considerable part of the year. Still, after all, the structure of the house is one of the best measures of a nation's civilization, and now that window-panes have been invented we may safely say that a country in which the majority of the inhabitants never use them is low down in the scale. A striking confirmation of this is afforded us by the fact that in the Lebanon, where the peasant's standard of comfort is without doubt higher than in Palestine, we at once find the usual glazed and framed window reappearing, to the delight of the political economist and the despair of the artist.

Another circumstance to which the absence of the window-pane bears evidence is that human beings and cattle are generally living in the same room. The home is also a cow-byre, and man sinks naturally to the level of his four-footed fellow-lodger. Of course the presence of furniture such as you would find in the humblest lodging-house in London becomes impossible in this companionship. In some of the better-built houses a raised divan or a gallery may be set apart for the carpets or matting which are used as beds; but this is the exception rather than the rule.* Oliphant, in his "Haifa,"† gives an amusing but pathetic picture of the discomfort endured by the wife of a fellah, who has been brought up in the luxury of a wealthy

* See Conder's "Tent Life in Palestine," i. 101, ii. 237 S.

† P. 117.

Damascus home, and who has now to sleep in the same room with the sheep and oxen of her husband. More pathetic still are the accounts which I received from a missionary at Ramallah of the condition of the fever-stricken sheikh of a neighbouring village. The doctor attached to the mission was doing his utmost for his recovery, but felt that, lying as he was there on his wretched pallet in that noisome atmosphere, with all the operations of the house and of the cow-house going on around him, and with the door continually opening and letting in a stream of air—sometimes cold air—upon him, his recovery was all but impossible. I cannot describe the wretchedness of some of the little mud huts which I saw in the beautiful vale of Esdraelon, the dwellings of the peasants who till the plain for a wealthy financier of Beyrout; but I can only say that I had to look at them again and again before I could believe that human beings lived in such styes.

In short, the whole impression left in my mind by what I saw of the fellahen in Palestine was that here was an ancient and historic people—perhaps I should rather say the descendants of three such peoples, the sons of Canaan, of Aram, and of Ishmael—sinking down into a state of mere savagery, such as that of the least civilized of the tribes whom Stanley encountered in his march across Africa.

For this long-continued and still continuing decline of Palestine we must hold the natives of Palestine partly responsible. Their weakness may be to some extent the result of that enervating climate of theirs, where Baal, the mighty sun-god, still shows himself as of old a terrible potentate, withering up the greenness of the earth and the vital forces of men. But, whatever the cause, I think we must admit the fact that there is a grievous lack of energy and self-reliance among the Syrian peasants. Accustomed from childhood to stretch out the hand for *backsheesh*, and following in stolid ignorance the same round of agricultural labours which their forefathers have trodden for centuries, the very features in their character which make them so interesting a study to the student of Biblical archæology, seem to make it almost a hopeless task to form them into an enterprising, progressive, self-governing community. As a little illustration of the helplessness of the modern fellah, and his want of power of adapting himself to new conditions, I may mention that the landlord of the new (and excellent) "Jordan Hotel" at Jericho complained to me that he could hardly get any one to give a good solid day's work for good wages. Every requisite for his hotel had to be brought down from Jerusalem. He thought when he started the hotel he should at least get fruit and garden-stuff supplied him by the peasantry, but in practice he had found this quite impossible.

But, while admitting that the besetting sin of the Syrian peasant is indolence, a traveller who has had occasion daily to admire the

patient, persevering, efficient toil of his camp-followers (some of the best of them, it is true, natives of Lebanon) may cherish the hope that under good guidance even the "soft Syrian" could do much for the redemption of his country. This good guidance, however, he has not had for centuries, nor—the prediction may be safely ventured—will he ever get from the Ottoman. I am not going to draw a long indictment against the Turk, whom I profoundly pity. A *parvenu* among nations, elevated by what we call chance, and by the folly of mediæval Europe, into a position of command for which he was utterly unfitted, having inherited the bad old traditions of the centralized Byzantine despotism without its redeeming culture, and then for centuries having muddled away his strength of body and mind in the sensual indulgences of the Mussulman harem, he is of course, by the necessity of his nature and position, a hopelessly bad governor, and never worse than when he is playing at Reform in order to throw a little dust—dust of which he has an unlimited supply in the fruitful provinces that have become deserts under his rule—in the eyes of European ambassadors. I might quote many a little incident of travel to show how at every point where one comes in contact with the Turkish Government, at the custom-house, at the post-office, at the police-bureau, one is made to feel its utter corruption and inefficiency. But there is no need to do this. Everybody who is not writing to prove a prescribed and foregone conclusion, Layard as much as Pears, and Conder as much as Bryce, admits—nay, urges—that Ottoman rule is a curse to the countries over which it extends. Many doubt whether this or that substitute for it will not be worse, but I think not one impartial observer doubts that it is in itself bad.

Notwithstanding these observations, I am not going to ask my readers to enter with me into the labyrinth of the Eastern Question. I confine my attention to the land whose desolation I have been endeavouring to describe, and which is, it may be said, the spiritual fatherland of the Christian and the Jew, part of the religious heritage of Europe and America. Can nothing be done, even now, and without waiting for some far-off millennial change, to relieve its misery and arrest its decline?

The word "millennial" will at once remind the reader that there is a large school of Biblical students who hope to see the difficulty solved, and that soon, by the return of the Jews to their own land. As it is calculated that there are altogether about 6,000,000 Jews in the world, and as the whole extent of Palestine is only one-sixth that of England, it is obvious that, except under utterly altered conditions, the land which now barely supports a population of half a million could not possibly furnish subsistence for the whole existing Jewish people. But let that pass. Can we hope that by the return, say, of

one or two millions of Jews, and their formation into an independent State, the economic condition of Palestine will be improved, and a proper use be made of its resources?

I confess that for long I cherished the hope (quite independently of the interpretation which may be put on particular passages in the prophetic Scriptures) that this would be the solution, perhaps the early solution, of so much of the Eastern enigma as relates to Palestine. There is something fascinating to the historical imagination in the idea of a nation, after nearly two thousand years of exile, returning to the land of its fathers: and the enormous wealth of the great Jewish financiers—wealth which has given them a semi-royal position in European society—seems as if it might furnish the lever by which this territorial revolution would be accomplished. And so it may still be. No one who has studied the romances, written and acted, of Benjamin Disraeli, will dare to speak lightly of what the race-idea fructifying in the Jewish mind may yet accomplish. But speaking merely from my own observation, and from the testimony of all with whom I could converse on the subject, I see no probability that the return of a million or two of Jews to Palestine would in any way assist the economic development of the country. The Jews whom one now sees at Jerusalem and Tiberias are probably unfavourable specimens of the race, chiefly paupers attracted by the bountiful almsgiving of the Rothschilds and Montefiores, or the children of elderly people who have come to the Holy Land to die. Whatever be the cause, they look as little fitted, physically, to undertake the redemption of the country and to turn the wilderness into a fruitful field, as the same number of tailors from the sweating shops of London. Seeing some of these weak, anæmic Jews, in yellow gaberdine, and with spiral curls hanging down on their shoulders, lounging inside the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem, and then seeing a company of sturdy Russian *moujiks*, with fur caps and bushy beards, emerging from it and tramping stoutly along, regardless of the heat, one could not help wishing, “Oh that *these* were *those*, to come and win back, by their own strong arms, and not with the sword, but with the spade, the wasted inheritance of their fathers!” I trust I shall not be supposed to write in any vulgar spirit of *Juden-hetze*. I see the great gifts of the Jewish race; I can almost accept all that Disraeli has said, in the person of Sidonia, as to their position among the nations of the world, and I feel that there must be strength of brain where there is such immense tenacity of life. But the question now before us is one, not so much of brain, as of *biceps*. The need is of patient, steady, persevering workers, to struggle with the climate and the soil. And the phrase which one often hears repeated, and which, after all, tallies with our own experience of the Hebrew in Western lands, “The Jew will do anything rather than take his coat off and work,” seems to show that

it is not to a great Jewish immigration that we have to look for the deliverance of Palestine.

But if there is not to be any great change in the population of the country, it would seem that the hoped-for improvement must come from a change in the political conditions under which that population lives. To assert this is not to deny what was said a little while back as to the defects in the national character of the Syrian, for it is one of the commonplaces of politics that the characters of the ruler and the ruled react upon one another, and that while some natives lose freedom because they are not worthy to retain it, others which have been long treated as slaves do for that very reason develop slavish vices. And while it might safely be assumed as an axiom that if Palestine is to prosper it must be freed from the miserable misgovernment of Turkish pashas, axiom the second in our political Euclid must be that at present there is no material out of which to form an organized self-governed community. How soon under good government, and with systematic education, such a community might be formed, is a matter on which opinions will greatly differ, but he would be a sanguine man who would predict that in one generation the Syrians of Palestine will be ready for self-government, and it is probable that fifty years may prove none too long for the process of preparation.

If then the Turk as practical ruler and administrator of Palestine has to go, and if the sovereign people is not yet ready to take his place, to whom shall we look to "occupy and administer" Palestine during the years, be they few or many, that must intervene? To England? to France? to Russia? I will say at once that I believe the government of the country by any one of these Powers would incalculably increase its material wealth and the happiness of its people; that any one of them would, by the mere habits of civilized government which it has acquired, be impelled to construct roads, to excavate harbours, to plant forests, to improve agriculture, to administer something like justice. And of all these nations I doubt not that England would do her work the most efficiently and the most unselfishly. And yet no such solution of the problem is to be thought of, for the simple reason that it could only be achieved at the cost of a terrible European war. Least of all is it to be thought of in the case of our own country, the "weary Titan," which has already on its shoulders a load of world-wide responsibilities almost heavier than it can bear.

The peculiar spiritual ties which bind all the European nations more or less strongly to the Holy Land, and the jealousies of the various Christian Churches that are planted there, are also reasons for deprecating the exclusive assumption by any European Power of the tutelage of the people of Palestine. It is only necessary to pay a

visit to any of the "Holy Places," to observe the Greeks' jealous clutch at their inheritance in the Holy Sepulchre, or to hear the Franciscan friars chuckling over the points which they have won at the Grotto of the Nativity, to feel how little chance there would be of fair play between the rival Churches if either an Orthodox or a Catholic Power bore sole sway in the land.

But in this very jealousy between the Greek and the Latin Churches lies perhaps one hope, if a faint one, of a peaceful settlement of the entangled controversy. By their political antipathies France and Russia are being drawn more and more strongly into mutual sympathy, and all Europe is expecting in the next great war to see them fighting shoulder to shoulder. But by their religious traditions they are bound to take opposite sides in every question tending to the future of Palestine. Russia is, of course, the champion of every Greek church and monastery throughout the East, but not less is France, Voltairean and Materialist though she may be at home, so traditionally connected with the defence of the interests of the Latin Church in those regions, that she cannot now shake herself loose from the obligation. The Jesuit fathers at Beyrout teach all their pupils French. Your attendant in the camp, if he speak no other European language than French, is almost to a certainty a Catholic. And in that land, where religion is nationality, the chain thus forged is almost impossible to break. France as a nation *cannot* sacrifice the interests of the Latin Church in Palestine.

We shall probably be safe in asserting that not more certainly do the lines representing the aspirations of Russia and Austria intersect one another before they reach Constantinople, than the similar lines drawn for Russia and France intersect before Jerusalem. Since this is so, and since it is for the interests of France and Russia at present to remain friends, and probably to become allies, it is possible that both might acquiesce in an arrangement that should put supremacy in the Holy Land out of the reach of either.

I. One such arrangement, which would I believe, work admirably, though the very suggestion of it excites a smile, is that the United States of America should undertake to "occupy and administer" Palestine. Here is a Power, strong, neutral, tolerant, one which by its very nature is bound to think constantly of the material prosperity of the territory over which it rules, yet which also feels, and has testified in various ways, that interest—call it sentimental or religious, as you please—without which no nation would undertake the irksome and difficult task which we are considering. The expedition fitted out by the United States Government to examine the physiography of the Jordan valley; the fact, that some of the chief authorities on the topography of Palestine, notably Robinson and Thompson, have been Americans; the successful college and schools which American missionaries have

established at Beyrout and Jerusalem—all testify to the interest taken by the citizens of the United States in the land of Canaan. But notwithstanding the strength of this spiritual tie, so thoroughly has the principle of religious equality penetrated into every part of their political organization, that they might be safely trusted to treat the Moslem and the Christian, the Druse and the Maronite, the Orthodox Greek and the Protestant missionary, with perfect impartiality as far as religious questions were concerned. Then, again, they occupy an admirably central position towards the three chief Powers that may be thought to have opposing interests at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean. Sprung from the loins of England, aided by France in their struggle for nationality, and for at least half a century firm friends with Russia, America would, as I conceive, be not even tempted to violate the neutrality to which she would, on our hypothesis, be pledged, in favour of one or other of these three Powers.

But I fear that all these arguments in favour of that which seems to me the most satisfactory solution of our problem are in vain. The United States have determined—wisely, no doubt, as a general rule—to “keep clear of European complications,” and probably not even the unanimous request of Europe, founded upon a confidence in their honourable neutrality, would induce them to undertake a charge which might conceivably entangle them in European politics.

II. Another and much less ambitious solution of the problem would be to apply to Palestine a similar arrangement to that now adopted for the Lebanon. By this arrangement, which was forced on the Porte after the terrible massacre of the Christians in 1840, the Lebanon is placed under the government of a Christian unconnected with the country, appointed for not less than five years, whose nomination must be approved by the Five Great European Powers (Italy had not then asserted her claim to convert the pentarchy into a hexarchy). The most superficial observer cannot fail to be struck with the good results of this arrangement. Partly, no doubt, owing to the greater energy of the Lebanon mountaineer, whether Druse or Maronite, but also and more largely because he is freed from extortionate tax-gatherers, unjust judges, and the general system of compulsory *bachsheesh* which is facetiously called the Turkish Government, the villages of Lebanon are a joy to the heart of the traveller who is interested in the welfare of the people.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the contrast between the “Lebanon” and “Syria” more striking than at Zakhleh, a village just within the Lebanon frontier, lying near to the high road from Beyrout to Damascus. It is called a village, but should rather be styled a town, for it has 20,000 inhabitants, whose neat, prosperous-looking houses are scattered over the hill-side. Near the top of the hill is a large and commodious (unfortunately not picturesque) court-house, erected

by the inhabitants of Zakhleh at their own expense, and presented to the Government. They are also constructing, on their own initiative, a road practicable for carriages, which will connect them directly with Beyrout. But not only here: in many other parts of the Lebanon one feels that one is in presence of a spirit of energy, self-reliance, progress, quite unlike what one sees anywhere else between Hermon and the wilderness of the South. In fact, as I said to myself over and over again, "the Lebanon is the Piedmont of Syria."

Even the Lebanon arrangement, however, with all its many advantages, has its weak points. Though the Porte cannot appoint without the assent of the Great Powers, it may refuse to appoint or to re-appoint the man whom they deem the most suitable. Only lately it exercised this right by the recall of Rustem Pasha, who, by all accounts, is the best governor Lebanon has had, but who was sacrificed, it is said, to some Palace intrigue, and whose term of office was accordingly not renewed.

In Palestine, also, where the Moslems form the majority of the people, the provision that the governor should always be a Christian has less apparent justice than in the Lebanon, where so large a part of the population is Christian, and where even the Druses are dissenters from the strict creed of Islam.

III. Even for the maintenance of the Lebanon scheme a certain amount of concerted action between the great European Powers, and of trust in each other's good faith, is needful. If this could be more strongly relied on, a yet better scheme, as it seems to me, might be devised. Here we take the step out from the disheartening world of suspicion and distrust, in which our European statesmen move, and into Utopia. As is the manner with the describers of that delightful country, we will put our speculations on what might be into the shape of a record of that which has been, and will write the future history of a regenerated Palestine as if it were past.

"Weary of strife, and smitten with shame for the calamities which their mutual jealousies had brought upon the land which gave birth to their religion, the nations of Europe came to a solemn agreement that the land of Palestine should be the possession of none, but that its improvement should be the common concern of all. Leaving, therefore, to the Ottoman Sultan the mere name and fiction of sovereign power, and allowing to him so much revenue as he had hitherto by lawful means extracted from the country, they established an International Commission, to whom the government was to be thereafter entrusted. To this Commission each one of the Sovereign Powers of Europe, whether great or small (I mean not such pigmy States as Monaco, Andorre, and San Marino), elected one member, the Commissioners being chosen not so much on account of eminent services in war or diplomacy as on account of their experience as

'Captains of Industry,' their attainments as men of science, or their success as practical philanthropists. The Commission thus formed proceeded to elect its chief, whose only necessary qualification was that he should *not* be a citizen of one of the six great European States. Being thus limited in their choice, the Commissioners generally elected either a Scandinavian or a Swiss, who was found to hold a more even balance between the Greek and Latin Churches than either a Spaniard or a Hellenic would have done. The governor was elected for ten years; but in order to throw the bias in favour of the permanence of his office, his re-election for subsequent decades did not require, as the election of an entirely fresh candidate did, the unanimous consent of the Powers.

"The administrative power of the governor was nearly equivalent to that of a Turkish pasha, but the judges, who were carefully selected from amongst the most learned legists of Europe, and administered justice in a similar manner to the English judges in India (only taking the Civil Law instead of the English Common Law for the basis of their procedure where the Koran was wholly inapplicable), were quite independent of the governor, and irremovable by him. In all financial matters it was necessary for the governor to obtain the consent of a majority of the council composed of his brother Commissioners, and without such consent no new taxes could be imposed.

"The new State had no army nor navy, its virtual independence being guaranteed by all the Powers of Europe. A strong force of police was organized in order to repress the incursions of the Bedouins, and to keep the peace between the followers of different religions. But the maintenance of internal order, as well as the administration of justice in small cases, was left then as under the previous government, chiefly in the hands of the local authorities, especially of the village sheikhs.

"All the energies of the new government were directed to the development of the material resources of the country. The promise made by each Commissioner on taking office bound him to seek by every means in his power the prosperity of the people of Palestine, to forget his own country and his father's house, to use the power which had been entrusted to him, neither for his own private advantage, nor yet to promote the interests real or supposed of the Church or the nation to which he belonged.' This promise was better kept than official oaths often are. Placed beyond the temptation to petty bribes by a handsome salary, the Commissioners did, as a rule, take a genuine interest in the great work in which they were engaged, and devotion to the advancement of the internal prosperity of Palestine became a passion, almost a religion, in the hearts of many of the council. The different departments of administration were portioned out amongst

them according to their relative fitness. Thus, at the time when the writer of this retrospect happened to visit the country, a Frenchman was making the roads, an Englishman was building the piers at Jaffa and Haifa, a German professor of forestry was covering the hills with pine-woods, an Italian was in command of the police, and a Russian had charge of the postal and telegraphic service.

"For the carrying into execution of some of these projects for the improvement of the country it was needful to raise money by loan. But as all the surplus of the rapidly increasing revenue of the country above the sum payable to the Porte (which had been exorbitant when exacted from a poverty-stricken peasantry, but was trifling in comparison to the increased produce of the soil) was strictly applied to the redemption of this debt, it soon disappeared, and all the remaining improvements—the roads, the canals for irrigation, the forests, the harbour works—were easily provided for out of revenue. The one fundamental principle of the Palestinian finance was that (save for the before-mentioned fixed tribute to the Sultan) all the money raised by taxation from the people went back in one shape or another into the land.

"The rival claims of Christian Churches to the possession of the Holy Places were settled on the principle of *uti possidetis*. If the Latins had established themselves in this grotto, theirs it remained. If the Greeks had secured themselves from intrusion by walling up the chancel of that church, their wall was untouched, even though it spoilt the church architecturally. But as between Moslem and Christian, and as between one Christian Church and another, absolute freedom to choose his religion was left to every man, the old prohibition to the Mussulman to change his creed except under pain of death being, of course, utterly abrogated. Herein the laws of the new State corresponded almost exactly with those expounded by Master Raphael Hythlodaye to Sir Thomas More* in the pleasant garden of Peter Giles, in the city of Antwerp.

"For Kyng Utopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were, before his coming thither, at continual dissention and strife among themselves for their religions, . . . made a decree that it should be lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring others to his opinion, so that he did it, peaceable, gentelie, quietly without hastie and contentious rebuking and invehing against each other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious wordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlie in this cause strive and contende was decreed banishment or bondage. This law did Kynge Utopus

* "Utopia," book ii., last section.

make not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished: but also, because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion.'

"The problem of education was one of the most difficult which awaited the rulers of the new State, since it was difficult to give any good secular instruction which should not seem to be aimed at some chapter of the Koran. Moslem schools were not only permitted but encouraged; but the faith of Islam does not seem to incline its votaries to take much trouble in educating their children. The best voluntary schools continued to be those of the Protestant missionaries; but the members of the Greek and Latin Churches were roused in many places by their efforts to healthy and honourable emulation in this matter. In every town and village of more than 100 inhabitants where no such school was established by voluntary effort, a free school was planted by the Government, and in these free schools only secular instruction was imparted, and that with as little offence as could be given to Mussulman prejudices.

• "Under the influence of this wise and benevolent administration Europe soon beheld an extraordinary improvement in the material condition of Palestine. Even the climate of the country changed, the planting of forests being followed by a more adequate rainfall. The irrigation canals and the introduction of improved methods of husbandry quintupled the productive resources of the country, which soon became a large exporter of corn, fruits, and silk. The peasantry, from one of the most ignorant, became one of the most intelligent that can anywhere be found. A strong and stable middle class was called into existence, and the day now seems not far distant when it will be possible for the European International Commission to depart, leaving to the natives of Palestine the administration of a Constitutional Government which will take its place. Whether the shadowy sovereignty of the Sultan shall be permitted to continue or not is a question which has yet to be decided. Possibly it may be better to preserve it than to run the risk of the strifes and jealousies which might be kindled by the election of a King of Jerusalem.

• "But, great as were the benefits to Palestine arising from the International Commission, it may be doubted whether the benefits to Europe were not even greater. Drawn together by their interest in a work of unselfish benevolence, and at the same time learning how much their common welfare depended on the triumph of civilization over barbarism, the European States gradually laid aside something of their old attitude of mutual suspicion and distrust. They came to the practical conclusion that no great readjustment of the boundaries of existing nationalities was any longer possible, and that it was time to close the chapter of great European wars. The prodigious armaments of 1890,

the ruinous budgets, the national conscriptions, the grinding taxation which were the despair of enlightened statesmen and the hope of social anarchists, came to an end, and, as in Palestine, so also all over Europe, the rulers consulted the oracle of Science, in order to ascertain not how they might kill in a few moments of time the greatest number of their foes, but how they might support for a lifetime the greatest number of their friends, by which word they meant their subjects.

"Gradually, too, by similar, yet not identical, methods to those adopted in Palestine, the condition of the various nationalities between the Adriatic and the Euphrates was improved, *not* at the cost of a European war, and one leaf after another of the thorny Eastern Question was firmly plucked, and finally disposed of.

"Other causes, doubtless, have been at work, but one of the chief causes of the happier outlook for the world now, as compared with the closing years of the nineteenth century, has certainly been the establishment of the International Commission for Palestine."

"And I awoke, and behold it was a dream."

Yet it is conceivable that the dream might be a reality, if statesmen and diplomatists would admit into their minds the possibility that there may be a few germs of practical truth in the Christianity which they profess, and if the nations of Europe could, in their conduct towards one another, rise to the level of the ordinary English gentleman, instead of borrowing their code of morals from the revolver-armed bullies of a Californian gambling-house.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

P.S.—Since the foregoing article was written, I have been made aware of some facts (especially those contained in an interesting paper on Jewish Settlements in Palestine, contributed to the *Spectator* of February 8, 1890), which make me doubt whether I have not formed too low an estimate of Jewish settlers in Palestine as tillers of the soil. The main argument of the paper, however, would not be much affected by an error on this point. It will be generally admitted that a large influx of Polish Jews (and such are the majority of the present Hebrew immigrants) would not at once solve the problem before us, and that they would want much help and guidance before they could develop into a progressive, self-governed community.

T. H.

THE BROAD CHURCH; OR, WHAT'S COMING?

HERE are two facts :

I. Intelligent men refuse to take Holy Orders.

II. Intelligent men refuse to attend church.

The reasons are obvious and related. They stare one in the face and they dovetail. Intelligent men won't sit in the pew because intelligent men won't stand in the pulpit.

"I will not take Holy Orders," says the clever, conscientious, even religious-minded man, "because the formularies as they stand do not express my religious convictions. I doubt my power of being able to bring them into any kind of harmony with those convictions. If I could, I doubt whether I should be allowed to do so in the Church of England ; meanwhile, I should have to say what I don't believe, and therefore I won't go into the Church."

"I don't sit in the pew," says the intelligent layman, "because what I hear in church is obsolete, trivial—often to my mind senseless ; the pulpit is frequently occupied by a man who would not get sixpence a day in any other profession, and whom no one would think of listening to out of church, although, by the way, he often talks more sense on his own hearthrug than in the pulpit ; the prayers sound, some of them, antiquated and exaggerated ; the expression of doctrines unreal or unintelligible ; the Bible reading is ill-chosen or inaudible ; therefore, on the whole, I don't go to church." If, now, some men still go to church, it is in spite of the obsolete doctrine and the incompetent clergy. The greatest tribute to the necessity of religion is, that it survives its outworn forms ; the greatest proof of the essential truth of Christianity is, that in spite of the twaddle talked every Sunday throughout England in the name of Christ, Christianity is still alive. Pithily said the old verger, "I've been listening to

sermons twice every Sunday for nigh forty year come Michaelmas, and, thank God, I'm a Christian still." Alas! the faith of all sermon hearers is not so robust.

Will intellect and eloquence ever return to the pulpits of the Church of England? Will intelligent men ever to any noticeable extent re-occupy her pews?

That will entirely depend upon whether the Liberal or Broad Church party can reorganise the religious thought of the Church as fearlessly and successfully as the Low Church reorganised its emotional piety and the High Church reorganised its dramatic ritual. It is the thought of the age far more than the feeling or the taste of the age that is alienated from the Church. Feeling is still there, and form is still there—an occasional orator, like Liddon, or the Bishop of Peterborough, is the result—but both feeling and form are in danger of paralysis, because Church feeling is without reason, and Church form is without congruity to the age.

The Low Church have done well, but they have had their day; they have leavened the laity.

The High Church have done well; they have made religion fashionable, but they have not leavened the laity. Pusey never got hold of the masses like Wesley. The reason of that is that Puseyism was Italian, Wesleyanism was English; but neither was intellectual, and the reform now needed in the Church is essentially an *intellectual* reform.

In this respect the age is more like the age of Constantine and Athanasius than the age of Luther and Henry VIII. We want a form of sound words which will ring true in nineteenth-century ears. The creeds and articles are now "like sweet bells jangled out of tune."

Neither Low Church nor High Church have any remedy to propose for this. When the Low Church are asked what's to be done, they quote texts; when the High Church are asked for a remedy, they say the Catechism or mutter the Mass. But this won't do for ever. That is why the Broad Church who can supply a new intellectual basis should not be slow to come in at this crisis and make their contribution to the National Church. Whether under the strain of this reform the Anglican church as such will go to pieces, as the Jewish church went to pieces before Christianity, depends upon whether the Church knows or does not know in this her day the things which belong to her peace; but nothing short of a frank and radical re-formulation of doctrine—at least as radical as the English Reformation—is required; and neither High Church (witness the "Lux Mundi" apologetics!) nor the Evangelical Prophets (witness Mr. Spurgeon on the "Apostacy of these Latter Days") seem to be alive to that obvious fact. They hear the shouting of the foe, and they bury their heads deeper in the sand: but in polemics the ostrich policy never answers.

And now to the point, or rather the four points.

I. What are the Broad Church?

II. What is their method?

III. Is that method possible?

IV. Is that method honest?

Answer these questions straightforwardly, and not after the fashion of "Lux Mundi," and a New Reformation will have dawned. Intellect will no longer shun the church pulpit. Thinking men will no longer shun the church pew.

I. *What are the Broad Church?* I will give a descriptive analysis rather than a definition of Broad Churchism. 1st. The Broad Church are those who love the High Church, because they perceive that High Churchism bears witness to the sacramental character of forms and ceremonies. We need such outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual graces.

The Broad Church are those who love the Low Church, because they perceive that Low Churchism bears witness to spiritual freedom. The soul must have this too; it will not be bound by that it uses; we need forms and ceremonies; we need spiritual freedom. The High Church would cast out the Low Church, and the Low Church the High, and both would cast out the Broad; but the Broad desires to retain both,—it is *Comprehensive*.

(2) The Broad Church feels the need of bringing the praying and the preaching of the Anglican Church into harmony with nineteenth-century thought and feeling. It does not believe that the theology of Constantine in the fourth century was any more final than the settlement of Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century. It desires to bring doctrine to the test of living thought, re-stating its substance in terms of present knowledge,—it is *Radical*.

(3) It uses Dogmatic Theology as a Basis of Action, and the Formularies of the National Church as a Mechanism of Ritual,—it is *Conservative*. The three descriptive adjectives of the Broad Church are these—*Comprehensive, Radical, Conservative*.

II. *What is the Broad Church Method?*—Reform from within. There are two ways of reforming a system or a person. You can go outside and attack—that means Revolution, it is the Destructive Method. It tramples upon good and bad together, like the silly Christian missionary who began the conversion of the Mohammedan by sitting on the Koran. The other way is to mould and modify from within, getting gradually rid of the false or the obsolete and developing new life around all such true and living germs as can be found in every dogma and in every creed. That is Reform—it is the Constructive Method; it is the Way of Life; it is the Secret of Nature. It is suitable to religion because religion is a living, growing thing. Religion is not mechanical but organic. It is not like a building which can be patched and altered and tinkered up at will;

it must grow; it must live or die, but whilst it lives it must grow, and growing change. Learn a parable from the acorn: You plant it, the husk rots slowly, you don't strip it off, it surrounds and protects the new living germ to the last, and only sinks into the mould when its work is done. Every dogmatic expression, every form of ceremony becomes even as the husk of the acorn in time; but you must not strip it off too soon; it is there to protect the living germ of the new oak; it will drop away of itself, it has its use; let it alone.

Over every creed and formulary is written this motto: "*It was true—It is true—It is no longer true*," which being interpreted is, "Once such and such a dogma—The Trinity, or the Incarnation, an Inspired Bible, an Infallible Church—once such dogmas were the best attainable expressions of certain truths." "*It was true*." Now we can discern the essential truth that lies at the root of each one of the old puzzling statements; that essential something is destined to last on in a changed form—transformed—"*It is true*."

But we can find many better ways of expressing it—the expressional form once so helpful and adequate is now obsolete or seen to be erroneous, as who should say "the sun rises," a perfectly correct statement of what appears to take place—but—"but it is no longer true."

The true reformer is tender with the Past, patient with Dogma, respectful to Forms. He knows their value. The greatest reformers have always tried to retain and use what they found. They have usually been defeated and driven into opposition, but resistance to reform from within has compelled revolution or attack from without. Revolution has brought disaster, and the destruction of much that was valuable, and which might have been kept, and has got to be painfully brought back.

The policy of the Broad Church, the policy of reform from within, is called dishonest, but it was nevertheless the policy of Jesus. He was the greatest spiritual Reformer, whom the world had ever seen: but He used the synagogue—it was "His custom" to go there on the Sabbath. He did not approve of everything there, but He used what He found. He said: Moses says this, but I tell you something different, yet I come not to destroy but to fulfil. He foretold the results of putting the new wine into the old bottles, but He poured it in himself till they burst. He used the old rites with new meanings. To Nicodemus, his view of baptism seemed quite non-natural, and so strained that that ruler of the Jews could not understand it.

Paul was also for carrying reform from within. He did not believe in circumcision, but he circumcised Timothy; nor in meats offered to idols, but he was willing to abstain; nor in vows, but he shaved his head, "having a vow at Cenchrea"; and so eager was he not to break

with the old established Church of his brethren that he used up the whole of the old sacrificial language until the religion of Christ through his epistles became quite intolerably weighted with the theology of the Jewish shambles, and through him Christianity is so weighted down to the present day.

Luther tried hard to reform from within. He would have given worlds not to break with the Pope. He stretched many a point; he did not even quite destroy Transubstantiation, he called it Consubstantiation; he was even for retaining the externals of the Mass, and half the old ceremonies intact. "Alter as little as possible the externals of religion," was his constant advice, until the situation became desperate. The policy of the Broad Church is therefore of *Divine authority*, for it is the policy of Jesus, and of *historical precedent*, for it is the policy of Paul, Luther, Savonarola, and many others.

And why are we thus Conservative? Because Reformation is better than revolution. We ought to learn this much from the past, for surely the evils of Revolution have been written on the page of history in characters of blood and fire for our instruction.

Christianity became a Revolution when the world put it in opposition—and the consequence? Art, letters, and science perished for centuries; slowly something was recovered, letters revived, art was rediscovered, but a good deal was lost for ever. We must remember that those old books of magic were also burnt (Acts xix. 19), and thus accumulations of occult science were destroyed as well as the Greek statues and the classic MSS.

The Luther movement became a Revolution; England separated from Rome, because Rome would not allow a Reform from within;—the consequences? External decencies of worship trampled upon, numberless aids to religion, helps, manuals, organisations for charity, ruthlessly swept away, stained-glass smashed, Gothic treasures ruined, the belief in a Divine Presence with the Church enfeebled, half-killed by blows dealt at the supernatural, which is, fence as we will, the life of religion in all its various forms; and only just now are we slowly bringing back Art to the Sanctuary, and the sense of supernatural Principalities and Powers to the world. The High Church stands for order, and art; and modern spiritualism in its many and mixed forms bears witness, cloudy but constant, to the Supernatural; but the old Church in the midst of all its corruption conserved both Art and Spiritualism. It might have done without a Revolution, had it faced the strain of Reform from within, mended its Morals, restated its Dogmas, and written its Supernaturalism up to date: but it would not or it could not; at any rate it did not, and one-half of Roman Catholicism was swept away. The Broad Church see all this. For them history has not been written in vain.

The principle of Reform from within is immense and far reaching; that is why the Broad Church assume dogmatic Christianity as a basis, and the formularies of the National Church as a mechanism, and propose to mould the one and to modify the other, as dogmas and formularies have been moulded and modified before, until the Church prayers and the Church preaching get into living touch with nineteenth-century thought and feeling.

III. *Can it be done?*—Is it possible? To the Church of the Reformation everything is possible. Colani said years ago at Strasburg: "Protestantism is not the last note of the Reformed Church, it is the first note—it shows the direction in which the Church intends to travel." Articles IX. and XXXIV. (*vide* Thirty-Nine Articles) are the two famous Broad Church Articles, since they provide for every conceivable kind of reform from within. Article IX. proclaims that all churches up to the Reformation had erred—so why not all churches after it?—and Article XXXIV. declares that national churches have power to alter or ordain rites and ceremonies; and therefore doctrines, for what are rites but embodied doctrines (at least according to the Ritualists)? At all events the Church of the Reformation dealt with both Doctrine and Ritual once, and is capable of dealing with both again.

But why beat about the bush, when this possibility of internal reform is no longer a dream but an accomplished fact, and within the memory of man, too. In my time the Gunpowder Plot and Charles the Martyr services have been dropped out of the Prayer-book. In my grandfather's time, the Restoration of Charles II. was swept away.

A few years ago a revised translation of the Bible was authorised by the bishops, striking a death-blow at that idolatry of the English letter at one time in favour with the Bible Christian.

In 1865, what Dean Stanley used to call a rag-and-tatter subscription for the clergy was substituted for the old hard-and-fast document. We, the clergy of the Anglican Church, have now a liberty in doctrine and ritual unknown to any other Church in Christendom. Is it too much to expect that a Church that can do so much out of deference to modern opinions, and carry so rapidly such reforms from within, will some day follow Dr. Hessey's suggestion (Bampton Lectures on "Sunday"), and give us simple alternative forms for the Sacraments,—may I add, an expurgated Bible, selected Psalms, one Creedal statement, simpler and briefer, additional qualifying and liberating rubrics, sanctioning a more elastic conduct of the services, and, lastly, a total repeal of the Act of Uniformity, an oppressive document unknown to the early Church, and already, under the Act of 1865, become almost a dead letter.

The answer to this third question, Is reform inside the Church of England possible? amounts simply to this. Such reform is provided

for by two of the Thirty-nine Articles, and it is already an accomplished fact in half a dozen crucial cases. Let us go on and prosper.

IV. And lastly, *Is the method of the Broad Church honest?*—a question which presses heavily on good Mr. Spurgeon, who thinks us all “*villains*”; but then that excellent man admits that he “*does not understand Broad Church ethics.*” Why, of course not; what would his sheep say if he did? To stay in a Church which you see needs reform, to use formularies and start with statements of doctrine which you cannot agree with as they stand, but desire to amend—is this honest? Well, every living party in the Church has been charged with dishonesty just so long as it was a *reforming* party. The Low Church were called dishonest because they leaned to Nonconformity and its irregular ways; but the Low Church got itself accepted, and has long since been dubbed orthodox. Indeed, Lord Palmerston, under Lord Shaftesbury’s dictation, would have nothing but Low Church bishops.

The High Church was called dishonest because it leaned towards Rome, but that, too, got itself accepted, and now it is better to be rather High Church than otherwise (whether Gladstone or Salisbury be in power) if you want to be a bishop; and so the Broad Church, who are the latest reformers, are naturally denounced as dishonest because they want to remould the doctrine and the ritual of the Church into accord with nineteenth-century thought and feeling.

When people attack the Broad Church with—“Do you believe the doctrines of the Church? Do you approve of the formularies of the Church?” it is sufficient answer to say:—The Church of England doctrine is believed, and the Church liturgy is used and preached in the High and Low Churches, but it does not sound quite the same in both, and it certainly does not look at all the same; why expect more from the Broad Church? We believe and preach the doctrines and we use the forms in our way, they in theirs; condemn us all, or acquit us all; we are all guilty, or we are all innocent.

The Low Church had at one time such a contempt for ecclesiastical form that they could hardly abide the bishops, or bear the trammels of the liturgy at all. Wesley arrogated to himself episcopal functions; and the Lady Huntingdon connection fairly stepped across the border: yet Lady Huntingdon’s first chaplain and trustee, Dr. Thomas Haweis, lived and died Rector of Aldwinkle in the Church of England.

The High Church openly detest the word Protestant, and denounce the Reformation as a curse. Their doctrine of the Real Presence in the Sacraments is closely akin to the gross materialism of the Mass, but the High Church have stood their ground as honest men for a’ that.

The Broad Church call for Re-statement. They are for dropping what is obsolete, but not all at once. They would go on printing the prayer-book with *alternative forms and additions*. They are for re

covering and re-setting the essential truth which lies at the bottom of every dogma, correlating the new knowledge with current religious thought, and re-adapting the Church functions to the needs and the intellectual, social, and æsthetic instincts of the age; and the Broad Church presume to call themselves honest men for a' that.

You don't call your M.P.'s, Mr. John Morley or Mr. Bryce, dishonest, because they admire Republican opinions, and yet take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty. People have almost left off calling Parnell dishonest because he, like many others, continues to be an M.P. and a Home Ruler as well.

Our judges are not thought dishonest because they take the oaths, and are content to preside over a mass of laws, some obsolete, some contradictory, some sorely in need of re-statement, and not a few which call for interpretation in strained and non-natural senses. But what are the difficulties of the British Constitution, and what is the confused and heterogeneous mass of the English law—what is the mixed position of the M.P. or the judge compared to the confusion, the jumble of things old and new in religion with which the clergyman of the Church of England has got to deal? And what should he do under the circumstances? Why should his principle be other than that which governs judge or M.P.? Put the question, what becomes of the country if the House never passes a Reform Bill (*reform from within*); what becomes of justice if there is never a Law Amendment Act, never an attempt to reconcile law and equity, and write law up to date (*all reforms from within*); and what becomes of the religion of the National Church if every attempt to reform, re-state, and write up to date is burked, is denounced as treachery and dishonour?

We declare then that the Broad Church clergy, adopting the method of Jesus, and maintaining historic continuity with St. Paul and Luther, are justified in stopping where they are; in pleading for, and in working for, and in hoping for Reform instead of Revolution; and they may fairly charge those with ignorance who accuse them of dishonesty.

In fact, the Broad Church clergyman has only to satisfy himself on three points, and the argument for his defence against all the Robert Elsmeres, Stopford Brookes, and Voyseys, and even Spurgeons, is practically closed:—

- (1) He owes fealty to the terms of subscription,
- (2) To the administration,
- (3) To the essential truths underlying the dogmas of the Church.

1. *Fealty to the Terms of Subscription.*—The Broad Church clergyman is often asked: Does not your teaching violate the terms of your clerical subscription? You undertook to believe and teach certain doctrines which you now call in question. The answer to this is

brief. The old Subscription was much more hard and fast, binding us, the clergy, to the Thirty-nine Articles and other things. All that is over; the burden is lifted, we are free. The relaxed subscription of 1865 is, as the late Dean of Westminster pointed out, a mere "rag and tatter of Subscription." It simply binds us to an administrative assent, and to belief in a fact which, as we shall see, is of no doctrinal importance whatever. (The form is quoted in the footnote.*)

Is it possible to conceive of anything more free and flimsy than this? Now to *assent* to a formulary is not to give adherence of belief to all its statements any more than an M.P.'s assent to the British Constitution implies his agreement with all its parts. We do not even profess a *belief in any doctrine or doctrines whatever*; we merely declare that we believe the doctrines of the Church are agreeable to the word of God. By the word of God most clergy and laity would, I suppose, understand *the Bible*. Well, it is a very light matter to believe that the doctrines of the Church can be proved by Scripture texts if that is all that is wanted, since every Christian sect in and outside the Church can do as much as that—for notoriously all claim Scripture texts in favour of their peculiar tenets, orthodox and unorthodox. After Bishop Harold Browne, the present Bishop of Winchester, "on the Thirty-nine Articles," or Pearson "on the Creed," it is difficult to conceive of any theological proposition that could not be proved to be "*agreeable to the word of God*," with a little "vigour and rigour," such as is commonly practised by professional theologians when they have some dogma to prove. Fealty to such a subscription is, indeed, a simple matter, and the subscription is truly, a mere "rag and tatter subscription."

2. *Fealty to the Administration.* And here the Broad Church clergy compare very favourably with their High Church brethren, who are always worrying their bishops about other "rags and tatters." The Ritualists obey their bishops so long as their bishops obey them, but what a life they led Archbishop Tait! The Broad Church always obey their bishops. "You don't keep the law of the church" is a common, but an idle taunt; the reply is: "Of course we don't—who does?" Not the Low Church, few of whom read the morning and evening prayer through daily, or say, "Peace be to this house" on visiting the sick, or inquire into the character of all who present themselves for the Sacrament at the altar rails, as they are bound to do by the rubric. Even the High Church do not dare to do this: if they did they would be soon had up for libel. How many clergy now omit the Athanasian Creed, or refuse to read the Communion service;

* "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and to the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as there set forth, to be agreeable to the word of God. I will use the form in the same book prescribed," &c.

how many illegally curtail the church services in all sorts of ways and don't keep the saints' days; how often is the long exhortation to attend the Lord's Supper read; how seldom is the denunciatory one ever heard, although in many churches the number of communicants is notoriously small?

All parties, therefore, freely and unrebukedly neglect or break the law of the Church. Fealty to that is no longer possible.

The rule, therefore, must now be—*Fealty to the Administration*. Not what is illegal, but what is enforced or authoritatively enjoined in each particular case—that we are bound to obey—and only that. In a word, we *bow to the administration* of the Church. If we can do this conscientiously, we, as Broad Church clergy, remain in the Church; if we cannot, we must go. But, in all cases, we lay the onus of turning us out upon the administration; we are not going out as long as we are allowed to work for church reform from within. If we are tolerated, why the High and the Low are no more and no less, and we claim our common liberties along with them. And we propose to stay in the Church and work out our policy till the times change and we come into power, even as they have stayed in and successfully worked out theirs, until they came into power and got themselves generally accepted. And our time is not far off now.

3. But when we come to *Fealty to Truth*, the Broad Church can triumph easily over both High and Low. The High Church do not like the Low Church dogma, and the Low Church object to the High ritual and dogma; but the Broad Church declare, with one far-reaching and sweeping acceptance, the value and necessity of holding tight every dogma that the Church has ever taught. They are, indeed, for turning it out of dead dogma into living doctrine. They wrestle with it as Jacob wrestled with the angel. They will know its name and nature, nor will they let it depart until it has yielded up its secret and blessed them. They are for re-stating—in other words, rescuing and resetting—the truth which any special dogma once held; truth which the dogma is now in danger of wounding, even as the angel touched the sinew of the Patriarch's thigh, and it shrank. But nothing in the way of dogma comes amiss to the Broad Church; they are positively hungry for it. They delight in it; they use it as a very Siloam pool of suggestion and healing. Dogma is to them the only secure basis upon which every new and living truth has to be built up. At worst, dogma is but as an over-faithful, weather-beaten sentinel, from whose iron and icy grip some time-worn treasure has to be delivered.

Give a Broad Churchman even the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope, and he will be delighted to handle it sympathetically and tenderly. He will tell you that this apparently monstrous dogma was as nearly true as any could be when the most enlightened Christian Church

was the Roman Church, and the Pope in Council, as its representative, summed up the verdict of the most enlightened Christian conscience. The ideal verdict of the enlightened Christian conscience in every age is the nearest approach to Infallibility we shall ever get on this earth, and the assumption and widely undisputed assumption of that glory once belonged to Rome; the dogma *was true*. *It is true* (in so far as it serves to remind us of an almost self-evident truth). *It is no longer true*.

And if the Broad Churchman can do so much, and glories in doing so much for an exploded Roman dogma; gathering up the fragments that nothing be lost, it will be a light thing for him to take up the dogmas of the Reformed Church, Inspiration of the Bible, Justification by faith, Sacramental Grace, Original Sin, the Trinity and the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, and show his fealty to the essential truths which lie embedded in every one of these dogmas.

When it becomes perfectly clear to others, as it is perfectly clear to me, that this can be done, and honestly done, in the Church of England, intelligent men will no longer refuse to take Holy Orders, and intelligent men will no longer refuse to attend Church.

H. R. HAWES.

THE BETTERMENT TAX.

I HAVE read with much interest Mr. Rae's article in the last number of this Review upon what he calls "the Betterment Tax," as proposed by the London County Council, against which I had presented some arguments in a letter to the *Times*. I am struck by the fact that when any definition is given of the principle of that proposal, this definition is almost always so vaguely worded that the essence of it, and the effect of it, are kept out of sight; whilst very different proposals both in essence and effect are suggested. The whole plausibility of the definition, and the whole apparent justice of the principle laid down, depend on this ambiguity. Without, I feel sure, the smallest intention to deceive, Mr. Rae almost inveigles us into assent by a form of words which presents hardly any roughness to the touch or shadow to the eye. It seems a perfect example of the virtue so much extolled by Matthew Arnold under the title of "sweet reasonableness." It is, however, also a perfect illustration of the old proverb, *Dolus latet in generalibus*—that abstract propositions are dangerous things in practical affairs, as much as, or even more than, in philosophy or in science.

There could not be a better example of this than the form in which Mr. Rae puts his case in the last page of his article. He refers to the Strand improvement as one which will give a new frontage to houses now in a back street, and will make them "more worthy of demand." He points out that this benefit is conferred by a definite piece of labour in the clearing away of other houses that stood before them; and then he proceeds to state the question in dispute as follows:—"The only question is whether the proprietor of a house ought not to contribute to the expense of that labour in some proportion to the special benefit he appropriates from it, or at least in

some higher measure than his fellow-citizens who do not participate in that benefit."

Now, reading this sentence in perfect simplicity of mind, and not on the watch for any verbal fallacy, I should at once heartily accept the affirmative answer to the question so put. The owner of such a house ought to contribute to the expense of the operation. He ought, moreover, to contribute "in some proportion" to his special benefit, and certainly in "some higher measure" than his fellow-citizens who do not participate in that benefit. All these general propositions I should accept without a murmur of dissent. But every one of them is fulfilled and satisfied by the usual and time-honoured practice of English municipalities—the practice, namely, of raising assessments on the rental or letting value of houses, so that, when that value rises, there is a corresponding rise in the income derived from the assessments thereupon. Thus, if houses in a narrow street are let at or about £100 a year each, and if by some municipal outlay they obtain a new frontage, and rise to a double value, so as to let at £200 instead of £100, then the double amount of value yields a double amount of tax. This is contributing to the municipal outlay "in proportion to the special benefit derived." This is perfectly reasonable, and it is the sweet reasonableness of this practice, and of this result, that suffuses itself over the general and abstract propositions of Mr. Rae, which, at first sight, neither involve nor even suggest any other application.

Mr. Rae writes with evident sincerity, and, if his language should deceive any one as to the question really involved, it could only be because he is himself deceived by an abstract principle ambiguously expressed. But if any unfortunate householders in the Strand had been in a position to negotiate with him as an agent of the London County Council, and had accepted his proposals in the general terms I have quoted, they would speedily have found themselves to be, in more senses than one, "sold." Supposing their rates had been, before the improvement, £30 on a rental or letting value of £100, and a double value had arisen after it, then their new rates would be £60 on a letting value of £200. Or if the new improvement required an altogether new rate, then they would pay that rate equally with others, in proportion to their new rental. Under the terms of their bargain, this is what they would be entitled to expect, and nothing else. But on tendering their new taxes on this footing, they would soon find that Mr. Rae had meant something wholly different. The unfortunate householder who tendered £60 as his new rate, instead of only £30 which he had paid before, would be told that he had completely misunderstood the bargain. What he must pay would be the £30 on the old £100 rent, and, besides that, on the new rent he must pay the modest percentage of 100, or, in other words, the whole of it! It is

true that, for the present, and just to appease excessive discontent, this demand is to be abated to 50 per cent. on the new rent, or to one-half, only, of the whole. This abatement, however, is a mere concession of the principle, made partly with a view to avoid or discount excessive valuations; but the householder must distinctly understand that what has been all along meant, and intended, by the words "some proportion to the special benefit," was that proportion which consists in the whole of it—the whole £100 which had been added to the previous value of £100. Mr. Rae in another part of his article uses the correct phraseology as applicable to this proposal and this principle—phraseology which would have quite undeceived the householders if it had been used in the course of our supposed negotiation: "in actual practice there is no disposition to deal harshly with the owner in"—(what?—not taxing or assessing—but) "in appropriating the value of the improvement his estate receives."*

Let it then be clearly understood that the plausible and apparently just generality which Mr. Rae represents as "the only question"† is a generality which completely conceals that question, and suppresses all distinct expression of the principle asserted and of the intention entertained.

And this is my answer to the criticism of Mr. Rae that in my letter to the *Times* I had erroneously confounded the "betterment" principle with the principle of appropriating what has been nicknamed "unearned increments." I was not wrong, but right, in this identification. It would have been a wrong identification if Mr. Rae and his friends intended simply to apply the principle of taxing increased values as they arise—if, in short, they meant nothing more than they express when they wish to conciliate support by stating their principle in such forms as that which I have quoted. But the identification of which Mr. Rae complains was strictly correct when it is applied to his actual proposals, and still more to the assumption on which those proposals are defended. That principle is correctly described by himself as "appropriating the value of the improvement which an estate receives"—which is totally distinct from the principle of merely taxing increased values in the same proportion in which the lesser values were taxed before. The whole idea on which this new proposal rests is the idea that the owner of an article, such as a house has no right to any increase in its value of which he himself is not the sole cause and author. If he has caused the increase by a special act or outlay of his own, then the idea is that he has "earned" it. But if it has arisen from other causes, from acts or from conditions of society which are wholly independent of anything he has done, then the increased value is dubbed as "unearned," and, to

* P. 655.

† P. 662.

Rae's expression, may be "appropriated by the community, either wholly, or in such part as convenience may decide."

This is the idea which I have represented as one resting on an intellectual confusion, and as one which, in proportion as it is applied, would dissolve all civilised society. Values are never determined either wholly, or even in greatest measure, by the owners or makers of any article. Values are determined in all cases by the market. And "market" means the aggregate of all the conditions which constitute demand. And these conditions are, for the most part, entirely independent of those who have marketable articles to sell or to let. This law applies to all kinds of property—including, even before all others, that most original, and most sacred of all property, which consists in what is popularly called "labour"—or the muscular powers of the human body. The wages of labour must ultimately be determined by the demand for it. And the demand for it is continually increased by the genius, the enterprise, and the capital of individual men, whose thoughts and whose intellectual speculations are as much outside of, and as much independent of, those who are called the working classes, as any of the causes which raise the value of houses, or of lands, or of any other article.

Mr. Rae seems to think that there is some great difference in principle established in all cases in which increased values have arisen out of some external cause which is definite and tangible, such as a specific sum of money laid out on some special improvement. But if a principle be unsound when it is applied to a number of causes too numerous and too complex to be traced, it does not cease to be unsound when it is applied to some one cause which happens to be more than usually definite and visible. The definiteness and visibility of the cause of increased values, in some particular case, may be a temptation to us to adopt a principle which cannot be applied generally, and which, therefore, cannot be applied with equality and justice. But to make this very obvious source of temptation the avowed ground of exceptional, and therefore unequal and unjust, action, is surely a very open rebellion against our own moral and intellectual integrity. The definiteness of any piece of labour, or of any outlay upon labour, does not stand in any logical connection with the principles on which we ought to deal with increments of value which may arise therefrom. The outlay on a railway line, or on such a special work as the Forth Bridge, is perfectly definite in amount. It may, and it must, affect values to an enormous amount—first in the rise of wages, and next in the falling and letting values of innumerable fields and houses, down to the produce of every cottager's garden within a certain area. But the definiteness of cause in particular cases does not differentiate in any way as regards the fundamental principles on which we